MILTON

PARADISE LOST

Edited by

A. W. VERITY

Re-issue in two volumes

VOLUME II

INTRODUCTION, NOTES, ETC.

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PARADISE LOST

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VOLUME II

INTRODUCTION, NOTES, ETC.

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MILTON

PARADISE LOST

Edited by

A. W. VERITY, M.A.

VOLUME II

INTRODUCTION, NOTES, ETC.

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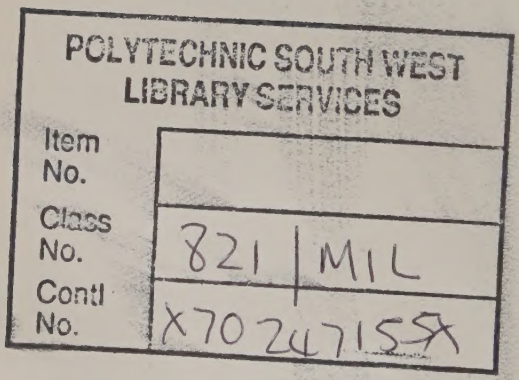

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PREFACE

THIS edition of *Paradise Lost* is based on the smaller editions edited by me for the Pitt Press Series and issued between the years 1892 and 1896. All the editorial matter has been set up afresh and much of it recast; and a considerable amount of fresh material has been added.

I desire to repeat with emphasis the acknowledgment made in my earlier editions of my great indebtedness to previous editors. It is a pious pleasure to make special mention of the immortal labours of Todd and Masson; nor should Newton and Keightley be forgotten. An editor is powerless to estimate what he owes to them (above all, to Masson), and to others who have wrestled with the allusions of a poem that for its full elucidation would exhaust the last resources of scholarship. Some specific items, however, of my own obligations may be recorded here, while many instances are indicated in the course of the volume.

The text is founded on that of Masson's "Globe" edition, but with a simpler system of punctuation, such as I thought might be in rather closer conformity with the original.

Nearly all the biblical and classical references given in this volume have been pointed out by, and taken from, other editors.

A large proportion of the Milton references had their origin in the Concordance to Milton's poems by the American student Cleveland, a work of immense labour and great accuracy which has never, I think, received its due. I may mention in passing that, to prevent misconception, I avoided consulting at all the Milton Lexicon published recently by another American student. On the other hand, I have used with much profit the scholarly and exhaustive dictionary of *The Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems*, by Mr C. G. Osgood, one of those fine studies in English literature for which we have to thank the University of Yale.

The extracts from the Milton MSS. are quoted (without, of course, any modernisation) from the beautiful facsimile published by the University Press, under the editorship of the Vice-Master of Trinity College. The textual variations are shown so simply by the editor's very ingenious typographical arrangement that the work of collating is practically done away.

The extracts from Milton's prose works are taken from the edition published in "Bohn's Standard Library." Apart from my general indebtedness to this edition, I must note that its footnotes are the source of many of my references to Milton's *Christian Doctrine*.

All the translations of passages from Dante, and most of the Dante information, come from the editions of the "Temple" series. Except in a few specified cases, the passages are such as had struck me.

The etymological material of the Glossary, together with a great deal of other miscellaneous information throughout the volume, is summarised from standard works of reference. Unfortunately, in attempting to edit a vast work like *Paradise Lost*, one has to "get up" all sorts of subjects

outside the scope of one's own circumscribed interests, and this rather involves the affectation of knowledge.

I owe not a little to the suggestions and criticisms of many unknown correspondents; and in going through examination-answers I have sometimes come across things that I was very glad to make a note of—which is not surprising, now that English is taught so well in many schools. I recollect that the note on II. 497—502 came in a schoolboy's answer.

The Indexes, apart from some expansion of the second, were compiled for me at the University Press; and it is a very great satisfaction to express my gratitude to the reader, or readers, of the Press whose vigilance over the proof-sheets has saved me from many slips.

I hope now that I have made adequate acknowledgment of my obligations; and perhaps it will not be undue egotism to add that in the course of twenty years of editing one necessarily accumulates a good deal of material and miscellanea.

A. W. VERITY.

BOSCOMBE,
November 16, 1909.

NOTE

THIS edition is now issued in two volumes for the convenience of students. Volume I contains the text; Volume II the introduction, notes, appendix, glossary and indexes.

A. W. V.

July 1928

INTRODUCTION

LIFE OF MILTON.

MILTON'S life falls into three clearly defined divisions. The first period ends with the poet's return from Italy in 1639; the second at the Restoration in 1660, when release from the fetters of politics enabled him to remind the world that he was a great poet; the third is brought to a close with his death in 1674. *Paradise Lost* belongs to the last of these periods; but we propose to summarise the main events of all three.

John Milton was born on December 9, 1608, in London. He came, in his own words, *ex genere honesto*. A family of Miltons had been settled in Oxfordshire since the reign of Elizabeth. The poet's father had been educated at an Oxford school, possibly as a chorister in one of the College choir-schools, and imbibing Anglican sympathies had conformed to the Established Church. For this he was disinherited by his Roman Catholic father. He settled in London, following the profession of scrivener. A scrivener combined the occupations of lawyer and law-stationer. It appears to have been a lucrative calling; certainly John Milton (the poet was named after the father) attained to easy circumstances. He married about 1600, and had six children, of whom several died young. The third child was the poet.

The elder Milton was evidently a man of considerable culture, in particular an accomplished musician, and a composer whose madrigals were deemed worthy of being printed side by side with those of Byrd, Orlando Gibbons and other leading musicians of the time. To him, no doubt, the poet owed the love of music of which we see frequent indications in

the poems[1]. Realising, too, that in his son lay the promise and possibility of future greatness, John Milton took the utmost pains to have the boy adequately educated; and the lines *Ad Patrem* show that the ties of affection between father and child were of more than ordinary closeness.

Milton was sent to St Paul's School about the year 1620. Here two influences, apart from those of ordinary school-life, may have affected him particularly. The headmaster was a good English scholar; he published a grammar containing many extracts from English poets, notably Spenser; it is reasonable to assume that he had not a little to do with the encouragement and guidance of Milton's early taste for English poetry[2]. Also, the founder of St Paul's School, Colet, had prescribed as part of the school-course the study of certain early Christian writers, whose influence is said to be directly traceable in Milton's poems and may in some cases have suggested his choice of sacred themes[2]. While at St Paul's, Milton also had a tutor at home, Thomas Young, a Scotchman, afterwards an eminent Puritan divine—the inspirer, doubtless, of much of his pupil's Puritan sympathies. And Milton enjoyed the signal advantage of growing up in the stimulating atmosphere of cultured home-life. Most men do not realise that the word 'culture' signifies anything very definite or desirable before they pass to the University; for Milton, however, home-life meant, from the first, not only broad interests and refinement, but active encouragement towards literature and study. In 1625 he left St Paul's. Of his extant English poems[3] only one, *On the*

[1] Milton was very fond of the organ; see *Il Penseroso*, 161, note. During his residence at Horton Milton made occasional journeys to London to hear, and obtain instruction (probably from Henry Lawes) in, music. It was an age of great musical development. See "Milton's Knowledge of Music" by Mr W. H. Hadow, in *Milton Memorial Lectures* (1908).

[2] See the paper "Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster" by Mr A. F. Leach, read before the British Academy, Dec. 10, 1908.

[3] His paraphrases of *Psalms* cxiv. cxxxvi. scarcely come under this heading. Aubrey says in his quaint *Life* of Milton: "Anno Domini 1619 he was ten yeares old, as by his picture [the portrait by Cornelius Jansen]: and was then a poet."

Death of a Fair Infant, dates from his school-days; but we are told that he had written much verse, English and Latin. And his early training had done that which was all-important: it had laid the foundation of the far-ranging knowledge which makes *Paradise Lost* unique for diversity of suggestion and interest.

Milton went to Christ's College, Cambridge, in the Easter term of 1625, took his B.A. degree in 1629, proceeded M.A. in 1632, and in the latter year left Cambridge. The popular view of Milton's connection with the University will be coloured for all time by Johnson's unfortunate story that for some unknown offence he "suffered the public indignity of corporal correction." For various reasons this story is now discredited by the best judges. It is certain, however, that early in 1626 Milton did have some serious difficulty with his tutor, which led to his removal from Cambridge for a few weeks and his transference to another tutor on his return later in the term. He spoke of the incident bitterly at the time in one of his Latin poems, and he spoke of Cambridge bitterly in after years. On the other hand he voluntarily passed seven years at the University, and resented strongly the imputations brought against him in the "Smectymnuus" controversy that he had been in ill-favour with the authorities of his college. Writing in 1642, he takes the opportunity "to acknowledge publicly with all grateful mind, that more than ordinary favour and respect, which I found above any of my equals at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the fellows of that college wherein I spent some years: who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways how much better it would content them that I would stay; as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time, and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me[1]." And if we look into those uncomplimentary allusions to Cambridge which date from the controversial period of his life we see that the feeling they

[1] *An Apology for Smectymnuus*, *P. W.* III. 111. Perhaps Cambridge would have been more congenial to Milton had he been sent to Emmanuel College, long a centre of Puritanism. Dr John Preston, then Master of the college, was a noted leader of the Puritan party.

represent is hardly more than a phase of his theological bias. He detested ecclesiasticism, and for him the two Universities (there is a fine impartiality in his diatribes) are the strongholds of what he detested: "nurseries of superstition"—"not yet well recovered from the scholastic grossness of barbarous ages"—given up to "monkish and miserable sophistry," and unprogressive in their educational methods. But it may fairly be assumed that Milton the scholar and poet, who chose to spend seven years at Cambridge, owed to her more than Milton the fierce controversialist admitted or knew. A poet he had proved himself before leaving the University in 1632. The short but exquisite ode *At a Solemn Music*, and the *Nativity Hymn* (1629), were already written.

Milton's father had settled at Horton in Buckinghamshire. Thither the son retired in July, 1632. He had gone to Cambridge with the intention of qualifying for some profession, perhaps the Church[1]. This purpose was soon given up, and when Milton returned to his father's house he seems to have made up his mind that there was no profession which he cared to enter. He would choose the better part of studying and preparing himself, by rigorous self-discipline and application, for the far-off divine event to which his whole life moved.

It was Milton's constant resolve to achieve something that should vindicate the ways of God to men, something great that should justify his own possession of unique powers—powers of which, with no trace of egotism, he proclaims himself proudly conscious. The feeling finds repeated expression in his prose; it is the guiding-star that shines clear and steadfast even through the mists of politics. He has a mission to fulfil, a purpose to accomplish, no less than the most fanatic of religious enthusiasts; and the means whereby this end is to be attained are

[1] Cf. Milton's own words: "the church, to whose service, by the intentions of my parents and friends, I was destined of a child, and in my own resolutions" (*The Reason of Church Government*, *P. W.* II. 482). What kept him from taking orders was primarily his objection to Church discipline and government: he spoke of himself as "Church-outed by the prelates."

devotion to religion, devotion to learning, and ascetic purity of life.

This period of self-centred isolation lasted from 1632 to 1638. Gibbon tells us among the many wise things contained in that most wise book the *Autobiography*, that every man has two educations: that which he receives from his teachers and that which he owes to himself; the latter being infinitely the more important. During these five years Milton completed his second education; ranging the whole world of classical[1] antiquity and absorbing the classical genius so thoroughly that the ancients were to him what they afterwards became to Landor, what they have never become to any other English poet in the same degree, even as the very breath of his being; pursuing, too, other interests, such as music, astronomy[2] and the study of Italian literature; and combining these vast and diverse influences into a splendid equipment of hard-won, well-ordered culture. The world has known many greater scholars in the technical, limited sense than Milton, but few men, if any, who have mastered more things worth mastering in art, letters and scholarship[3]. It says much for the poet that

[1] He was closely familiar too with post-classical writers like Philo and the neo-Platonists; nor must we forget the mediæval element in his learning, due often to Rabbinical teaching.

[2] Science—"natural philosophy," as he terms it—is one of the branches of study advocated in his treatise *On Education*. Of his early interest in astronomy there is a reminiscence in *Paradise Lost*, II. 708—11; where "Milton is not referring to an imaginary comet, but to one which actually did appear when he was a boy of 10 (1618), in the constellation called Ophiuchus. It was of enormous size, the tail being recorded as longer even than that of 1858. It was held responsible by educated and learned men of the day for disasters. Evelyn says in his diary, 'The effects of that comet, 1618, still working in the prodigious revolutions now beginning in Europe, especially in Germany'" (Professor Ray Lankester).

[3] Milton's poems with their undercurrent of perpetual allusion are the best proof of the width of his reading; but interesting supplementary evidence is afforded by the Common-place Book discovered in 1874, and printed by the *Camden Society*, 1876. It contains extracts from about 80 different authors whose works Milton had studied. The entries seem to have been made in the period 1637—46.

he was sustained through this period of study, pursued *ohne Hast, ohne Rast*, by the full consciousness that all would be crowned by a masterpiece which should add one more testimony to the belief in that God who ordains the fates of men. It says also a very great deal for the father who suffered his son to follow in this manner the path of learning.

True, Milton gave more than one earnest of his future fame. The dates of the early pieces—*L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Arcades*, *Comus* and *Lycidas*—are not all certain; but probably each was composed at Horton before 1638. Four of them have great autobiographic value as an indirect commentary, written from Milton's coign of seclusion, upon the moral crisis through which English life and thought were passing, the clash between the careless hedonism of the Cavalier world and the deepening austerity of Puritanism. In *L'Allegro* the poet holds the balance almost equal between the two opposing tendencies. In *Il Penseroso* it becomes clear to which side his sympathies are leaning. *Comus* is a covert prophecy of the downfall of the Court-party, while *Lycidas* openly "foretells the ruine" of the Established Church. The latter poem is the final utterance of Milton's lyric genius. Here he reaches, in Mr Mark Pattison's words, the high-water mark of English verse; and then—the pity of it—he resigns that place among the *lyrici vates* of which the Roman singer was ambitious, and for nearly twenty years suffers his lyre to hang mute and rusty in the temple of the Muses.

The composition of *Lycidas* may be assigned to the year 1637. In the spring of the next year Milton started for Italy. It was natural that he should seek inspiration in the land where many English poets, from Chaucer to Shelley, have found it. Milton remained abroad some fifteen months. Originally he had intended to include Sicily and Greece in his travels, but news of the troubles in England hastened his return. He was brought face to face with the question whether or not he should bear his part in the coming struggle; whether without self-reproach he could lead any longer this life of learning and indifference to the public weal. He decided as we might have expected that he would decide, though some good critics see

cause to regret the decision. Milton puts his position very clearly in his *Defensio Secunda*: "I thought it base to be travelling for amusement abroad, while my fellow-citizens were fighting for liberty at home." And later: "I determined to relinquish the other pursuits in which I was engaged, and to transfer the whole force of my talents and my industry to this one important object" (i.e. the vindication of liberty).

The summer of 1639 (July) found Milton back in England. Immediately after his return he wrote the *Epitaphium Damonis*, the beautiful elegy in which he lamented the death of his school friend, Diodati. *Lycidas* was the last of the English lyrics: the *Epitaphium*, which should be studied in close connection with *Lycidas*, the last of the long Latin poems. Thenceforth, for a long spell, the rest was silence, so far as concerned poetry. The period which for all men represents the strength and maturity of manhood, which in the cases of other poets produces the best and most characteristic work, is with Milton a blank. In twenty years he composed no more than a bare handful of Sonnets, and even some of these are infected by the taint of political *animus*. Other interests claimed him—the question of Church-reform, education, marriage, and, above all, politics.

Milton's first treatise upon the government of the Church (*Of Reformation in England*) appeared in 1641. Others followed in quick succession. The abolition of Episcopacy was the watchword of the enemies of the Anglican Church—the *delenda est Carthago* cry of Puritanism, and no one enforced the point with greater eloquence than Milton. During 1641 and 1642 he wrote five pamphlets on the subject. Meanwhile he was studying the principles of education. On his return from Italy he had undertaken the training of his nephews. This led to consideration of the best educational methods; and in the *Tractate of Education*, 1644, Milton assumed the part of educational theorist. In the previous year, May, 1643, he married[1]. The marriage proved unfortunate.

[1] His wife (who was only seventeen) was Mary Powell, eldest daughter of Richard Powell, of Forest Hill, a village some little distance from Oxford. She went to stay with her father in July,

Its immediate outcome was the pamphlets on divorce. Clearly he had little leisure for literature proper.

The finest of Milton's prose works, *Areopagitica*, a plea for the free expression of opinion, was published in 1644. In 1645[1] appeared the first collection of his poems. In 1649 his advocacy of the anti-royalist cause was recognised by the offer of a post under the newly appointed Council of State. His bold vindication of the trial of Charles I., *The Tenure of Kings*, had appeared earlier in the same year. Milton accepted the offer, becoming Latin[2] Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

1643, and refused to return to Milton; why, it is not certain. She was reconciled to her husband in 1645, bore him four children, and died in 1652, in her twenty-seventh year. No doubt, the scene in *P. L.* x. 909—36, in which Eve begs forgiveness of Adam, reproduced the poet's personal experience, while many passages in *Samson Agonistes* must have been inspired by the same cause.

[1] i.e. old style. The volume was entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company under the date of October 6th, 1645. It was published on Jan. 2, 1645—46, with the following title-page:

"*Poems of Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin, Compos'd at several times. Printed by his true Copies. The Songs were set in Musick by Mr. Henry Lawes Gentleman of the Kings Chappel, and one of His Majesties Private Musick.*

'———*Baccare frontem*

Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.' VIRGIL, *Eclog.* 7.

Printed and publish'd according to Order. London, Printed by Ruth Raworth for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at the signe of the Princes Arms in Pauls Churchyard. 1645."

From the prefatory Address to the Reader it is clear that the collection was due to the initiative of the publisher. Milton's own feeling is expressed by the motto, where the words "*vati futuro*" show that, as he judged, his great achievement was yet to come. The volume was divided into two parts, the first containing the English, the second the Latin poems. *Comus* was printed at the close of the former, with a separate title-page to mark its importance. The prominence given to the name of Henry Lawes reflects Milton's friendship.

[2] A Latin Secretary was required because the Council scorned, as Edward Phillips says, "to carry on their affairs in the wheedling, lisping jargon of the cringing French." Milton's salary was £288, in modern money about £900.

There was nothing distasteful about his duties. He drew up the despatches to foreign governments, translated state papers, and served as interpreter to foreign envoys. Had his duties stopped here his acceptance of the post would, I think, have proved an unqualified gain. It brought him into contact with the first men in the state, gave him a practical insight into the working of national affairs and the motives of human action; in a word, furnished him with that experience of life which is essential to all poets who aspire to be something more than "the idle singers of an empty day." But unfortunately the secretaryship entailed the necessity of defending at every turn the past course of the revolution and the present policy of the Council. Milton, in fact, held a perpetual brief as advocate for his party. Hence the endless and unedifying controversies into which he drifted; controversies which wasted the most precious years of his life, warped, as some critics think, his nature, and eventually cost him his eyesight.

Between 1649 and 1660 Milton produced no less than eleven pamphlets. Several of these arose out of the publication of the famous *Eikon Basilike*. The book was printed in 1649 and created so extraordinary a sensation that Milton was asked to reply to it; and did so with *Eikonoklastes*. Controversy of this barren type has the inherent disadvantage that once started it may never end. The Royalists commissioned the Leyden professor, Salmasius, to prepare a counterblast, the *Defensio Regia*, and this in turn was met by Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, 1651, over the preparation of which he lost what little power of eyesight remained[1]. Salmasius retorted, and died before his

[1] Perhaps this was the saddest part of the episode. Milton tells us in the *Defensio Secunda* that his eyesight was injured by excessive study in boyhood: "from twelve years of age I hardly ever left my studies or went to bed before midnight." Continual reading and writing increased the infirmity, and by 1650 the sight of the left eye had gone. He was warned that he must not use the other for book-work. Unfortunately this was just the time when the Commonwealth stood most in need of his services. If Milton had not written the first *Defence* he might have retained his partial vision, at least for a time. The choice lay between

second *farrago* of scurrilities was issued: Milton was bound to answer, and the *Defensio Secunda* appeared in 1654. Neither of the combatants gained anything by the dispute; while the subsequent development of the controversy in which Milton crushed the Amsterdam pastor and professor, Morus, goes far to prove the contention of Mr Mark Pattison, that it was an evil day when the poet left his study at Horton to do battle for the Commonwealth amid the vulgar brawls of the market-place.

> "Not here, O Apollo,
> Were haunts meet for thee."

Fortunately this poetic interregnum in Milton's life was not destined to last much longer. The Restoration came, a blessing in disguise, and in 1660[1] the ruin of Milton's political party and of his personal hopes, the absolute overthrow of the cause for which he had fought for twenty years, left him free. The author of *Lycidas* could once more become a poet.

Much has been written upon this second period, 1639—60. We saw what parting of the ways confronted Milton on his return from Italy. Did he choose aright? Should he have continued upon the path of learned leisure? There are writers who argue that Milton made a mistake. A poet, they say, should keep clear of political strife: fierce controversy can benefit no man: who touches pitch must expect to be, certainly will be, defiled: Milton sacrificed twenty of the best years of his life, doing work which an underling could have done and which was not worth doing: another *Comus* might have been written, a loftier *Lycidas*: that literature should be the poorer by the absence of these possible masterpieces, that the second

private good and public duty. He repeated in 1650 the sacrifice of 1639. All this is brought out in his *Second Defence*. By the spring of 1652 Milton was quite blind. He was then in his forty-fourth year. Probably the disease from which he suffered was amaurosis. See the *Appendix* (pp. 682, 683) on *P. L.* III. 22—26. Throughout *P. L.* and *Samson Agonistes* there are frequent references to his affliction.

[1] Milton probably began *Paradise Lost* in 1658; but it was not till the Restoration in 1660 that he definitely resigned all his political hopes, and became quite free to realise his poetical ambition.

greatest genius which England has produced should in a way be the "inheritor of unfulfilled renown," is and must be a thing entirely and terribly deplorable. This is the view of the purely literary critic.

There remains the other side of the question. It may fairly be contended that had Milton elected in 1639 to live the scholar's life apart from "the action of men," *Paradise Lost*, as we have it, or *Samson Agonistes* could never have been written. Knowledge of life and human nature, insight into the problems of men's motives and emotions, grasp of the broader issues of the human tragedy, all these were essential to the author of an epic poem; they could only be obtained through commerce with the world; they would have remained beyond the reach of a recluse. Dryden complained that Milton saw nature through the spectacles of books: we might have had to complain that he saw men through the same medium. Fortunately it is not so: and it is not so because at the age of thirty-two he threw in his fortunes with those of his country; like the diver in Schiller's ballad he took the plunge which was to cost him so dear. The mere man of letters will never move the world. Æschylus fought at Marathon: Shakespeare was practical to the tips of his fingers; a better business man than Goethe there was not within a radius of a hundred miles of Weimar.

This aspect of the question is emphasised by Milton himself. The man, he says, "who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem, that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things; not presuming to sing high praises of heroic men, or famous cities, unless he have in himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy[1]." Again, in estimating the qualifications which the writer of an epic such as he contemplated should possess, he is careful to include "insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs[2]."

Truth usually lies half-way between extremes: perhaps it does so here. No doubt, Milton did gain very greatly by

[1] *An Apology for Smectymnuus*, *P. W.* III. 118.

[2] *The Reason of Church Government*, *P. W.* II. 481.

breathing awhile the larger air of public life, even though that air was often tainted by much impurity. No doubt, too, twenty years of contention must have left their mark even on Milton. In one of the very few places where he "abides our question," Shakespeare writes (*Sonnet* CXI.):

> "O! for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
> The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
> That did not better for my life provide,
> Than public means, which public manners breeds:
> Thence comes it that my name receives a brand;
> And almost thence my nature is subdued
> To what it works in, like the dyer's hand."

Milton's genius was subdued in this way. If we compare him, the Milton of the great epics and of *Samson Agonistes*, with Homer or Shakespeare—and none but the greatest can be his parallel—we find in him a certain want of humanity, a touch of narrowness. He lacks the large-heartedness, the genial, generous breadth of Shakespeare; the sympathy and sense of the *lacrimæ rerum* that even in *Troilus and Cressida* or *Timon of Athens* are there for those who have eyes wherewith to see them. Milton reflects in some degree the less gracious aspects of Puritanism, its intolerance, want of humour, one-sided intensity; and it seems natural to assume that this narrowness was to a great extent the price he paid for twenty years of ceaseless special pleading and dispute. The real misfortune of his life lay in the fact that he fell on evil, angry days when there was no place for moderate men. He had to be one of two things: either a controversialist or a student: there was no *via media*. Probably he chose aright; but we could wish that the conditions under which he chose had been different. And he is so great, so majestic in the nobleness of his life, in the purity of his motives, in the self-sacrifice of his indomitable devotion to his ideals, that we could wish not even to seem to pronounce judgment at all.

The last part of Milton's life, 1660—74, passed quietly. At the age of fifty-two he was thrown back upon poetry, and could at length discharge his self-imposed obligation. The early

poems he had never regarded as a fulfilment of the debt due to his Creator. Even when the fire of political strife burned at its hottest, Milton did not forget the purpose which he had conceived in his boyhood. Of that purpose *Paradise Lost* was the attainment. Begun about 1658, it was finished in 1663, the year of Milton's third[1] marriage; revised from 1663 to 1665; and eventually issued in 1667. Before its publication Milton had commenced (in the autumn of 1665) its sequel *Paradise Regained*, which in turn was closely followed by *Samson Agonistes*. The completion of *Paradise Regained* may be assigned to the year 1666—that of *Samson Agonistes* to 1667. Some time was spent in their revision; and in January, 1671, they were published together, in a single volume.

In 1673 Milton brought out a reprint of the 1645 edition of his *Poems*, adding most of the sonnets[2] written in the interval[3]

[1] Milton's second marriage took place in the autumn of 1656, i.e. after he had become blind. His wife died in February, 1658. Cf. the *Sonnet*, "Methought I saw my late espoused saint," the pathos of which is heightened by the fact that he had never seen her.

[2] The number of Milton's sonnets is twenty-three (if we exclude the piece "On the New Forcers of Conscience"), five of which were written in Italian, probably during the time of his travels in Italy, 1638, 1639. Ten sonnets were printed in the edition of 1645, the last of them being that entitled (from the *Cambridge* MS.) "To the Lady Margaret Ley." The remaining thirteen were composed between 1645 and 1658. The concluding sonnet, therefore (to the memory of Milton's second wife), immediately preceded his commencement of *Paradise Lost*. Four of these poems (XV. XVI. XVII. XXII.) could not, on account of their political tone, be included in the edition of 1673. They were published by Edward Phillips together with his memoir of Milton, 1694 (*Sonnet* XVII. having previously appeared in a *Life* of Vane). The sonnet on the "Massacre in Piedmont" is usually considered the finest of the collection, of which Mr Mark Pattison edited a well-known edition, 1883. The sonnet inscribed with a diamond on a window pane in the cottage at Chalfont where the poet stayed in 1665 is (in the judgment of a good critic) Miltonic, if not Milton's (Garnett, *Life of Milton*, p. 175); but a Scriptural reference in it seems wrong.

[3] The 1673 edition also gave the juvenile piece *On the Death of a Fair Infant* and *At a Vacation Exercise*, which for some reason had been omitted from the 1645 edition.

The last four years of his life were devoted to prose works of no particular interest[1]. He continued to live in London. His third marriage had proved happy, and he enjoyed something of the renown which was rightly his. Various well-known men used to visit him—notably Dryden[2], who on one of his visits asked and received permission to dramatise[3] *Paradise Lost.*

Milton died in 1674, November 8th. He was buried in St Giles' Church, Cripplegate[4]. When we think of him we have to think of a man who lived a life of very singular purity and devotion to duty; who for what he conceived to be his country's good sacrificed—and no one can well estimate the sacrifice—during twenty years the aim that was nearest to his heart and best suited to his genius; who, however, eventually realised his desire of writing a great work *in gloriam Dei.*

[1] The treatise on *Christian Doctrine* (unpublished during Milton's lifetime and dating, it is thought, mainly from the period of his theological treatises) is valuable as throwing much light on the theological views expressed in the two epic poems and *Samson Agonistes.* See *Milton Memorial Lectures* (1908), pp. 109—42. The discovery of the MS. of this treatise in 1823 gave Macaulay an opportunity of writing his famous essay on Milton, which has been happily described as a Whig counterblast to Johnson's Tory depreciation of the poet.

Milton's *History of Britain*, though not published till 1670, had been written many years earlier; four of the six books, we know, were composed between 1646 and 1649.

[2] The lines by Dryden which were printed beneath the portrait of Milton in Tonson's folio edition of *Paradise Lost* published in 1688 are too familiar to need quotation; but it is worth noting that the younger poet had in Milton's lifetime described the great epic as "one of the most noble, and most sublime poems which either this age or nation has produced" (prefatory essay to *The State of Innocence*, 1674). Further, tradition assigned to Dryden (a Roman Catholic and a Royalist) the remark, "this fellow (Milton) cuts us all out and the ancients too."

[3] See Marvell's "Commendatory Verses," 17—30, and the *Notes.*

[4] His funeral was attended by many eminent men. His bust was placed in Westminster Abbey in 1737. See Todd's *Life*, pp. 136, 138.

PARADISE LOST.

We have seen that the dominating idea of Milton's life was his resolve to write a great poem—great in theme, in style, in attainment. To this purpose was he dedicated as a boy: as Hannibal was dedicated, at the altar of patriotism, to the cause of his country's revenge, or Pitt to a life of political ambition. Milton's works—particularly his letters and prose pamphlets—enable us to trace the growth of the idea which was shaping his intellectual destinies; and as every poet is best interpreted by his own words, Milton shall speak for himself.

Two of the earliest indications of his cherished plan are the *Vacation Exercise* and the second *Sonnet.* The *Exercise* commences with an invocation (not without significance, as we shall see) to his "native language," to assist him in giving utterance to the teeming thoughts that knock at the portal of his lips, fain to find an issue thence. The bent of these thoughts is towards the loftiest themes. Might he choose for himself, he would select some "grave subject":

> "Such where the deep transported mind may soar
> Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
> Look in, and see each blissful deity.
> . . . . . .
> Then sing of secret things that came to pass
> When beldam Nature in her cradle was."

But recognising soon that such matters are inappropriate to the occasion—a College festivity—he arrests the flight of his muse with a grave *descende cælo*, and declines on a lower range of subject, more fitting to the social scene and the audience. This *Exercise* was composed in 1628, in Milton's twentieth year, or, according to his method of dating, *anno ætatis* XIX. It is important as revealing—firstly, the poet's consciousness of the divine impulse within, for which poetry is the natural outlet; secondly, the elevation of theme with which that poetry must deal. A boy in years, he would like to handle the highest 'arguments,' challenging thereby comparison with the *sacri*

vates of inspired verse, the elect few whose poetic appeal is to the whole world. A vision of Heaven itself must be unrolled before his steadfast eagle-gaze: he will win a knowledge of the causes of things such as even Vergil, his master, modestly disclaimed. Little wonder, therefore, that, filled with these ambitions, Milton did not shrink, only two years later (1629—30), from attempting to sound the deepest mysteries of Christianity—the Nativity and the Passion of Christ; howbeit, sensible of his immaturity, he left his poem on the latter subject unfinished[1].

The *Sonnet* to which reference has been made deserves quotation at length:

"How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,
Stolen on his wing my three-and-twentieth year!
My hasting days fly on with full career,
But my late spring no bud or blossom shew'th.
Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth,
That I to manhood am arrived so near;
And inward ripeness doth much less appear,
That some more timely-happy spirits endu'th.
Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow,
It shall be still in strictest measure even
To that same lot, however mean or high,
Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven;
All is, if I have grace to use it so,
As ever in my great Task-Master's eye."

Mr Mark Pattison justly calls these lines "an inseparable part of Milton's biography": they bring out so clearly the poet's solemn devotion to his self-selected task, and his determination not to essay the execution of that task until the time of complete "inward ripeness" has arrived. The *Sonnet* was one of the last poems composed by Milton during his residence at Cambridge.

[1] A passage in the sixth *Elegy* shows that the *Nativity Ode* (a prelude in some respects to *Paradise Lost*) was begun on Christmas morning, 1629. *The Passion* may have been composed for the following Easter; it breaks off with the notice—"This Subject the Author finding to be above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished." Evidently Milton was minded to recur to both subjects; see later.

The date is 1631. From 1632 to 1638 was a period of almost unbroken self-preparation, such as the *Sonnet* foreshadows. Of the intensity of his application to literature a letter written in 1637 (the exact day being Sept. 7, 1637) enables us to judge.

"It is my way," he says to Carlo Diodati, in excuse for remissness as a correspondent, "to suffer no impediment, no love of ease, no avocation whatever, to chill the ardour, to break the continuity, or divert the completion of my literary pursuits. From this and no other reasons it often happens that I do not readily employ my pen in any gratuitous exertions[1]." But these exertions were not sufficient: the probation must last longer. In the same month, on the 23rd, he writes to the same friend, who had made enquiry as to his occupations and plans: "I am sure that you wish me to gratify your curiosity, and to let you know what I have been doing, or am meditating to do. Hear me, my Diodati, and suffer me for a moment to speak without blushing in a more lofty strain. Do you ask what I am meditating? By the help of Heaven, an immortality of fame. But what am I doing? πτεροφυῶ, I am letting my wings grow and preparing to fly; but my Pegasus has not yet feathers enough to soar aloft in the fields of air[2]." Four years later we find a similar admission—"I have neither yet completed to my mind the full circle of my private studies...[3]."

This last sentence was written in 1640 (or 1641). Meanwhile his resolution had been confirmed by the friendly and flattering encouragement of Italian *savants*—a stimulus which he records in an oft-cited passage[4]:

"In the private academies[5] of Italy, whither I was favoured

[1] *P. W.* III. 492. [2] *P. W.* III. 495.

[3] *P. W.* II. 476.

[4] *The Reason of Church Government*, *P. W.* II. 477, 478; a few lines have been quoted in the *Life* of Milton. A passage similar to the concluding sentence might be quoted from the pamphlet *Animadversions*, published the same year (1641) as the *Church Government*; see *P. W.* III. 72.

[5] He refers to literary societies or clubs, of which there were several at Florence, e.g. the Della Crusca, the Svogliati, etc.

to resort, perceiving that some trifles[1] which I had in memory, composed at under twenty or thereabout, (for the manner is, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there,) met with acceptance above what was looked for; and other things[2], which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences to patch up amongst them, were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps; I began thus far to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intense study (which I take to be my portion in this life), joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die."

It was during this Italian journey (1638—39) that Milton first gave a hint of the particular direction in which this ambition was setting: at least we are vouchsafed a glimpse of the possible subject-matter of the contemplated poem, and there is that on which may be built conjecture as to its style. He had enjoyed at Naples the hospitality of the then famous writer Giovanni Battista Manso, whose courteous reception the young English traveller, *ut ne ingratum se ostenderet*, acknowledged in the piece of Latin hexameters afterwards printed in his *Sylvæ* under the title *Mansus*. In the course of the poem Milton definitely speaks of the remote legends of British history—more especially, the Arthurian legend—as the theme which he might some day treat. "May I," he says, "find such a friend[3] as Manso,"

[1] i.e. Latin pieces; the *Elegies*, as well as some of the poems included in his *Sylvæ*, were written before he was twenty-one.

[2] Among the Latin poems which date from his Italian journey are the lines *Ad Salsillum*, a few of the *Epigrams*, and *Mansus*. Perhaps, too, the "other things" comprehended those essays in Italian verse which he had the courage to read before a Florentine audience, and they the indulgence to praise.

[3] i.e. a friend who would pay honour to him as Manso had paid honour to the poet Marini. Manso had helped in the erection of a monument to Marini at Naples; and Milton alludes to this at the beginning of the poem. From Manso he would hear about Tasso.

"*Siquando*[1] *indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,*
Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem,
Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere mensæ
Magnanimos heroas, et (*O modo spiritus adsit*)
Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges!"

This was in 1638. In the next year, after his return to England, he recurs to the project in the *Epitaphium Damonis* (162—71), his account being far more detailed:

"*Ipse*[2] *ego Dardanias Rutupina per æquora puppes*
Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,
Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum,
Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos;
Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iögernen;
Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlöis arma,
Merlini dolus. O, mihi tum si vita supersit,
Tu procul annosa pendebis, fistula, pinu,
Multum oblita mihi, aut patriis mutata Camœnis
Brittonicum strides!"

Here, as before, he first glances at the stories which date from the very dawn of British myth and romance, and then

[1] "If ever I shall revive in verse our native kings, and Arthur levying war in the world below; or tell of the heroic company of the resistless Table Round, and—be the inspiration mine!—break the Saxon bands neath the might of British chivalry" (*Mansus*, 80—84). His Common-place Book has a quaint reference to "Arturs round table."

[2] "I will tell of the Trojan fleet sailing our southern seas, and the ancient realm of Imogen, Pandrasus' daughter, and of Brennus, Arviragus, and Belinus old, and the Armoric settlers subject to British laws. Then will I sing of Iogerne, fatally pregnant with Arthur—how Uther feigned the features and assumed the armour of Gorlois, through Merlin's craft. And you, my pastoral pipe, an life be lent me, shall hang on some sere pine, forgotten of me; or changed to native notes shall shrill forth British strains." In the first lines he alludes to the legend of Brutus and the Trojans landing in England. *Rutupina*= Kentish. The story of Arthur's birth at which he glances is referred to in the *Idylls of the King*. The general drift of the last verses is that he will give up Latin for English verse; *strides* is a future, from *strido* (cf. *Æneid* IV. 689).

passes to the most fascinating of the later cycles of national legend—the grey traditions that cluster round the hero of the *Idylls of the King*, the son of mythic Uther. And this passage, albeit the subject which it indicates was afterwards rejected by Milton, possesses a twofold value for those who would follow, step by step, the development of the idea which had as its final issue the composition of *Paradise Lost*. For, first, the concluding verses show that whatever the theme of the poem, whatever the style, the instrument of expression would be English. Just as Dante had weighed the merits of the vernacular and Latin and chosen the former, though the choice imposed on him the creation of an ideal, transfigured Italian out of the baser elements of many competing dialects, so Milton —more fortunate than Dante in that he found an instrument ready to use—will use that "native language" whose help he had petitioned in the *Vacation Exercise*. An illustration of his feeling on this point is furnished by the treatise on *Church Government*. He says there that his work must make for "the honour and instruction" of his country: "I applied myself to that resolution which Ariosto followed...to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue; not to make verbal curiosities the end (that were a toilsome vanity), but to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own citizens throughout this island in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, with this over and above, of being a Christian, might do for mine[1]; not caring to be once named

[1] *P. W.* II. 478. Reference has been made so frequently to this pamphlet on *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty*, (1641), that it may be well to explain that the introduction to the second book is entirely autobiographical. Milton shows why he embarked on such controversies, how much it cost him to do so, what hopes he had of returning to poetry, what was his view of the poet's mission and of his own capacity to discharge that mission. His prose works contain nothing more valuable than these ten pages of self-criticism.

abroad, though perhaps I could attain to that, but content with these British islands as my world." Here is a clear announcement of his ambition to take rank as a great national poet. The note struck is patriotism. He will produce that which shall set English on a level with the more favoured Italian, and give his countrymen cause to be proud of their

"dear dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world[1]."

To us indeed it may appear strange that Milton should have thought it worth while to emphasise what would now be considered a self-evident necessity: what modern poet, with a serious conception of his office and duty, would dream of employing any other language than his own? But we must remember that in those days the empire of the classics was unquestioned: scholarship was accorded a higher dignity than now: the composition of long poems in Latin was still a custom honoured in the observance: and whoso sought to appeal to the "laureate fraternity" of scholars and men of letters, independently of race and country, would naturally turn to the *lingua franca* of the learned. At any rate, the use of English—less known than either Italian or French—placed a poet at a great disadvantage, so far as concerned acceptance in foreign lands; and when Milton determined to rely on his *patriæ Camœnæ*, he foresaw that this would circumscribe his audience, and that he might have to rest content with the applause of his own countrymen.

Again, these lines in the *Epitaphium* give us some grounds of surmise as to the proposed form of his poem. The historic events—or traditions—epitomised in the passage were too far separated in point of time, and too devoid of internal coherence and connection, to admit of dramatic treatment. Milton evidently contemplated a narrative poem, and for one who had drunk so deep of the classical spirit a narrative could scarce have meant aught else than an epic. Indeed thus much is implied by some sentences in *The Reason of Church Govern-*

[1] *Richard II.* II. I. 57, 58.

ment, which represent him as considering whether to attempt "that epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model...or whether those dramatic constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation[1]."

But 'dramatic' introduces a fresh phase; and as the first period of the history of *Paradise Lost*, or rather of the idea which finally took shape in that poem, closes with the *Epitaphium* (1639), it may not be amiss to summarise the impressions deduced up to this point from the various passages which we have quoted from Milton. We have seen, then, Milton's early resolve; its ambitious scope; his self-preparation; the encouragement he received in Italy and from friends at home; his announcement in 1638, repeated in 1639, that he has discovered a suitable subject in British fable—more especially, in the legend of the Coming and Passing of Arthur; his formal farewell to Latin verse, in favour of his native tongue; his desire to win recognition as a great national *vates*; and his selection of the epic style.

In respect of chronology we have reached the year 1639—40. The second period extends from 1640 to 1642. We shall see that some verses of *Paradise Lost* were written about 1642: after 1642, up till 1658, we hear no more of the poem—proof that the idea has been temporarily abandoned under stress of politics. Therefore 1642 may be regarded as the ulterior limit of this second period. And it is not, I think, fanciful to consider that *Paradise Lost* entered on a fresh stage about 1640, because between that year and 1642 Milton's plans underwent a twofold change by which the character of the poem was entirely altered.

First, the subject for which he had shown so decided a bias is discarded: after 1639 no mention is made of King Arthur. We have no hint of the cause which led Milton to drop the subject; but it may well have lain in his increasing republicanism. He could not have treated the theme from an

[1] *P. W.* II. 478, 479.

unfavourable standpoint. The hero of the poem must have been for him, as for the Milton of our own age, a type of all kingly grandeur and worth; and it would have gone sore against the grain with the future apologist for regicide to exercise his powers in creating a royal figure that would shed lustre on monarchy, and in a measure plead for the institution which Milton detested so heartily. Only a Royalist could have retold the story, making it illustrate "the divine right of kings," and embodying in the character of the blameless monarch the Cavalier conception of Charles I. Perhaps too he was influenced by discovering, after fuller research, the mythical character of the legend. So much is rather implied by some remarks in his *History of Britain*. Milton with his intense earnestness was not the poet to build a long work on what he had found to be mainly fiction. Be this as it may, Milton rejected the subject, and it finds no place in a list of one hundred possible subjects of his poem.

Secondly, from this period, 1640—1642, dates an alteration in the design of the contemplated work. Hitherto his tendency has been towards the epic form: now (1640 or 1641) we find him preferring the dramatic. Shall he imitate Sophocles and Euripides? Shall he transplant to English soil the art of the "lofty grave tragedians" of Greece? The question is answered in a decided affirmative. Had Milton continued the poem of which the opening lines were written in 1642 we should have had—not an epic but—a drama, or possibly a trilogy of dramas, cast in a particular manner, as will be observed presently. This transference of his inclinations from the epic to the dramatic style appears to date from 1641. It is manifested in the Milton MS. at Trinity College.

When the present library of Trinity College, the erection of which was begun during the Mastership of Isaac Barrow, was completed, one of its earliest benefactors was a former member of Trinity, Sir Henry Newton Puckering. Among his gifts was "a thin folio MS. of less than thirty leaves," which had served Milton as a note-book. How it came into the possession of Sir

Henry Puckering is not known. He was contemporary with, though junior to, Milton, and may possibly have been one of the admirers who visited the poet in the closing years of his life; or perhaps there was some family connection by means of which the MS. passed into his hands. But if the history of the note-book be obscure, its value is not; for it contains the original drafts of several of his early poems: notably of *Arcades*, *Lycidas* and *Comus*, together with fourteen of the Sonnets, and memoranda relating to his great work. And the bulk of the MS. (forty out of forty-seven written pages) is in Milton's autograph.

It is known that the little volume was rebound in 1736, by which date some of the leaves had got loose, and there is some uncertainty as to the correctness of the order of just the last few pages. But as regards pages 1–42, there seems no reason to doubt that the MS. exists exactly as Milton used it and that we have in all essentials the order in which its contents were entered by him. They cover a long period (1633—1658), from *Arcades*, with which the MS. begins, to the last of his Sonnets—"Methought I saw." It is rather more than half way through the MS. that we light on the entries which have so direct a bearing on the history of *Paradise Lost*.

These are notes, written by Milton himself (probably in 1641), and occupying seven pages of the manuscript, on subjects which seemed to him suitable, in varying degrees of appropriateness, for his poem. Some of the entries are very brief—concise jottings down, in two or three words, of any theme that struck him. Others are more detailed: the salient features of some episode in history are selected, and a sketch of the best method of treating them added. In a few instances these sketches are filled in with much minuteness and care: the 'economy' or arrangement of the poem is marked out—the action traced from point to point. But, *Paradise Lost* apart, this has been done in only a few cases—a half dozen, at most. As a rule, the source whence the material of the work might be drawn is indicated. The subjects themselves, numbering just one hundred, fall, in a rough classification, under two headings—Scriptural and British:

and by 'British' are meant those which Milton drew from the chronicles of British history prior to the Norman Conquest. The former are the more numerous class: sixty-two being derived from the Bible, of which the Old Testament claims fifty-four. Their character will be best illustrated by quotation of a few typical examples:

Abram in Ægypt.
Josuah in Gibeon. Josu. 10.
Jonathan rescu'd Sam. 1. 14.
Saul in Gilboa 1 Sam. 28. 31.
Gideon Idoloclastes Jud. 6. 7.
Abimelech the usurper. Jud. 9.
Samaria liberata[1] 2 Reg. 7.
Asa or Æthiopes. 2 chron. 14. with
the deposing his mother, and burning her Idol.

These are some of the subjects drawn from the New Testament:

Christ bound
Christ crucifi'd
Christ risen.
Lazarus Joan. 11.
Christus patiens

The Scene in ye garden beginning frō ye comming thither till Judas betraies & ye officers lead him away ye rest by message & chorus. his agony may receav noble expressions

Of British subjects[2] there are thirty-three. The last page is assigned to "Scotch stories or rather brittish of the north parts." Among these *Macbeth* is conspicuous. Practically they may be grouped with the thirty-three, and the combined list is remarkable—first, because it does not include the Arthurian legend,

[1] The title is an obvious allusion to Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata.*

[2] Milton's attitude towards them is illustrated indirectly by his *History of Britain.* In his paper on "Milton as an Historian" read before the British Academy recently (Nov. 25, 1908) Professor Firth says: "It was not only by his treatment of the mythical period of English history that Milton's interest in the legendary and anecdotic side of history was revealed. It appeared in the later books as well as the earlier, and the introduction of certain episodes, or the space devoted to them, might often be explained by their inclusion in the list of suggested subjects for his 'British Tragedies.'"

which had once exercised so powerful a fascination on Milton; secondly, because in its brevity, as compared with the list of Scriptural subjects, it suggests his preference for a sacred poem.

Of the Scriptural subjects the story of the Creation and Fall assumes the most prominent place. Any friend of Milton glancing through these papers in 1641 could have conjectured, with tolerable certainty, where the poet's final choice would fall. For no less than four of the entries refer to *Paradise Lost.* Three of these stand at the head of the list of sacred themes. In two at least his intention to treat the subject in dramatic form is patent. The two first—mere enumerations of possible *dramatis personæ*—run thus[1]; it will be seen that the longer list is simply an expansion of the other:

the Persons	the Persons
Michael.	Moses[2]
Heavenly Love	Justice[3]. Mercie Wisdome
Chorus of Angels	Heavenly Love
Lucifer	Hesperus the Evening Starre
Adam, Eve } with the serpent	Chorus of Angels
Conscience	Lucifer
Death	Adam
Labour, Sicknesse, Discontent, Ignorance with others } mutes	Eve
Faith	Conscience[4]
Hope	Labour, Sicknesse, Discontent, Ignorance, Feare, Death } mutes
Charity	Faith
	Hope
	Charity

[1] Neither is introduced with any title.

[2] Milton first wrote "Michael," as in the other list, but substituted "Moses."

[3] The epithet *Divine*, qualifying *Justice*, was inserted and then crossed out again. "Wisdome" was added.

[4] After *Conscience* Milton added *Death*, as in the first list; then deleted it, and placed Death among the 'mutes' (*mutæ personæ*, characters who appeared without speaking).

These lists are crossed out ; and underneath stands a much fuller sketch, in which the action of the tragedy is shown, and the division into acts observed. Here, too, we first meet with the title *Paradise Lost*. The scheme is as follows :

Paradise Lost The Persons

Moses προλογίζει recounting how he assum'd his true bodie, that it corrupts not because of his with god in the mount declares the like of Enoch and Eliah, besides the purity of y^e^ pl [1] that certaine pure winds, dues, and clouds præserve it from corruption whence horts[1] to the sight of god, tells they[2] cannot se Adam in the state of innocence by reason of thire sin[3]

Justice
Mercie
Wisdome } debating what should become of man if he fall

Chorus of Angels sing a hymne of y^e^ creation[4]

Act 2.

Heavenly Love
Evening starre
chorus sing the mariage song[5] and describe Paradice

Act 3.

Lucifer contriving Adams ruine
Chorus feares for Adam and relates Lucifers rebellion and fall[6]

Act 4.

Adam
Eve } fallen

Conscience cites them to Gods examination[7]
Chorus bewails and tells the good Adā hath lost

[1] The margin of the MS. is frayed here.

[2] *they*, i.e. the imaginary audience to whom the prologue is addressed. Cf. the commencement of *Comus*.

[3] After this the first act begins.

[4] Cf. VII. 253—60, note.

[5] Cf. IV. 711. [6] Cf. bks. V—VI.

[7] Cf. X. 97 *et seq*.

Act 5

Adam and Eve, driven out of Paradice
præsented by an angel with[1]

Labour
greife
hatred
Envie
warre
famine
Pestilence
sicknesse
discontent
Ignorance
Feare
Death enterd
into y^e^ world
} mutes to whome he gives thire names
likewise winter, heat Tempest[2] &c

Faith
Hope
Charity
} comfort him and ĩstruct him

Chorus breifly concludes

This draft of the tragedy, which occurs on page 35 of the MS., is not deleted; but Milton was still dissatisfied, and later on, page 40, we come to a fourth, and concluding, scheme—which reads thus:

Adam unparadiz'd[3]

The angel Gabriel, either descending or entering[4], shewing since this globe was created, his frequency as much on earth, as in heavn, describes Paradise. next the Chorus shewing the reason of his[5] comming to keep his watch in Paradise after Lucifers rebellion by command from god, & withall expressing his desire to see, & know more concerning this excellent new creature man. the angel Gabriel as by his name

[1] Cf. bks. XI—XII.

[2] See X. 651, note.

[3] Underneath was written, and crossed out, an alternative title—*Adams Banishment.*

[4] Cf. *Comus*, "The Attendant Spirit descends or enters" (*ad init.*).

[5] *his*, i.e. the chorus's; he makes the chorus now a singular, now a plural, noun.

signifying a prince of power tracing[1] paradise with a more free office passes by the station of y^e^ chorus & desired by them relates what he knew of man as the creation of Eve with thire love, & mariage. after this Lucifer appeares after his overthrow, bemoans himself, seeks revenge on man the Chorus prepare resistance at his first approach at last after discourse of enmity on either side he departs wherat the chorus sings of the battell, & victorie in heavn against him & his accomplices, as before after the first act[2] was sung a hymn of the creation. heer[3] again may appear Lucifer relating, & insulting in what he had don to the destruction of man. man next & Eve having by this time bin seduc't by the serpent appeares confusedly cover'd with leaves conscience in a shape accuses him, Justice cites him to the place whither Jehova call'd for him in the mean while the chorus entertains[4] the stage, & his [*sic*] inform'd by some angel the manner of his fall heer[3] the chorus bewailes Adams fall. Adam then & Eve returne accuse one another but especially Adam layes the blame to his wife, is stubborn in his offence Justice appeares reason[5] with him convinces him the[3] chorus admonisheth Adam, & bids him beware by Lucifers example of impenitence the Angel is sent to banish them out of paradise but before causes to passe before his eyes in shapes a mask of all the evills[6] of this life & world he is humbl'd relents, dispaires. at last appeares Mercy comforts him promises the Messiah, then calls in faith, hope, & charity, instructs him he repents gives god the glory, submitts to his penalty the chorus breifly concludes. compare this with the former draught.

"It appears plain," says Todd, "that Milton intended to have marked the division of the Acts in this sketch, as well as in the preceding. Peck has divided them; and closes the first Act with Adam and Eve's love." The other Acts may be supposed to conclude at the following points: Act 2 at "sung a hymn of the creation"; Act 3 at "inform'd...the manner of his fall"; Act 4 at "bids him beware...impenitence"; Act 5 at "the chorus breifly concludes."

It is in regard to the first Act that this fourth draft, which

[1] passing through; cf. *Comus*, 423.

[2] i.e. in the third draft.

[3] Each of these sentences was an after-thought, added below or in the margin.

[4] occupies.

[5] i.e. reasons; or '*to* reason.'

[6] See XI. 477—93, note.

Milton bids us "compare with the former," marks a distinct advance. Milton made Moses the speaker of the prologue in the third draft because so much of the subject-matter of *Paradise Lost* is drawn from the Mosaic books of the Old Testament. But the appearance of a descendant of Adam, even in a prologue, where much latitude is allowed by convention, seems an awkward prelude to scenes coincident with Adam's own creation. It is far more natural that, before the subject of man's fall is touched upon at all, we should be told who man is, and that this first mention of him should come from the supernatural beings who had, or might have, witnessed the actual creation of the universe and its inhabitants. The explanation, too, why Moses is able to assume his natural body is very forced. And altogether this fourth draft exhibits more of drama, less of spectacle, than its predecessor.

With regard to the subject, therefore, thus much is clear: as early as 1641—2 Milton has manifested an unmistakeable preference for the story of the lost Paradise, and the evidence of the Trinity MSS. coincides with the testimony of Aubrey and Phillips, who say that the poet did, about 1642, commence the composition of a drama on this theme—of which drama the opening verses of *Paradise Lost*, book IV. (Satan's address to the sun), formed the exordium. It is, I think, by no means improbable that some other portions of the epic are really fragments of this unfinished work. Milton may have written two or three hundred lines, have kept them in his desk, and then, years afterward, when the project was resumed, have made use of them where opportunity offered. Had the poem, however, been completed in accordance with his original conception we should have had a tragedy, not an epic.

Of this there is abundant proof. The third and fourth sketches, as has been observed, are dramatic. On the first page of these entries, besides those lists of *dramatis personæ* which we have treated as the first and second sketches, stand the words "*other* Tragedies," followed by the enumeration of several feasible subjects. The list of British subjects is prefaced with the heading—"British Trag." (i.e. tragedies).

Wherever Milton has outlined the treatment of any of the Scriptural themes a tragedy is clearly indicated. Twice, indeed, another form is mentioned—the pastoral, and probably a dramatic pastoral was intended[1]. These, however, are exceptions, serving to emphasise his leaning towards tragedy.

But what sort of tragedy? I think we may fairly conclude that, if carried out on the lines laid down in the fourth sketch, *Adam unparadiz'd* would have borne a very marked resemblance to *Samson Agonistes*: it would have conformed, in the main, to the same type—that, namely, of the ancient Greek drama. With the romantic stage of the Elizabethans Milton appears to have felt little sympathy[2]: else he would scarce have written *Il Penseroso*, 101, 102. Nor do I believe that his youthful enthusiasm for Shakespeare remained unmodified[3]: certainly, the condemnation of one important aspect of Shakespearian tragedy in the preface to *Samson Agonistes* is too plain to be misinterpreted. So had Milton been minded to dramatise the story of Macbeth—we have marked its presence in the list of Scottish subjects—his *Macbeth* would have differed *toto cælo* from Shakespeare's. In the same way, his tragedy of *Paradise Lost* would have been wholly un-Shakespearian, wholly un-Elizabethan. Nor would it have had any affinity to the drama of Milton's contemporaries[4], those belated Elizabethans bungling with exhausted materials and forms that had lost all vitality. Tragedy for Milton could mean but one thing—the tragic stage of the Greeks, the "dramatic constitutions" of Sophocles and Euripides: and when we examine these sketches of *Paradise*

[1] These are the two entries in the MS.: "Theristria. a Pastoral out of Ruth"; and—"the sheepshearers in Carmel a Pastoral. 1 Sam. 25." There is but one glance at the epical style; in the list of "British Trag." after mentioning an episode in the life of King Alfred appropriate to dramatic handling, he adds—"A Heroicall Poem may be founded somwhere in Alfreds reigne. especially at his issuing out of Edelingsey on the Danes. whose actions are wel like those of Ulysses."

[2] See *Appendix* to *Samson Agonistes*.

[3] See note on *L'Allegro*, 133, 134.

[4] In the treatise *On Education*, 1644, he speaks of "our common rhymers and play-writers" as "despicable creatures," *P. W.* III. 474.

Lost we find in them the familiar features of Athenian drama —certain signs eloquent of the source on which the poet has drawn.

Let us, for example, glance at the draft of *Adam unparadiz'd.* Milton has kept the 'unities' of place and time. The scene does not change; it is set in some part of Eden, and everything represented before the eyes of the audience occurs at the same spot. But whoso regards the unity of place must suffer a portion of the action to happen off the stage—not enacted in the presence of the audience (as in a modern play where the scene changes), but reported. In *Samson Agonistes* Milton employs the traditional device of the Greek tragedians—he relates the catastrophe by the mouth of a messenger. So here: the temptation by the serpent is not represented on the scene: it is described—partly by Lucifer, "relating, and insulting in what he had don to the destruction of man"; partly by an angel who informs the Chorus of the manner of the fall. Again, the unity of time is observed. The time over which the action of a tragedy might extend, according to the usual practice of the Greek dramatists, was twenty-four hours. In *Samson Agonistes* the action begins at sunrise and ends at noon, thus occupying seven or eight hours. In *Adam unparadiz'd* the action would certainly not exceed the customary twenty-four hours. Again a Chorus is introduced (sure sign of classical influence), and not only introduced, but handled exactly as Milton, following his Greek models, has handled it in *Samson Agonistes*: that is to say, closely identified with the action of the tragedy, even as Aristotle recommends that it should be. Further, in the fourth scheme the division into acts is carefully avoided—an advance this on the third scheme. Similarly, in *Samson Agonistes* Milton avoids splitting up the play into scenes and acts, calling attention to the fact in his preface. Proofs[1] of Milton's

[1] Thus, apart from *P. L.*, the Scriptural themes whereof the fullest sketches are given, are three tragedies severally entitled "Abram from Morea, or Isack redeemed—Baptistes" (i.e. on the subject of John the Baptist and Herod)—and "Sodom Burning." In each two unities (time and place) are kept, and a Chorus used. In "Isack redeemed" the

classical bias might be multiplied from these Milton MSS.; and personally I have no doubt that when he began the tragedy of which Aubrey and Phillips speak, he meant to revive in English the methods and style of his favourite Greek poets. But the scheme soon had to be abandoned; and not till a quarter of a century later was it executed in *Samson Agonistes*[1]. With Milton as with Dante the greatest came last—after long delay: the life's work of each marked the life's close: and, the work done, release soon came to each, though to Dante sooner[2].

The third period in the genesis of *Paradise Lost* dates from 1658. In that year, according to Aubrey, Milton began the poem as we know it. By then he had gone back to the epic style. He was still Secretary, but his duties were very light, and allowed him to devote himself to poetry. At the Restoration he was in danger, for some time, of his life, and was imprisoned for a few months. But in spite of this interruption, and of his blindness[3], the epic was finished about 1663. The history of

incident of the sacrifice is reported, and the description of the character of the hero Abraham as Milton meant to depict him is simply a paraphrase on Aristotle's definition of the ideal tragic hero. Most of the other subjects have a title such as the Greek tragedians employed—e.g. "Elias Polemistes," "Elisæus Hydrochóos," "Zedechiah νεοτερίζων."

[1] The point is important because it disposes of the notion that Milton borrowed the idea of writing a tragedy on the classical model from the play of *Samson* by the Dutch poet Vondel.

[2] "There is at once similarity and difference in the causes which made each postpone the execution of his undertaking till a comparatively late period in his life; and a curious parallel may be observed in the length of time between the first conception and the completion of their monumental works, as well as in the period that elapsed between the end of their labours and their death." (Courthope.)

[3] According to Edward Phillips, Milton dictated the poem to any one who chanced to be present and was willing to act as amanuensis; afterwards Phillips would go over the MS., correcting errors, under his uncle's direction. The original transcript submitted to the Licenser is extant, and is one of the many literary treasures that have gone to

each of his longer poems shows that he was exceedingly careful in revising his works—loth to let them go forth to the world till all that was possible had been done to achieve perfection[1]. It is Aubrey's statement that *Paradise Lost* was completed in 1663; while Milton's friend Thomas Ellwood, the Quaker, describes in a famous passage of his *Autobiography*, how in 1665 the poet placed a manuscript in his hands—"bidding me take it home with me and read it at my leisure, and, when I had so done, return it to him with my judgment thereupon. When I came home, and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem which he intituled *Paradise Lost*." Ellwood's account may be reconciled with Aubrey's on the reasonable supposition that the interval between 1663 and 1665 was spent in revision. Still, some delay in publishing the poem ensued. On the outbreak of the Plague in 1665 Milton had left London, retiring to Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, where Ellwood had rented a cottage for him. He returned in the next year, 1666; but again there was delay—this time through the great Fire of London which disorganised business. Not till 1667 did *Paradise Lost* appear in print. The agreement (now in the possession of the British Museum) drawn up between Milton and his publisher—by which he received an immediate payment of £5, and retained certain rights over the future sale of the book—is dated April 27, 1667. The date on which *Paradise Lost* was entered in the Stationers' Register is August 20, 1667. No doubt, copies were in circulation in the autumn of this year.

America. It "passed from the possession of the first printer of the poem, Samuel Simmons, to Jacob Tonson [the publisher], and thence to his collateral descendants, remaining in the same family...until 1904," when it was bought by an American collector. (From an article in *The Athenæum* on "*Miltoniana* in America.")

[1] "When we look at his earlier manuscripts, with all their erasures and corrections, we may well wonder what the *Paradise Lost* would have been if he had been able to give it the final touches of a faultless and fastidious hand. When we think of it composed in darkness, preserved in memory, dictated in fragments, it may well seem to us the most astonishing of all the products of high genius guided by unconquerable will" (J. W. Mackail).

The system of licensing publications, against which Milton had protested so vehemently in his *Areopagitica*, had been revived by the Press Act of 1662 and was now strongly enforced. "By that act," says Dr Masson, "the duty of licensing books of general literature had been assigned to the Secretaries of State, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London; but it was exceptional for any of those dignitaries to perform the duty in person. It was chiefly performed for them by a staff of under-licencers, paid by fees." Five or six of his chaplains acted so for the Archbishop; and according to tradition one of them, to whom *Paradise Lost* was submitted, hesitated to give his *imprimatur* on account of the lines in the first book about eclipses perplexing monarchs with fear of change (I. 594—99). Milton must have remembered grimly the bitter gibes in his pamphlets, e.g. in the *Animadversions* (1641) against "monkish prohibitions, and expurgatorious indexes," and "proud Imprimaturs not to be obtained without the shallow surview, but not shallow hand of some mercenary, narrow-souled, and illiterate chaplain." The wheel had come full circle with a vengeance.

This first edition of *Paradise Lost* raises curious points[1] of bibliography into which there is no need to enter here; but we must note three things. The poem was divided into—not twelve books but—ten. In the earlier copies issued to the public there were no prose *Arguments*; these (written, we may suppose, by Milton himself) were printed all together and inserted at the commencement of each of the later volumes of

[1] For example, no less than nine distinct title-pages of this edition have been traced. This means that, though the whole edition was printed in 1667, only a limited number of copies were bound up and issued in that year. The rest would be kept in stock, unbound, and published in instalments, as required. Hence new matter could be inserted (such as the prose *Arguments*), and in each instalment it would be just as easy to bind up a new title-page as to use the old one. Often the date had to be changed: and we find that two of these pages bear the year 1667; four, 1668; and three, 1669. Seven have Milton's name in full; two, only his initials. Mr Leigh Sotheby collated them carefully in his book on Milton's autograph, pp. 81—84.

this first edition—an awkward arrangement changed in the second edition. Milton prefixed to the later copies the brief prefatory note on *The Verse*, explaining why he had used blank verse; and it was preceded by the address of *The Printer to the Reader*. It seems that the number of copies printed in the first edition was 1500; and the statement of another payment made by the publisher to Milton on account of the sale of the book shows that by April 26, 1669, i.e. a year and a half after the date of publication, 1300 copies had been disposed of.

In 1674 the second edition was issued—with several changes. First, the epic (said to be 670 lines longer than the *Æneid*) was divided into twelve books, a more Vergilian number, by the subdivision of books VII. and X. Secondly, the prose *Arguments* were transferred from the beginning and prefixed to their respective books. Thirdly, a few changes were introduced into the text—few of any great significance. It was to the second edition that the commendatory verses by Samuel Barrow and Andrew Marvell were prefixed. Four years later, 1678, came the third edition, and in 1688 the fourth. This last was the well-known folio published by Tonson; *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* were bound up with some copies of it, so that Milton's three great works were obtainable in a single volume. The first annotated edition of *Paradise Lost* was that edited by Patrick Hume in 1695, being the sixth reprint. And during the 18th century editions[1] were numerous. "Milton scholarship[2]," it has been justly said, "was active throughout the whole period."

There is, indeed, little (if any) ground for the view which one so frequently comes across—that *Paradise Lost* met with scant appreciation, and that Milton was neglected by his contem-

[1] Pre-eminent among them is Bishop Newton's edition (1749). He was the first editor who took pains to secure accuracy of text, doing, on a smaller scale, for Milton what Theobald did for Shakespeare. His services too in the elucidation of certain aspects (notably the Scriptural) of Milton's learning have never been surpassed.

[2] See Professor Dowden's Tercentenary paper "Milton in the Eighteenth Century (1701—1750)"; also Todd's *Life*, pp. 123—129.

poraries, and without honour in his lifetime. To the general public epic poetry will never appeal, more especially if it be steeped in the classical feeling that pervades *Paradise Lost*; but there must have been a goodly number of scholars and lettered readers to welcome the work—else why these successive editions, appearing at no very lengthy intervals? One thing, doubtless, which prejudiced its popularity was the personal resentment of the Royalist classes at Milton's political actions. They could not forget his long identification with republicanism; and there was much in the poem itself—covert sneers and gibes—which would repel many who were loyal to the Church and the Court. Further, the style of *Paradise Lost* was something very different from the prevailing tone of the literature then current and popular. Milton was the last of the Elizabethans, a lonely survival lingering on into days when French influence was beginning to dominate English taste. Even the metre of his poem must have sounded strange to ears familiarised to the crisp clearness and epigrammatic ring of the rhymed couplet[1]. Yet, in spite of these obstacles, many whose praise was worth the having were proud of Milton: they felt that he had done honour to his country. He was accorded that which he had sought so earnestly—acceptance as a great national poet; and it is pleasant to read how men of letters and social distinction would pay visits of respect to him, and how the white-winged Fame bore his name and reputation abroad, so that foreigners came to England for the especial purpose of seeing him. And their visits were the prelude of that foreign renown and influence from which he seemed to have cut himself off when he made his native tongue the medium of his great work. "Milton was the first English poet to inspire respect and win fame for our literature on the Continent, and to his poetry was due, to an extent that has not yet been fully recognised, the change which came over European ideas in the eighteenth century with regard to the nature and scope of the epic. *Paradise Lost* was the mainstay of those

[1] Cf. Marvell's "Commendatory Verses," 45—54.

critics who dared to vindicate, in the face of French classicism, the rights of the imagination over the reason in poetry[1]."

There has been much discussion about the 'sources' of *Paradise Lost*, and writers well nigh as countless as Vallombrosa's autumn leaves have been thrust forth from their obscurity to claim the honour of having 'inspired' (as the phrase is) the great epic. Most of these unconscious claimants were, like enough, unknown to Milton; but some of them do seem to stand in a relation which demands recognition.

I should place first the Latin tragedy *Adamus Exul* (1601), written in his youth by the great jurist Hugo Grotius after the model of Seneca. Apart from the question of actual resemblances to *Paradise Lost*, it might fairly be conjectured, if not assumed, that Milton read this tragedy. He knew Grotius personally and knew his works. Describing, in the *Second Defence*, his Italian tour in 1638, Milton mentions his stay in Paris and friendly reception by the English ambassador, and adds: "His lordship gave me a card of introduction to the learned Hugo Grotius, at that time ambassador from the Queen of Sweden to the French court; whose acquaintance I anxiously desired[2]." He quotes the opinions of Grotius with high respect in his treatise on divorce[3]. The alternative titles of the fourth draft of Milton's own contemplated tragedy, viz. *Adam unparadiz'd* and *Adams Banishment*, certainly recall the title *Adamus Exul*; and it may be

[1] Professor J. G. Robertson, "Milton's Fame on the Continent," a paper read before the British Academy, Dec. 10, 1908.

Perhaps the strangest and most delightful evidence of Milton's acceptance among foreigners was Mr Maurice Baring's discovery of the popularity of *Paradise Lost*, in a prose translation, amongst the Russian peasantry and private soldiers:

"The schoolmaster said that after all his experience the taste of the peasants in literature baffled him. 'They will not read modern stories,' he said. 'When I ask them why they like *Paradise Lost* they point to their heart and say, "It is near to the heart; it speaks; you read, and a sweetness comes to you."'"

[2] *P. W.* I. 255.

[3] See chapters XVII., XVIII. of *The Doctrine and Discipline*.

noted that this draft was sketched in that period (about 1641) of Milton's life to which his meeting with Grotius belongs. Of the likeness between *Paradise Lost* and the *Adamus Exul*, and other works dealing with the same theme, it is impossible to say how much, if not all, is due to identity of subject and (what is no less important) identity of convention as to the machinery proper for its treatment. But I do not think that community of subject accounts entirely for the resemblances between *Paradise Lost* and Grotius's tragedy. The conception of Satan's character and motives unfolded in his long introductory speech in the *Adamus*, the general idea of his escaping from Hell and surveying Eden, his invocation of the powers of evil (amongst them Chaos and Night)—these things and some others, such as the Angel's narrative to Adam of the Creation, seem like far-off embryonic dawnings of the splendours of the epic. It should be added that Grotius's other religious plays were known in England. A free rendering of his *Christus Patiens* into rhymed heroics was published in London in 1640 under the title *Christ's Passion*; while his tragedy *Sophompaneas, or Joseph*, appeared in an English version in 1650. And a sidelight may be thrown not merely on the contemporary estimate of Grotius by the exceptionally eulogistic mention of his works in the *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675) of Milton's nephew Edward Phillips. The *Theatrum* is commonly supposed to reflect in some degree Milton's own views[1] and it is significant therefore to find Grotius described as one "whose equal in fame for Wit & Learning, Christendom of late Ages hath rarely produc'd, particularly of so happy a Genius in Poetry, that had his Annals,

[1] See v. 177, 673, notes. Other touches in the *Theatrum* of Miltonic interest are the accounts of Spenser and Sylvester, and the praise of Henry Lawes in the notice of Waller. One may conjecture, too, that the obscure Erycus Puteanus would not have had his niche but for *Comus*. The *Theatrum* includes also Andreini—but not Vondel. Phillips's account of Milton himself is admirably discreet: and he expressly terms *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* "Heroic Poems." The relations between uncle and nephew were more than ordinarily close.

his Book *De Veritate Christianæ Religionis*...and other his extolled works in Prose, never come to Light, his extant and universally approved Latin Poems, had been sufficient to gain him a Living Name."

It is an easy transition from the *Adamus Exul* to the *Adamo* of the Italian poet Giovanni Battista Andreini (1578—1652), a Florentine, which is said to owe something to Grotius's tragedy. Voltaire, in his *Essai sur la Poésie Epique* written in 1727, related that Milton during his residence at Florence saw "a comedy called *Adamo*[1].....The subject of the play was the Fall of Man: the actors, the Devils, the Angels, Adam, Eve, the Serpent, Death, and the Seven Mortal Sins.....Milton pierced through the absurdity of that performance to the hidden majesty of the subject; which, being altogether unfit for the stage, yet might be, for the genius of Milton, and his only, the foundation of an epick poem." What authority he had for this legend Voltaire does not say. It is not alluded to by any of Milton's contemporary biographers. It may have been a mere invention by some ill-wisher of the poet, a piece of malicious gossip circulated out of political spite against the great champion of republicanism. But the authenticity of the story is not perhaps very important, for independently there seems to be evidence in the *Adamo* itself that Milton was acquainted with it even before his visit to Italy. One cannot read the scene of the *Adamo* (v. 5) in which the World, personified, tempts Eve with all its pomps and vanities, without being reminded of the scene in *Comus* of the temptation of the Lady. And, as with the *Adamus Exul*, some of the coincidences of incident and treatment between the *Adamo* and *Paradise Lost*, or Milton's early dramatic sketches of the action, seem to constitute a residuum of resemblance after full allowance has

[1] It had been printed in 1613 (Milan), and again in 1617. The title-page of the first edition describes the work as "L'Adamo, Sacra Rapresentatione." It is more "a hybrid between a miracle play and an opera" (Courthope) than a "comedy." A translation by Cowper and Hayley was printed in their edition of Milton; and it is in this translation that the work is known to me. The fact that Cowper took the *Adamo* theory seriously is significant.

been made for the influence of practical identity of theme. Thus the list of characters in the *Adamo* has abstractions like the World, Famine, Labour, Despair, Death: and the appearance of these and kindred evils of life to Adam and Eve (Act IV., scenes 6 and 7) recalls the early drafts of the scheme of *Paradise Lost* and also the vision shown to Adam in the eleventh (477—99) book of the poem. Andreini makes Michael drive Adam and Eve out of Paradise and depicts a final struggle between Michael and Lucifer. Andreini's representation of the Serpent's temptation of Eve has been thought to have left some impression on the parallel scene in *Paradise Lost*. After the Fall Lucifer summons the spirits of air and fire, earth and water—a counterpart to *Paradise Regained*, II. 115 *et seq.* And occasionally a verbal similarity arrests—as where Lucifer says (IV. 2, end):

> "Let us remain in hell!
> Since there is more content
> To live in liberty, tho' all condemn'd,
> Than, as his vassals, blest[1]"
> ("*Poi, ch' è maggior contento*
> *viver in libertà tutti damnati,*
> *che sudditi beati*");

and inveighs (IV. 2):

> "*Ahi luce, ahi luce odiata!*"

or where the Angels describe Man (II. 1):

> "For contemplation of his Maker form'd"
> ("*Per contemplar del suo gran Fabro il merto*").

[1] See I. 263, note; but of course the idea was not peculiar to any writer. So tradition, literary or theological, may explain the following similarity, which is at least an interesting illustration of *P. L.* v. 688, 699. Andreini makes Lucifer (I. 3) address his followers:

> "I am that Spirit, I, who for your sake
> Collecting dauntless courage, to the north
> Led you far distant from the senseless will
> Of him who boasts to have created heav'n."

The reference occurs again in the *Adamo*, III. 8.

Tradition also may account for another feature common to the *Adamo*, the *Adamus* and *Paradise Lost*, viz. the long description of the convulsions and deterioration in the physical universe after the Fall of Man.

Leaving the matter for a moment we will pass to the third claimant, the Dutch poet, Joost van den Vondel. He was contemporary with Milton, and the author of a great number of works. Among them were several dramas on Scriptural subjects. With three of them Milton is supposed by some writers to have been acquainted. These are *Lucifer* (1654), a drama on the revolt of the angels and their fall from heaven; *John the Messenger* (1662), and *Adam in Banishment* (1664). In a work published a few years since it was contended that Milton borrowed a good deal from these three poems.

That Milton had heard of Vondel may be conceded. Vondel enjoyed a great reputation; beside which, there was in the 17th century much intercourse between England and Holland, and Milton from his position as Secretary, no less than from his controversies with Salmasius and Morus, must have had his thoughts constantly directed towards the Netherlands. Also, we learn that he had some knowledge of the Dutch language. But it will be observed that the earliest of the poems with which he is thought to have been too conversant, namely *Lucifer*, was not published till after his blindness, while by the time that the last of them, *Adam in Banishment*, appeared, *Paradise Lost* was almost completed. It is impossible that Milton read a line of the works himself; if he knew them at all, it must have been through the assistance of some reader or translator; and considering how many details concerning the last years of Milton's life have survived, it is exceeding curious that this reader or translator should have escaped mention, and that the Vondelian theory should not have been heard of till a century after the poet's death. For there were plenty of people ready to do him an ill-turn and damage his repute; and plagiarism from his Dutch contemporary would have been an excellent cry to raise. As it is, Milton's biographers—and contemporaries—Phillips, Aubrey, Toland, Antony à Wood, are absolutely silent on the subject. Phillips indeed and Toland expressly mention the languages in which Milton used to have works read to him. The list is extensive: it includes Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish and French:

and it does *not* include Dutch. I think that this fact tells heavily against the hypothesis of Milton's indebtedness to Vondel. Still, it must be admitted that critics of eminence accept it.

There remains the so-called Cædmon *Paraphrase*. In the Bodleian is the manuscript of an Old English metrical *Paraphrase* of parts[1] of the Old Testament. This work was long attributed to the Northumbrian religious writer Cædmon, of whom Bede speaks. Cædmon lived in the seventh century. He is supposed to have died about 670. There is no reason for thinking that he was not the author of sacred poems, as Bede represents him to have been; but there is also no possibility of believing that the *Paraphrase*, as we have it, was written by him. It is a composite work in which several hands may be traced, and the different styles belong to a date long subsequent to Cædmon[2]. The MS. was once in the possession of Archbishop Ussher. He presented it in 1651 to his secretary, the Teutonic scholar, Francis Dujon, commonly called Franciscus Junius. Junius published the MS. at Amsterdam in 1655. Milton never saw the *Paraphrase* in print, for the same reason that he never saw Vondel's *Lucifer*. But inasmuch as Junius had been settled in England since 1620, it is quite likely that he knew Milton[3]; if so, he may have mentioned the *Paraphrase*, and even translated[4] parts of it. Here, however, as in the previous cases of Andreini and Vondel, we cannot get beyond conjecture,

[1] Namely *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Daniel*. It is the paraphrase of *Genesis* that would have concerned Milton most.

[2] See the article by Mr Henry Bradley in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. There is also a good discussion of the authorship of the work in the Appendix to Professor Ten Brink's *Early English Literature*.

[3] This was first pointed out by Sharon Turner; see also Masson, *Life*, VI. 557.

[4] In a very ingenious paper in *Anglia*, IV. pp. 401—405, Professor Wuelcker argues that Milton had not much knowledge of Anglo-Saxon. In his *History of Britain* he habitually quotes Latin Chronicles, and in one place virtually admits that an Old English chronicle was not intelligible to him.

since there is no actual record or external evidence of Milton's acquaintance with the *Paraphrase* or its translator.

These then are the four possible 'sources' of *Paradise Lost* seemingly most deserving of mention; and of them the *Adamus Exul* and the *Adamo* strike me as unquestionably the most important, for various reasons. Milton's acquaintance with them may be referred to the early period when the influence on him of other writers would be greatest. The *Adamus* and the *Adamo* both present some points of resemblance to the early drafts of *Paradise Lost*. With the *Adamus* there is the special consideration of Milton's personal knowledge and admiration of its author. With the *Adamo*, apart from the possibility that Voltaire's story had some basis, there is the consideration of Milton's special devotion to Italian literature. With neither is there, at least not in the same degree as in the case of Vondel's works and the Cædmon *Paraphrase*, the difficulty involved by the poet's blindness. That he knew the *Adamus*[1] and the *Adamo* appears to me, now, hardly an open question. In these and similar works disinterred by the industry of Milton's editors lay the general conception, the theological machinery, the cosmic and supra-cosmic scene of a poem on the Fall of Man. So much is simply a matter of history; and to claim for Milton or any other writer who chose this theme the merit of absolute originality is simply to ignore history. The composition of religious poetry was the great literary activity of the earlier part of the 17th century, and Milton did on the grand scale what others did on the lower. The work of these lesser writers could not be without its influence on him, since no poet can detach himself from the conditions of his age or the associations of a subject that has become common property and passed into a convention. But that the qualities which have made *Paradise Lost* immortal were due, in the faintest degree, to any other genius

[1] As regards the *Adamus Exul* William Lauder had *some* case, but spoilt it by his forgeries; for a sample of his libellous malevolence see I. 261—63, note. Todd (II. 585—89) has an Appendix on "Lauder's Interpolations."

than that of Milton himself: this is a fond delusion, vainly imagined, without warranty, and altogether to be cast out.

We must indeed recognise in *Paradise Lost*, the meeting-point of Renaissance and Reformation, the impress of four great influences: the Bible, the classics, the Italian poets, and English literature. Of the Bible Milton possessed a knowledge such as few have had. There are hundreds of allusions to it: the words of Scripture underlie some part of the text of every page of *Paradise Lost*; and apart from verbal reminiscences there is much of the spirit that pervades that noblest achievement of the English tongue. Scarcely less powerful was the influence of the classics. Milton's allusiveness extends over the whole empire of classical humanity and letters, and to the scholar his work is full of the exquisite charm of endless reference to the noblest things that the ancients have thought and said. That he was deeply versed in Italian poetry the labours of his early editors have abundantly proved; and their comparative studies are confirmed by the frequent mention of Dante[1], Petrarch, Tasso, Ariosto and others in his prose works and correspondence. In English literature I imagine that he had read everything worth reading. Without doubt, he was

[1] See Dr Paget Toynbee's *Dante in English Literature*, I. 2, 120, 486, II. 587. Among the points noted are these: Dante resemblances occur in Milton's early poems before his visit to Italy; in his Commonplace Book Milton illustrates his views several times by references to Dante; his rendering of three lines of the *Inferno* in his treatise *Of Reformation* (see *P. L.* III. 444—97, note) is the first instance of the use of blank verse as a medium for the translation of Dante and may have suggested the use of that metre to Cary; Milton was one of the first English poets to use Dante's *terza rima*—see his translation of *Psalm* ii., headed "Done August 8, 1653. Terzetti." Dr Toynbee also states that Milton's copy (the 3rd ed., Venice, 1529) of the *Convivio* is extant: "Milton has written his name in the book and the date, 1629. The volume belonged to Heber [the book-collector, half-brother of the bishop], and was sold at his sale in 1834." It contained also the *Sonnets* (1563) of the Italian poet Casa and the marginal markings, if made by Milton, show that he had "read the Sonnets with great attention."

most affected by "our admired Spenser[1]." He was, says Dryden, "the poetical son of Spenser. Milton has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original." And there was a Spenserian school of poets, mostly Cambridge men, and some of them contemporary with Milton at the University, with whose works he evidently had a considerable acquaintance. Among these the two Fletchers were conspicuous—Giles Fletcher, author of the sacred poems *Christ's Victorie on Earth* and *Christ's Triumph in Heaven*; and Phineas Fletcher, author of *The Purple Island*. The influence of the Fletchers is manifest in Milton's early poems[2], and it is traceable in *Paradise Lost*. Finally, we must not forget Sylvester. Joshua Sylvester (of whom little is known beyond that he was born in 1563, died in 1618, and diversified the profession of merchant with the making of much rhyme) translated into exceedingly Spenserian verse *The Divine Weeks and Works* of the French poet, Du Bartas[3]. The subject of this very lengthy work is the story of Creation, with the early history of the Jews. The translation was amazingly popular. Dryden confessed that he had once preferred Sylvester to Spenser[4]. There is no doubt

[1] *Animadversions*, *P. W.* III. 84. On Milton's feeling for Spenser see the note to *Il Penseroso*, 116—20.

[2] See the *Introductions* to *Comus* and *Lycidas*. Phineas Fletcher's *Apollyonists* might also be mentioned (see II. 650, 746, notes). Besides the Fletchers, there was Henry More, the famous "Cambridge Platonist." Milton must have known him at Christ's College.

[3] Sylvester translated a good deal from Du Bartas beside the *Divine Weeks*; and rhymed on his own account. The first collected edition of his translation of the *Divine Weeks* was published in 1605—1606, instalments having appeared between 1592 and 1599. Dr Grosart collected Sylvester's works into two bulky volumes.

[4] Spenser himself admired Du Bartas greatly; see the *Envoy* addressed to the French poet Bellay at the end of *The Ruines of Rome*.

In a paper read before the British Academy on some MS. notes, "dealing mainly with the place of astronomy in poetry," by Spenser's Cambridge friend Gabriel Harvey, Professor Gollancz gave the following extract referring to Du Bartas and Spenser:

"Mr Digges hath the whole Aquarius of Palingenius by heart,

that Milton studied *The Divine Weeks* in his youth. "That Poem hath ever had many great admirers among us" is the suggestive comment of his nephew Edward Phillips. It is certainly one of the works[1] whereof account must be taken in any attempt to estimate the literary influences that moulded Milton's style.

But a writer may be influenced by others, and not 'plagiarise'; and it is well to remember that from Vergil downwards the great poets have exercised their royal right of adapting the words of their forerunners and infusing into them a fresh charm and suggestion, since in allusion lies one of the chief delights of literature. It is well, also, to realise wherein lies the greatness of *Paradise Lost*, and to understand that all the borrowing in the world could not contribute a jot to the qualities which have rendered the epic "a possession for ever." What has made the poem live is not the story, nobly though that illustrates the eternal antagonism of righteousness and wrong, and the overthrow of evil; nor the construction, though this is sufficiently architectonic; nor the learning, though this is vast; nor the characterisation, for which there is little scope: not these things, though all are factors in the greatness of the poem, and in all Milton rises to the height of his argument—but the incomparable elevation of the style, "the shaping spirit of Imagination," and the mere majesty of the music.

and takes much delight to repeat it often. Mr Spenser conceives the like pleasure in the fourth day of the first Week of Bartas which he esteems as the proper profession of Urania."

[1] See some remarks and illustrations in Professor Mackail's *The Springs of Helicon* (1909), pp. 195, 196.

THE STORY OF THE POEM.

A sketch of the action of the whole poem, following the sequence of the twelve books, may be useful to those who are acquainted only with parts of *Paradise Lost*:—

I. The scene Hell—the time nine days after the expulsion of Satan and his followers from Heaven. They lie on the burning lake, stupefied. Satan first recovers, rouses Beëlzebub, discusses with him their position, and then makes his way from the lake to a "dreary plain" of dry land. Beëlzebub follows; Satan calls to his comrades to do likewise. Rising on the wing they reach the same firm land. Their numbers and names described. They range themselves in battle-array before Satan, who addresses them. They may still (he says) regain Heaven; or there may be other worlds to win—in particular, a new world, inhabited by new-created beings, of which report had spoken: let these matters be duly conferred of. Straightway, a vast palace—Pandemonium—is made, to serve as council-chamber. Here a council is held; only the great Angels are present.

II. The scene—at first—Pandemonium; the debate begins. Satan invites their counsel—"who can advise may speak." Moloch, Belial and Mammon speak—their several counsels: last Beëlzebub, who reverts to Satan's hint of the new world. Why not ruin it? or make it their own? or win its inhabitants to their side? What better revenge against the Almighty? The plan approved—but who will discover this world? None volunteer: and then Satan offers to undertake the journey. His offer accepted; the council leaving Pandemonium breaks up; the result announced to the rest of the Angels. How they pass the time till his return—some exploring Hell (now more closely described). Meanwhile he reaches Hell-gates, is suffered to pass by Sin and Death, voyages through Chaos (described), and at last comes within sight of the Universe hung in space (i.e. Chaos). We leave him directing his course towards the World.

III. The scene—at first—Heaven. The Almighty perceives Satan, points him out to the Son, tells what his design is, and its destined success; tells also that Man will be saved ultimately—if he can find a Redeemer. "The Son of God freely offers himself a ransom for Man"; is accepted by the Father, and praised by the Angelic host. Meanwhile—the scene changing—Satan, having reached the outer surface (described) of the Universe, wanders through various regions (described), until, coming to the single opening in the surface, he descends into the inside of the Universe. He arrives at the sphere of the Sun; disguising himself as a young Angel from Heaven, enquires from Uriel, the Sun-spirit, the way to Earth—pretending "desire to behold the new Creation"; is directed by Uriel, descends again, and alights on Mt Niphates.

IV. There, pausing awhile, he gives way to regret that he has rebelled, and rage at his outcast state; passion distorts his face, so that Uriel, watching, now knows him for an evil spirit. Thence, recovering self-control, Satan journeys on towards Eden, the main scene (described); sees Adam and Eve (famous description of them); overhears what they say concerning the Tree of Knowledge, and perceives at once the means whereby to compass their fall. At nightfall he essays to tempt Eve in a dream; is discovered by Gabriel, who, warned by Uriel, has descended to Eden to defend Man. A battle between Satan and Gabriel imminent, but averted. Satan flies.

V The scene still Eden. A further picture of Adam and Eve—their worship and work. Raphael (the scene having changed for a brief space to Heaven) comes to warn them of their danger, at the bidding of the Almighty—so that Man, if he falls, may fall knowingly, by his own fault. Raphael received and entertained; admonishes Adam; explains who his enemy is, and why; which leads to an account of the rebellion in Heaven—its beginning described.

VI. The scene of the events narrated by Raphael Heaven. He describes the three days' war in Heaven, at the end of which Satan and his followers were cast into Hell. The warning to Adam repeated.

VII. The scene Eden. Raphael describes the Creation of the World, which is accomplished by the Son of God.

VIII. The scene the same. Adam enquires concerning the stars and Heavenly bodies; Raphael answers doubtfully. Adam recounts his own first experience of Eden—how the Almighty forbade him to touch the Tree of Knowledge, under pain of what penalty; how he first saw Eve. The day declines, and Raphael departs—once more warning Adam.

IX. The scene the same. "Adam and Eve...go forth to their labours, which Eve proposes to divide in several places, each labouring apart." Adam dissuades; she persisting, he yields. So Satan (in the form of a serpent) finds her alone and tempts her. She eats of the fruit and induces Adam to do so. Their sense of sin and shame.

X. The Son of God descends to Eden, and pronounces doom on Adam and Eve and the Serpent. Meanwhile Satan, returning to Pandemonium, announces the result of his journey, and lo! on a sudden he and his followers are changed to reptiles. Sin and Death now ascend from Hell to Eden, to claim the World as theirs; but the Almighty foretells their ultimate overthrow by the Son, and commands the Angels to make changes in the elements and stars, whereby the Earth becomes less fair. The repentance of Adam and Eve, who seek comfort in supplication of the Deity. The scene has changed often.

XI. The Son interceding, the Father sends Michael to Eden (henceforth the scene) to reveal the future to Adam—above all, his hope of redemption. After announcing to Adam his approaching banishment from Eden, Michael takes him to a high mountain and unrolls before him a vision of the World's history till the Flood.

XII. Then he traces the history of Israel after the Flood, till the coming of Christ, with the subsequent progress of Christianity: ending with renewed promise of redemption. The fiery Cherubim now descend. Michael leads Adam and Eve to the gates of Eden; and they go forth, sad yet consoled with the hope of salvation at the last.

MILTON'S PREFACE ON "THE VERSE" OF *PARADISE LOST*.

Milton's attitude towards rhyme reminds us of the condemnations showered on it by Elizabethan critics. Ascham in the *Schoolmaster* (1570) sneers at "our rude beggerly ryming, brought first into Italie by *Gothes* and *Hunnes*, whan all good verses and all good learning to, were destroyed by them...and at last receyued into England by men of excellent wit indeede, but of small learning, and lesse judgement in that behalfe." "Barbarous" is his darling epithet for rhymed verse. Puttenham is of a like mind, waving aside "the rhyming poesie of the barbarians," and Webbe in his *Discourse of English Poetry* (1586) takes up the tale, ridiculing it as "tinkerly verse"—"brutish poesie"—"a great decay of the good order of versifying." Why Milton should have adopted the same position as these Elizabethan critics who approached the question in a spirit of the merest pedantry, and based their objections to rhyme solely on the fact that, as a metrical principle, it was not employed by the ancients, it is not easy to say. He uses rhyme occasionally in *Samson Agonistes*, in spite of his denunciation of it here ; and his own early poems are sufficient refutation of the heresy that therein lies "no true musical delight." Moreover, though he appéals to the example of some European poets "of prime note" in support of his view, yet he must have foreseen the obvious and just retort that the weight of "custom" was against him, and that, in particular, the Italian exponents of *versi sciolti* whom he could cite on his side made a poor showing beside those great masters of rhyme—Dante, Ariosto, Tasso[1]—to whom he himself owed so much. His contemptuous dismissal of what "in every country of modern Europe had been adopted as the basis of metrical composition[2]" was a characteristic touch of his resentment of criticism and defiance of authority.

[1] See, however, p. 367.
[2] Courthope.

There is a polemical tone in his remarks, as though he were replying to some unnamed antagonist; and I cannot help thinking that this preface was meant to be his contribution to the controversy then raging over the comparative advantages of rhymed and unrhymed metres on the stage. In fact, significant in itself, Milton's opinion becomes doubly so if regarded from the standpoint of his contemporaries. Hardly could they fail to see in it a retort to what Dryden had written in the behalf of rhyme—notably in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1665), in which the rhymed couplet had been set forth as the best vehicle of dramatic expression. In play after play Dryden had put his theory into practice: others had followed his example: to rhyme or not to rhyme—that had become the great question; and here was Milton brushing the matter on one side as of no moment, with the autocratic dictum that rhyme was a vain and fond thing with which a "sage and serious" poet need have no commerce. His readers must have detected the contemporary application of his words—just as later on they must have interpreted his preface to *Samson Agonistes*, with its pointed eulogy of the Greek stage and its depreciation of Restoration tragedy (and "other common interludes"), as a counterblast to the comparison which Dryden had drawn between the modern and the classical drama, in the interests of the former. There is force too in the suggestion that the association of rhyme with the amatory Caroline poets (*Lycidas*, 67—69) would not make Milton more favourable to it.

Curiously enough, *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* both contain a good deal of rhyme. We may compare it with the rare rhymed verse, accidental or designed ("leonine"), in the Latin poets. Cowper noted some instances in his fragment of a commentary on *Paradise Lost*. "Rhyme," he said, "is apt to come uncalled, and to writers of blank verse is often extremely troublesome[1]." Indeed complete absence of rhyme argues some artificiality. To quote Mr Robert Bridges: "Rhyme occurs in *Paradise*

[1] "The blank verse Italians have often done this [i.e. rhymed]: in fact, it is excessively difficult to prevent in Italian" (Saintsbury).

Lost (see I. 146, 8, 51; II. 220, 1; IV. 24—27), but only as a natural richness among the varieties of speech ; and it would seem that it cannot be forbidden in a long poem but by the scrupulosity which betrays art." Possibly, however, the amount of rhyme in the two epics exceeds what Milton would have desired. It illustrates, I think, the terrible difficulty of revision imposed by his blindness. Yet such is the spell of the rhythm of his verse that one may be unconscious of the rhyme till its presence is pointed out. Of consecutive rhymed lines, some being actual rhymed couplets, the following passages are examples: *Paradise Lost*, II. 220, 221 ; IV. 956, 957 ; VI. 709, 710 ; IX. 105, 106, 477, 478; XI. 230, 231, 597, 598, 671, 672; *Paradise Regained*, III. 214, 215; IV. 591, 592. In II. 893, 894, a slight difference of pronunciation, indicated by Milton's spelling, may account for what appears to the eye as a couplet. In V. 167, 168, 274, 275, IX. 191, 192, the assonance has the effect of rhyme. Of course, the most frequent rhyme is that which comes with an interval of one or two intervening lines, as in two out of the three passages remarked by Mr Bridges. Other examples[1] are: *Paradise Lost*, I. 274, 276, 711, 713, 764, 767; II. 390, 393, 942, 944; III. 140, 142, 168, 170; IV. 222, 224, 288, 290, 678, 680; V. 160, 162, 383, 385, 857, 859; VI. 14, 16, 161, 163, 174, 176; VIII. 1, 3, 171, 173, 229, 231; IX. 590, 591, 606, 608; XI. 201, 204, 206, 637, 639, 740, 741; XII. 353, 355, 366, 368; *Paradise Regained*, II. 206, 208, 245, 247, 250; IV. 25, 27, 145, 147, 222, 224. As remarked before, I cannot help thinking that a portion of this rhyme represents Milton's inability to focus the full measure of his fastidious taste[2] on the revision of his work.

Superfluous as it may seem to us that he should justify his adoption of blank verse—wherein his surpassing skill is the best of all justifications—we have cause to be grateful to the "stumblings" of the unlettered which led him to write this

[1] The list is illustrative, not exhaustive.

[2] It would have resented surely the substitution of *Chersonese* in most modern texts for the *Chersoness* of the original editions in *Paradise Regained*, IV. 74. See the termination of the previous line.

preface, since it happily defines the qualities for which the metre of *Paradise Lost* is remarkable.

The distinguishing characteristic of Milton's blank verse is his use of what Mr Saintsbury calls the verse-paragraph. Blank verse is exposed to two dangers: it may be formal and stiff by being circumscribed in single lines or couplets; or diffuse and formless through the sense and rhythm being carried on beyond the couplet. In its earlier stages, exemplified by works like *Gorboduc*, the metre suffered from the former tendency. It either closed with a strong pause at the end of every line, or just struggled to the climax of the couplet. Further it never extended until Marlowe took the "drumming decasyllabon" into his hands, broke up the fetters of the couplet-form, and by the process of overflow carried on the rhythm from verse to verse according as the sense required. It is in his plays that we first get verse in which variety of cadence and pause and beat takes the place of rhyme. Milton entered on the heritage that Marlowe and Shakespeare bequeathed, and brought blank verse to its highest pitch of perfection as an instrument of narration.

Briefly, that perfection lies herein: if we examine a page of *Paradise Lost* we find that what the poet has to say is, for the most part, conveyed, not in single lines, nor in rigid couplets—but in flexible combinations of verses, which wait upon his meaning, not twisting or constraining the sense, but suffering it to be "variously drawn out," so that the thought is merged in its expression.

These combinations, or paragraphs, are informed by a perfect internal concent and rhythm[1]—held together by a chain of harmony. With a writer less sensitive to sound this free method of versifying would result in mere chaos. But Milton's ear is so delicate, that he steers unfaltering through the long, involved passages, distributing the pauses and rests and allitera-

[1] Cf. Professor Mackail's fine metaphor for it—"the planetary wheeling of the long period"—"that continuous planetary movement" (Lecture II. on Milton in *The Springs of Helicon*, pp. 156, 196).

tive balance with a cunning which knits the paragraph into a coherent, regulated whole. He combines, in fact, the two essential qualities of blank verse—freedom and form: the freedom that admits variety of effect, without which a long narrative becomes intolerably monotonous; and the form which saves an unrhymed measure from drifting into that which is nearer to bad prose than to good verse. And restoration of form was precisely what the metre needed. With the later Jacobean and Caroline dramatists metrical freedom had turned to "licence and slipshodness...then comes Milton,...takes non-dramatic blank verse in hand once for all, and introduces into it the order, proportion, and finish which dramatic blank verse had then lost[1]." Milton in fact was the re-creator of blank verse, "the first to establish this peculiarly English form of metre in non-dramatic poetry[1]." Nor was he unconscious of the character of his achievement. Here, in the last lines of his preface, he congratulates himself upon "an example set"; and many years before, in the grand passage apostrophising the Divine Goodness at the end of the treatise *Of Reformation*, he had written, with obvious reference to the great design that ruled his whole life: "Then, amidst the hymns and hallelujahs of saints, some one may perhaps be heard offering at high strains in new and lofty measure to sing and celebrate thy divine mercies and marvellous judgments in this land throughout all ages[2]." It were hard to frame an apter summary of the metre of *Paradise Lost* than "new and lofty."

As he lays such stress upon the internal economy and balance of his verse-paragraphs, much must depend on the pause or rest which in English prosody answers, to some extent, to the classical *cæsura*. Dr Masson notes that Milton's favourite pause is at the end of the third foot. These are typical specimens:

"I, at first, with two fair gifts
Created him endowed | —with happiness

[1] Saintsbury, *History of English Prosody*, II. pp. 208, 224.
[2] *P. W.* II. 418.

And immortality; | that fondly lost,
This other served but to eternize woe,
Till I provided death: | so death becomes
His final remedy" | (XI. 57—62).

Next in frequency comes the pause after the second foot; cf.

"ere fallen
From innocence" | (XI. 29, 30).

"Made one with me, | as I with thee am one" (XI. 44).

Scarcely need we say that in this, as in everything else, Milton never forgets that variety of effect is essential.

It remains to note two other remarks made by Milton. One of the elements, he says, of "true musical delight" is "fit quantity of syllables." By this, I think, he meant that every word should bear its natural accent, i.e. that a word should not be forced by the exigence of the metre to bear an accent alien to it. Rather, a poet should be careful to "span words with just note and accent[1]," so that each stress should fall naturally, and the "fit quantity" of the component parts of a line not be violated. Considering the length of *Paradise Lost*, it is marvellous how he maintains an unfaltering appropriateness of accent. But another interpretation of his words is possible, namely that by "fit quantity of syllables" he meant "that blank verse might be extended beyond the usual number of ten syllables when its sense and feeling so required[2]." Taken in this way, "quantity" would have reference to the trisyllabic element in his verse by which the number of syllables in a line is increased, and perhaps more obviously to the hypermetrical element.

One peculiarity of the metre of *Paradise Lost*, pointed out by Coleridge, is the rarity of verses with an extra syllable (or two extra syllables) at the close. Shakespeare, of course, uses

[1] *Sonnet* to Henry Lawes.

[2] Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, III. 428. Personally I think that in a specifically metrical context "quantity" conveys the notion "long" or "short," i.e. with or without accent (stress).

them freely—especially in his later plays, and the percentage of them in *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes* is high. But in *Paradise Lost* Milton avoids them. There are several varieties of this extra-syllable verse—e.g. lines (i) where the supernumerary syllable comes at the close; (ii) where it comes in the course of the line, particularly after the second foot; (iii) where there are two extra syllables at the end, as in the line, "Like one | that means | his pro|per harm, | in mánacles" (*Coriolanus*, I. 9. 57); and (iv) where there are two extra syllables in the middle, as in *Coriolanus*, I. 1. 230, "Our must|y su|perfluity |. See our | best elders." In *Comus* there are examples of all four varieties: in *Paradise Lost* of only two[1]—(i) and (iii). This paucity is an illustration of what must be recognised as the great metrical feature of the epic—that its metre is mainly iambic, and consequently decasyllabic in character. Such verse has a slower, statelier movement, and is therefore appropriate to a narrative poem that deals with the loftiest themes in an elevated, solemn style. Verse, on the other hand, that admits the supernumerary syllable at the close of the line tends towards a conversational rapidity of rhythm which makes it suitable for the purposes of the dramatist. It is typical of Milton's "inevitable," almost infallible, art that he should vary his style so precisely to fit the several characteristics and requirements of the drama and of epic narration. Such variation illustrates "a quality for which he seldom or never gets the full credit due to him, a dramatic sense of extreme delicacy. With him, as with Sophocles, this quality is so fine that it may easily elude observation[2]."

Again, another element of the pleasure offered by poetry lies in "apt numbers." Here Milton referred to that adaptation of expression to subject whereby the sound becomes an echo to the sense. This adaptation is shown in its simplest form by the

[1] In most of the cases of *one* extra syllable it is a present participle that is affected. I believe that the cases with *two* such syllables are—in Milton—confined to words like *society*; cf. *P. R.* I. 302, "Such solitude before choicest soc*iety*." So in *P. L.* VIII. 216. Of course in these cases an "Alexandrine" solves the difficulty.

[2] *The Springs of Helicon*, p. 175 (see also p. 178).

suggestion of specific effects such as movement or sound[1]. But it dominates the whole relation of the manner to the matter. No one has understood the art of blending the thought with its expression better than Milton. "What other poets effect," says Dr Guest[2], "as it were by chance, Milton achieved by the aid of science and art; he studied the aptness of his numbers, and diligently tutored an ear which nature had gifted with the most delicate sensibility. In the flow of his rhythm, in the quality of his letter sounds, in the disposition of his pauses, his verse almost ever fits the subject, and so insensibly does poetry blend with this—the last beauty of exquisite versification—that the reader may sometimes doubt whether it be the thought itself, or merely the happiness of its expression, which is the source of a gratification so deeply felt."

We have seen that Milton may have had in view the scansion of his verse when he referred to the "fit quantity of syllables." That scansion has as its basic principle the "pure iambic"—*carmen iambicum*—so much canvassed by Elizabethan metricists. This stately, self-contained line of five feet in rising rhythm—"O Prince, O chief of many throned powers—" lies at the centre of the prosody of *Paradise Lost*. So much is patent; nor are the main means by which it is varied obscure. By letting the lines run on so that the rhythm of the unit of five feet passes into the richer harmony of groups of units Milton gives us the "verse-paragraph." And by substituting each of the possible variations of the disyllabic foot—namely, the trochee (or inversion of rhythm), the spondee and the pyrrhic—he tempers the monotony of a single-foot measure to "stops of various quills." But these foot-modifications had become part of the machinery of blank

[1] Cf. e.g. I. 742—46, 768, II. 947—50, 1021, 1022, VII. 495 (note), X. 521—28 (note). So in II. 641 we get the sense of vast space; in II. 879—83 of combined movement and jarring noise; in II. 890—906 of confusion; in IV. 181 (note) of scornful laughter; in VII. 480 of length. A very elaborate example (admirably analysed in Mayor's *Modern English Metre*, pp. 90—106) is the description of the march of the fallen angels in I. 549—62.

[2] *English Rhythms*, p. 530.

verse as developed since the pioneer days. There is nothing specifically Miltonic about the use of them in *Paradise Lost*, except possibly as regards the spondee. Cowper was inclined to think that "the grand secret to which his [Milton's] verse is principally indebted for its stately movement" is the frequent employment of spondaic feet: "the more long syllables there are in a verse, the more the line of it is protracted, and consequently the pace, with which it moves, is the more majestic." That Milton's use of the trochee (or rare double trochee) was due to the partiality of the Italians for this foot seems a needless assumption, the trochee having been firmly established by Marlowe. And "pyrrhic" is merely a rather pedantic-sounding term for a quite ordinary feature of blank verse—namely, the occurrence of a foot with a weak stress. Dr Abbott estimates that of Shakespeare's lines "rather less than one of three has the full number of five emphatic accents." I doubt whether the instances are so frequent in Milton; but they are sufficiently common to make it desirable to remember that five stresses are not indispensable—rather that for variety's sake it is necessary that one or more should occasionally be remitted. Taken as a whole, the obviously disyllabic element of Milton's poetry does not present much difficulty: the crux lies in the less obviously trisyllabic strata.

This is a subject on which irreconcilable opinions are held; the Miltonic blank verse described by Dr Masson is simply a different thing from the Miltonic blank verse described by Mr Bridges; and the essential truth seems to me to lie very much nearer to the views of the latter critic. I think that Milton himself would have been astonished at the elaborate trisyllabic apparatus—bacchics and amphibrachs and cretics rare—with which the verse of *Paradise Lost* has been credited. The base-principle of the slow-moving, majestic iambic decasyllable is lost in the mazes of so complex a system. On the other hand, to attempt to ban the trisyllabic foot altogether from his metre involves impossible twistings and distortions. We shall not be far astray if we steer a middle course and admit the anapæst

("the foot-of-all-work of English prosody") and (to a much less important share) the dactyl and the tribrach[1]. These may be taken to represent collectively "the trisyllabic foot, which was inherent in the nature of the [English] language, and had been recognised by long poetical usage[2]." It reproduces "the swift triple rhythm[2]" of Old English poetry, while the iambic element corresponds with the typical movement of the Greek senarius. And in the verse of *Paradise Lost* it is the iambic movement that prevails, especially perhaps in the first six books, which are cast more in the typically grand Miltonic manner than the second half of the poem, where the less impressive and less coherent interest of the subject is reflected in the style. But the measure of this iambic predominance depends on the degree to which the principle of elision of vowels applies.

"Elision" comprehends not merely the cases where a vowel must be dropped altogether in pronunciation, but those more numerous cases where the metre indicates, or seems to indicate, that a vowel has *something* less than its normal quantitative value, so that it is either slurred or made almost to coalesce with a preceding or succeeding sound. Such elision resolves itself practically into cases of the open vowel and the vowel (or double vowel) followed by a liquid. Elision of the former type belongs to poetic usage, of the latter to the currency of everyday speech; and each is permissive, not obligatory. Moreover, elision is a matter of scansion, not necessarily of pronunciation and reading. It is, I think, perfectly true to say that "Milton came to scan his verses one way, and read them another." But is it not true of all poetic elision? Who

[1] See Saintsbury, *A History of English Prosody*, I. 403, II. 259, 260.

[2] Courthope. Compare also Mayor (*Modern English Metre*, p. 15): "Anapaestic rhythm was familiar to the Elizabethan poets, not merely from its use by older writers, such as the author of *Piers Ploughman*, but from the later 'tumbling verse' as used by Skelton and Udall." And again (p. 44): "Trisyllabic rhythm is a marked feature of the Old English alliterative verse, and of the 'tumbling measure' which followed it."

knows what precisely happened to the elided vowels of Greek and Latin verse? Metrically their suppression may have been absolute, as it is (I am told) in Greek MSS.: but in actual declamation? Similarly, though I cannot doubt that Milton scanned "th' Aonian mount" and "th' oblivious pool," yet I should not like to say that he read the words so. Nor should I like to have to determine whether in scansion he extended this principle of the elision of the open vowel beyond monosyllables like *the* and *to* and the terminal *y* which slides so easily into a vowel at the beginning of the next word. Thus it satisfies my "gross unpurged ear" to scan "Who highly thus t' entitle me vouchsaf'st" (X. 170); but to wrest an iambus out of the second foot of the line "Virtue in her shape how lovely; saw and pined" (IV. 848) by eliding the double vowel *ue* ("Virt*ue* in | her shape") seems a needless violence, when the easy access of the anapæst ("Virtue | in her shape") solves all. And so with many another line.

Some light is thrown on this difficult question of Milton's elisions by the Cambridge autographs of his earlier poems. The evidence, indeed, is not conclusive because the MSS. are not consistent in giving always an elided form where the metre requires one as an alternative to a trisyllabic scansion. But one cannot help drawing some inference from elisions like "Temper'd to th' oaten flute," and elided forms such as *watrie—westring—batning—wandring—toured*, and the many contractions of the inflections of verbs, such as *honour'st—tun'st—jorc't—nur'st—stoopt—stolne—dan'ct*[1]. With some of these examples before us, it is not hard to conjecture how Milton would have scanned, say, *Paradise Lost*, XI. 779, "Wandering that watery desert; I had hope." Similarly when we come across lines of the epic in which *Heaven* appears to be equivalent to a monosyllable, it is apposite to remember that his autograph has *heavn* in the prose draft of *Adam unparadiz'd* (line 2).

[1] Cf. *Lycidas*, 4, 12, 23, 29, 31, 33; *Arcades*, 21; *Comus*, 39; *Sonnets* II. and XIII.

And *faln* in the prose draft of *Isaac redeemd* serves as a metrical gloss on I. 84, "If thou beest he—but Oh how fallen! how changed!" The drift of such elisions and contractions is obviously to diminish the trisyllabic element, and maintain that iambic rhythm which was ever present[1] to Milton's ear and ever wafting the proud full sail of his verse.

[1] Two groups of exceptions to the general movement of his lines have been remarked, viz. passages where he indulges his taste for sonorous proper names, and passages "where he follows the Authorised Version of the Bible—especially where the speaker is the Deity."

NOTES

COMMENDATORY VERSES.

First printed in 1674. I number the lines of each poem for convenience of reference.

I. The Latin elegiacs: the author of these was Samuel Barrow, a Cambridge man of note. Born in 1625 he graduated from Trinity in 1643, and afterwards attained to some celebrity in medicine. He was appointed Physician in Ordinary to Charles II. in August, 1660, and died in 1682. His Royalist sympathies evidently did not prevent him from being an admirer of Milton. Curiously enough, his poetic summary of the contents of the Epic includes no direct reference to the Temptation and Fall of Man. He is most struck with the war in Heaven and Satan's expulsion.

1. *Amissam*; the masculine were more correct; cf. the title of Hogg's once well-known translation—*Paraphrasis Poetica in tria Johannis Miltoni Poemata*, viz. *Paradisum Amissum*, *Paradisum Recuperatum*, *et Samsonem Agonisten* (1690).

9. *pontum*; no doubt, the right reading. It may, however, be noted that both the second and third editions of *Paradise Lost* have *portum* (which Keightley retained, with what sense is not clear).

15. *futurum*; so the second and third editions, but many later texts print *futura*. As the line stands it seems to mean (if we may reproduce the baldness of the original), 'who could believe that there would be any one who would conceive hopes of these things?' i.e. be so ambitious. But probably the author intended *futura* (or wrote *hoc*).

17—38. These lines, nearly half the poem, allude to bk. VI. of *P. L.*; see VI. 245—327, 634—70, 749—879.

30. *currus animes*, the Cherubic chariot (VI. 750—56).

39—42. Lauder placed these verses—ironically—on the title-page of his *Essay* (1750).

42. Alluding to the Homeric "Battle of the Frogs and Mice," and the Vergilian "Culex." Cf. Dryden's lines on Milton.

II. The English verses: the writer was Andrew Marvell (1620—78), poet and politician. In 1657 he had been made assistant secretary to Milton while the latter still held office under the Council. At the Restoration he did Milton good service—"acted vigorously in his

behalf and made a considerable party for him" (says Phillips, *Memoir*). Marvell's poetry shows Milton's influence clearly; see *Lycidas*, 40, note.

9. *Samson Agonistes* had been published (1671).

12. *success*, result, issue.

26. *pretend*, claim falsely.

37—40. See *P. L.* I. 13—15. A correspondent of *Notes and Queries* pointed out that "the bird" (39) meant is the bird of Paradise and that Marvell refers to the old notion, believed till the end of the last century, that it was footless: cf. "always keeps on wing." So in Lyly's play, *Love's Metamorphosis*, IV. 1, the bird of Paradise is described as "that bird that liveth only by air, and dieth if she touch the earth" (Bond's *Lyly*, III. 319). Cf. too a complimentary poem (1647) to Fletcher (p. xlii. vol. I. in the Cambridge *Beaumont and Fletcher*):

> "But thou art still that Bird of Paradise
> Which hath no feet and ever nobly flies."

42. *expense*; some texts print *expanse*.

43. See *P. L.* III. 32—36.

47—50. A sarcasm against Dryden, who, as the champion of rhymed plays, had under the name of "Bayes" been satirised in Buckingham's *Rehearsal* (1671)—an attack which he repaid with interest in *Absalom and Achitophel*. The allusion comes naturally from Marvell, who had himself borrowed the title of *The Rehearsal* for his chief prose work, *The Rehearsal Transprosed*, a long polemical pamphlet in two parts (1672—73), in which his opponent figures throughout as "Mr Bayes." Milton was thought to have helped him in writing Part I., but Marvell denies this in Part II. See Aitken's *Marvell*, "Poems," p. 209, and Birrell's *Life*, chap. v. Dryden (as we learn from Aubrey) on one of his visits to Milton asked permission to "put his *Paradise Lost* into a drama in rhyme. Mr Milton received him cordially, and told him he would give him leave to tag his verses": the outcome being his opera *The State of Innocence and Fall of Man*, published in 1674, the very year in which, apparently, Marvell wrote these verses. Milton may have talked the matter over with Marvell (so Masson thinks); or, perhaps, it had become a piece of contemporary gossip among literary men. Either way, the reference here is not to be mistaken.

49. *fancies*. Keightley *faces*. *points*, the tagged laces used to tie parts of the dress, especially the breeches; mentioned often in Shakespeare.

51, 52. *the mode*, the fashion of rhyming. He means that he would use the word *praise* rather than the weaker term *commend*, had he not to find a rhyme with *offend*.

THE VERSE.

1. *rime*; the older and more correct spelling of *rhyme*.

10. Cf. the similar appeal to the example of Italian writers in the Preface to *S. A.* Italian works in blank verse (*versi sciolti*) which illustrate what Milton says in both places are:—Trissino's tragedy *Sofonisba*, written about 1514, and his heroic poem *Italia Liberata*, published 1548 (cf. Johnson's *Life* of M. *ad fin.*); Ruccelai's *Rosmunda* (1516), modelled on *Sofonisba*; Tasso's poem on the Creation; and Alamanni's didactic work *La Coltivazione* (1546). The influence of Italian poetry on Milton is seen also in the free ('Apolelymenos') measures of the choruses of *Samson Agonistes*, and in *Lycidas*.

"Among the *Spanish* poets, Mr Bowle mentions Francisco de Aldana, who translated the *Epistles* of Ovid into Spanish blank verse; and Gonsalvo Perez, who, in like manner, translated the *Odyssey* of Homer" (Todd).

11, 12. Scarcely pleasant reading for Dryden who had defended rhyme, and whose rhymed dramas were appearing in quick succession. We have, I believe, a similar hit at him in the Preface to *S. A.* In the Preface to his *Juvenal* Dryden retorted that whatever might be Milton's "alleged" reasons for "the abolishing of rhyme," the real reason was "that rhyme was not his talent."

20. Practically it was quite true that *Paradise Lost* was the first great English poem, of a non-dramatic type, written in blank verse, though Surrey had used a rhymeless measure in his translation of the second (1557) and fourth (1548) books of the *Æneid*; cf. Ascham's *Schoolmaster* (1570), "The noble Lord Th' Earle of Surrey, first of all English men, in translating the fourth booke of Virgill...auoyded the fault of Ryming" (Bohn's ed., p. 217). There are also some blank verse pieces by Nicholas Grimald in Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557)—e.g. "The Death of Zoroas," Arber's ed., pp. 120—23, and "Ciceroes death," pp. 123—25. And Gascoigne's *Steele Glas* (1576) is "written without rime," as he notes in the "Epistle Dedicatorie" (Arber, p. 45). But these works, though interesting to the student, have no great intrinsic merit, and Milton's claim is substantially unimpeachable. The next long epic after *Paradise Lost* in blank verse was Phillips' *Cider* (1706), an imitation of the *Georgics*; and Thomson (*Autumn*) in addressing Phillips says:

> "the second thou
> Who nobly durst in rhyme-unfettered verse
> With British freedom sing the British song";

an obvious allusion to Milton (whom Thomson imitates constantly) and this Preface.

BOOK I.

Abbreviations:—

M. = Milton, or Milton's poetry, as distinguished from his prose.
P.W. = Milton's prose-works (in "Bohn's Standard Library").
P.R. = *Paradise Regained.*
S.A. = *Samson Agonistes.*
Nat. Ode = Ode *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity.*
Other books of *Paradise Lost* are indicated by Roman numerals.

1—6. Like Homer and Vergil he indicates the theme of his poem at the outset. Cf. the beginning of *Paradise Regained*:

> "I, who erewhile the happy Garden sung
> By one man's disobedience lost, now sing
> Recovered Paradise to all mankind,
> By one man's firm obedience fully tried
> Through all temptation, and the Tempter foiled
> In all his wiles, defeated and repulsed,
> And Eden raised in the waste Wilderness."

2. *mortal*, deadly—the late Lat. use of *mortalis*.

4. *Eden* = Paradise. *one greater Man*, the Messiah; *Romans* v. 19.

6—16. The invocation of the Muse is an epic convention; like Dante and Tasso, M. follows therein Homer and Vergil. The significance lies in his choice of a power to be addressed: not one of the Nine Muses to whom a Greek or Roman poet would have appealed, but the Muse of sacred song, the Heavenly power which inspired Moses on Sinai, and David on Zion, and the other prophets of Israel. Twice he speaks of great singers as "taught by the Heavenly Muse" (III. 19, *Comus*, 515), and in VII. 1—4 he gives her the name "Urania," 'the Heavenly.' Book VII. 1—39, where, having completed half his task, the poet petitions the Muse afresh, should be compared with this passage.

6. Perhaps *secret* = Lat. *secretus*, 'apart, retired'; cf. II. 891.

7. *Oreb, or...Sinai.* M. may be referring to the two occasions on which Moses received a Divine communication—(1) when the Lord appeared to him in a burning bush, *Exod.* iii.; (2) when he was given the Law, *Exod.* xix.—xxxi. Myself, I believe that only the latter is intended, and that M., contrasting *Exod.* xix. 20 with *Deut.* iv. 10, does not decide whether the mountain where Moses received the Law

should be called "Oreb or Sinai." The accounts can be harmonised easily: Horeb was the whole range, Sinai its lower part. Why in *P. L.* (cf. XI. 74) M. prefers *Oreb* to *Horeb*, I do not know: in the Cambridge MSS. is the entry: "the golden calfe, or the massacre in Horeb."

8. *that shepherd*, Moses, who "kept the flock of Jethro" on Horeb, *Exod.* iii. 1. *first taught*; in *Genesis* i. Of course, M. drew largely on the Mosaic books of the Old Testament.

9, 10. *the Heavens*, i.e. the sky and starry realms of this Universe. *Chaos*="the vast Abyss," 21; "the gloomy deep," 152.

10—12. Cf. III. 30, 31.

Siloa's brook; more familiar to us in the description "pool," through *John* ix. 7, 11; but Isaiah's words, of which M. may be thinking—"the waters of Shiloah that go softly," viii. 6—imply that the waters of the pool overflowed into the garden below and so formed a streamlet, which would find its way into the Kidron. Josephus notes the abundant water of Siloa (which he always calls a spring, πηγή), *Bellum Judaicum*, v. 4. 1. The form *Siloa* illustrates Milton's dislike of *sh*; see the note on 398. The Septuagint has Σιλωάμ, the Vulgate *Siloe*.

The reason, doubtless, why M. specially refers to Siloa is this. The Muses (says Hesiod, at the beginning of the *Theogony*) frequent "the dark-coloured spring (Aganippe)...and altar of Zeus." Imitating that passage in *Lycidas*, 15, 16, M. addresses the Muses as

"Sisters of the sacred well,
That from beneath the seat of Jove doth spring."

He connects the spring with the altar—cf. *Il Penseroso*, 48—to show the sanctity of poetic inspiration. Here he takes Hesiod's thought, which he before presented in its classical dress, and gives it a Scriptural investiture: the result being a complete parallel between the classical Muses who haunt the spring that rises by the altar of Zeus, and the Heavenly Muse who haunts the spring that flows by the Temple ("the oracle") of the Almighty.

12. *fast by*, close by. Siloa was outside Jerusalem, in the valley that skirted Mt Moriah, on which stood the Temple. *oracle*, "thy holy oracle," *Psalm* xxviii. 2.

14. The metaphor in "flight," "soar," is a favourite with M. Cf. III. 13, VII. 3, 4, IX. 45. *no middle flight*, i.e. he will ascend to the highest Empyrean.

14, 15. He hopes to be filled with a higher inspiration, so as to treat of higher things, than the classical poets whose inspiration came from the Muses of antiquity. *the Aonian mount*, Helicon, in Bœotia; sacred to the Muses—whence their title *Aonides*. Pope

calls them "Aonian maids" (*Messiah*), and Campbell, "Aonian Muses" (*Pleasures of Hope*).

15. *pursues*, treats of; "in the sense of the Latin *sequor*. *E noto fictum carmen sequar*, Horace, *Ars Poetica* 240" (Keightley).

16. This claim to novelty of theme recalls *Comus*, 43—45:

"I will tell you now
What never yet was heard *in tale or song*,
From old or modern bard, in hall or bower,"

i.e. "in prose or rhyme" (a phrase of Ariosto). Similar claims might be instanced in Vergil, Spenser, and other poets, e.g. Horace's *carmina non prius | audita...canto* (*Od.* III. 1. 2—4). Dante says that he has seen in Paradise "things which whoso descendeth from up there hath nor knowledge nor power to retell," though he will try to (*Paradiso*, I. 5, 6). *rhyme*, verse.

17—26. Cf. the similar invocation of the Holy Spirit in *P. R.* I. 8—17: a higher power than the Muse addressed above. "There can be little doubt that Milton believed himself to be, in some real sense, an inspired man" (Masson). In *The Reason of Church Government*, II., he says that a great poem can only be achieved through "devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge" (*P. W.* II. 481); and in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 6, he explains that sometimes the Spirit means in Scripture "that impulse or voice of God by which the prophets were inspired" (*P. W.* IV. 152).

19. *for thou know'st*. Cf. Homer, *Iliad* II. 484, ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι... | ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε, πάρεστέ τε, ἴστε τε πάντα; and Theocritus XXII. 116, εἰπὲ θεά, σὺ γὰρ οἶσθα.

20, 21. Cf. the account of the Creation in VII. 234, 235. In *Genesis* i. 2 the Heb. verb rendered "moved" in A.V. (*ferebatur* in the Vulgate) means either 'fluttered' (Luther has *schwebete*), as in *Deut.* xxxii. 11, where it is used of an eagle hovering; or 'brooded' (*incubabat* in Basil and others of the Latin Fathers), like a bird hatching eggs. Cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio*, XXXIII., "This is that gentle heat that brooded on the waters, and in six days hatched the world."

21. *dove-like*. The allusion, I believe, is to the descent of the Holy Ghost "in a bodily shape like a dove" (*Luke* iii. 22); cf. *P. R.* I. 30, 83. This may be inferred from *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 6.

22, 23. *what in me is dark illumine*; the thought is expanded in III. 40—55.

24. *argument*, subject = Lat. *argumentum*; cf. IX. 28.

25. *assert*, vindicate.

26. Cf. *S. A.* 293, 294:

"Just are the ways of God,
And justifiable to men";

the Scriptural reference being to passages like *Ps.* cxlv. 17 and *Rev.* xv. 3, "just and true are thy ways." Pope professed the same design; cf. the *Essay on Man*, I. 15, 16:

> "Laugh where we must, be candid where we can,
> But vindicate the ways of God to man."

See also Gray's *Progress of Poesy*, 47. *justify*, i.e. "to men."

29. *grand*, i.e. first, original.

31, 32. i.e. transgress his will because of ("for") one restraint. Keightley makes *for one restraint* qualify what follows—'lords of the world (cf. IX. 658), but for a single restraint.'

33. Cf. *Iliad* I. 8.

36. *what time*, at the time when, Lat. *quo tempore*. "What time I am afraid, I will trust in thee," *Psalm* lvi. 3. So in *Comus*, 291, *Lycidas*, 28.

39. *peers*, equals, Lat. *pares*; cf. *Lycidas*, 9.

40. See *Isaiah* xiv. 12—15.

45. *flaming*; cf. *Luke* x. 18, "And he said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." *the ethereal sky*, the Empyrean.

46. *ruin* = Lat. *ruina*, 'falling'; see III. 258, note.

combustion, utter destruction.

47. *there*; in "the bottomless pit" (VI. 866—see note).

48. *in adamantine chains*. Cf. 2 *Pet.* ii. 4, "if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness" (see 72); also *Jude* 6, *Rev.* xx. 1, 2. See II. 169, 183, 196, III. 82.

50. *nine*, traditionally a significant number, being a multiple of three (see 619). Their fall from Heaven lasted nine days (VI. 871), as did that of the Titans in Hesiod. Dante students will remember the great significance that is attached to the number nine in the *Vita Nuova*.

55. *pain*, physical suffering. Cf. 125, 147, 336; the point is emphasised by Milton (and lost if we interpret *pain* = 'punishment'). Later, M. shows how the fallen angels first became sensible of pain through their sin (see VI. 327, note).

56. *baleful*, full of woe.

57. *witnessed*, showed, testified to.

58. Scan *obdúrate*, as always in M.; cf. VI. 790.

59. The original editions have *Angels kenn*. Throughout the volume the apostrophe indicative of the genitive was omitted (as often happened then): hence *Angels* may have stood also for *Angel's* or *Angels'* (cf. 754). Some modern texts print *Angel's ken*, making *ken* a noun. But M. uses *ken* as a verb (V. 265, XI. 396), and I prefer to take it so here

—with the sense, 'as far as angels see.' Cf. 2 *Henry VI.* III. 2. 101, "As far as I could ken thy chalky cliffs."

60. *dismal*; a much more poetic word then.

61. "Of all the articles, of which the dreadful scenery of Milton's Hell consists, Scripture furnished him only with a Lake of Fire and Brimstone" (Cowper). See II. 575, 576, note.

63. *no light*, i.e. there *was*. It was a popular belief that the flames of Hell gave no light (Keightley). Cf. Herrick's *Noble Numbers*:

"The fire of Hell this strange condition hath,
To burn, not shine (as learned *Basil* saith)."

darkness visible; an obvious oxymoron (see 692). What M. means is —not absolute darkness ('pitch darkness,' as we say), for then the "*sights* of woe" would have been invisible—but the gloom which half conceals and half reveals objects, and itself (to borrow Pope's words) "strikes the sense no less than light." *The Dunciad*, IV. 1—4, is an apt parody. Mr Beeching reminds us of *Job* x. 22.

66, 67. Doubtless from Euripides, *Troades* 681, 682, ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὃ πᾶσι λείπεται βροτοῖς | ξύνεστιν ἐλπίς ('to me even hope, which all mortals have, is lost'). Probably too there is an echo of Dante's famous words—"All hope abandon, ye who enter here"—placed over the gates of Hell, *Inferno*, III. 9.

68. *urges*, afflicts, plies—Lat. *urgere*; cf. "exercise," II. 89.

72. *utter darkness*; again in III. 16, V. 614. *utter*, outer.

74, 75. He makes the distance of Hell from the Empyrean = three times the distance of the Earth ("the centre") from the "utmost pole" of the globe or Universe (i.e. that point in the surface of the globe which is nearest to the Empyrean). The calculation is suggested by *Iliad* VIII. 16, *Æneid* VI. 577—79.

79—81. *Beëlzebub*; see II. 299, note.

82. *Satan* = 'adversary': a name first given to him when he rebelled: his "former name" being thenceforth heard no more (v. 658, 659). It is not, I think, clear whether this "former name" was "Lucifer" (cf. VII. 131—33), or some other title which, like the titles of the other rebels, was utterly blotted out (cf. 361—63, VI. 376—80). I believe, however, that M. means us to understand that both "Lucifer" and "Satan" were later names, given after the rebellion.

84, 85. A double allusion—to *Isaiah* xiv. 12, "how art thou fallen from heaven," and *Æneid* II. 274, 275, *quantum mutatus ab illo | Hectore.*

86. *didst*; grammar requires *did*: the sense implies 'thou.'

87—91. Cf. V. 676—78, where Satan says to Beëlzebub that they had ever been wont to share each other's thought and "were one." To Beëlzebub he first hinted his purpose to rebel (v. 673).

87. *if he*, i.e. if *thou beest* he; the sentence is not completed (*anacoluthon*). M. often uses this abrupt style to suggest the speaker's agitation; cf. v. 30 *et seq.*

91, 92. *into what...from what*; cf. v. 543 and *P. R.* II. 30, 31. An imitation perhaps of Gk. οἷος...οἷος—as in Sophocles, *Trachiniæ* 994, ἱερῶν οἵαν οἵων...χάριν, 'what a return (i.e. how poor) for what sacrifices' (i.e. how great); and *Electra* 751, οἵ' ἔργα δράσας οἷα λαγχάνει κακά.

93. Cf. the account of the battle in III. 392, 393, VI. 836—38.

94. Satan's defiant spirit recalls the stubborn attitude of Prometheus towards Zeus in Æschylus's play.

97. *fixed mind*; cf. *Il Penseroso*, 4, *The Faerie Queene*, IV. 7. 16, "Yet nothing could my fixed mind remove" (change).

98. *high disdain*. A common phrase with our old poets—Spenser (*The Faerie Queene*, I. 1. 19), Sylvester and others; taken from the *alto sdegno* of Italian writers (Todd). "High" is a favourite epithet of Dante, especially in abstract phrases like "the high virtue" (*l'alta virtù*), "God's high decree" (*alto fato di Dio*), "the high Providence" (*l'alta Provvidenza*); see the *Inferno*, XXIII. 55, XXVI. 82, XXXI. 119; *Purgatorio*, XXVI. 72, XXX. 40, 142; *Paradiso*, I. 106, XXVII. 61.

104. *dubious*, because the battle lasted for three days (bk. VI.).

105. *shook his throne*. A boastful exaggeration; cf. 114 and see VI. 833, 834. *field*, battle (II. 768); cf. Lat. *campus*. The Second Ed. has the note of interrogation at the end of the line.

107. *study*, pursuit of; like Lat. *studium*, it often meant 'endeavour,' as in *King Lear*, I. 1. 279; cf. XI. 577.

108—11. The Second Ed. has at the end of 108 a colon; of 109 a note of interrogation; and in 111 a full stop after *me*. This punctuation, variously altered in many texts, I retain. Some editors remove the interrogation in 109, treating the line as a relative clause, as though Satan said: 'I retain my will (106), my hate (107), my courage (108), and all other qualities in me that cannot be overcome.' This gives good sense. But the interrogative form may, I think, be interpreted thus: 'to retain one's hate, one's courage etc., is not that to be still unsubdued: in what else but this lies the test of being not overcome?' In one of the last of Tonson's editions (1738), I find line 109 bracketed, i.e. treated as a parenthesis.

what...else; to be taken together; cf. 683.

110. Regarding 109 as parenthetical, I take *that glory* to refer back to 108: 'never' (says Satan) 'shall the Victor extort from me the glory—to him—of my submission.' Some explain—'the glory (i.e. Satan's) of not being overcome'; but does this suit "extort"?

115. Scan *ignomy*; see II. 207, note.

116. *by fate*; important because Satan denies (v. 860—63) that the angels were created by the Almighty: they were, he says, self-begotten by their own "quickening power," at the time decreed by the course of fate. Fate, not the Almighty, he recognises as superior.

gods, divine beings; cf. v. 60, note.

117. Can the fiery substance (see II. 139—42, 274, 275, notes) of their forms perish ("fail")? Satan thinks not: Moloch and Belial are less certain (II. 99, 146—54).

120. *successful hope*, hope of success; so in Shakespeare often. Cf. "sterile curse"=the curse of sterility, *Julius Cæsar*, I. 2. 9.

122. *grand*, great (like Fr. *grand*); cf. II. 507.

123. *triumphs*; Dryden always accents the verb *triúmph*; cf. *The Hind and the Panther*, III. 566:

"Who but the Swallow now triumphs alone?
The canopy of heaven is all her own."

See the *Religio Laici*, 56.

124. *tyranny*. M. makes him use the most offensive word—not "monarchy," as in 42, where the poet was speaking in his own person. See II. 59, note.

128. *throned powers*; Satan's followers in general ("throned"—cf. 360—merely suggesting their dignity): not the particular Order of the Hierarchies called Thrones, since Satan is an Archangel.

138. *essences*, beings.

139. *remains*; singular, because "mind and spirit" form one idea. This is a common usage in Shakespeare; cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. 5. 170, "faith and troth...bids thee." See *Lycidas*, 7.

141. *though...glory extinct*. Cf. 394, 395, and *S. A.* 738, 739. I think that these are absolute constructions, modelled perhaps on the Lat. ablative absolute; but there may be an ellipse of the auxiliary verb. *extinct*, quenched (like a flame).

144. *of force*, perforce; so IV. 813.

148. *suffice*, satisfy=Lat. *sufficere*.

149—52. Cf. *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 9, "They (evil angels) are sometimes permitted to wander throughout the whole earth, the *air* (cf. 430), and heaven itself, to execute the judgments of God."

150. *his business*, the work he appoints for us to do.

155. *to undergo*, i.e. so as to undergo (not dependent on *avail*, 153).

158. *doing or suffering*, i.e. whether in an active or passive state; cf. the common antithesis δρᾶν...παθεῖν; see II. 199, *P. R.* III. 194, 195.

167. *if I fail not*, if I am not mistaken, Lat. *ni fallor*.

170. *his ministers*, the good angels; but, essentially, the expulsion of the rebels was due to the Messiah, "sole victor" (VI. 880).

171—77. See VI. 858—79. *laid*, i.e. to rest, stilled; cf. *P. R.* IV. 429, and Tennyson, *Margaret*, "Your spirit is the calmed sea, Laid by the tumult of the fight," and *Queen Mary*, I. 5, "God lay the waves and strow the storms at sea." So *sternere* (*Æneid* V. 763) and *ponere* in Lat.; cf. *ponere freta*, Horace, *Odes* I. 3. 16.

176. *his* = its; or he may be personifying "thunder."

178. *slip*, let slip; cf. *Macbeth*, II. 3. 52, "I have almost slipped the hour."

185. A reminiscence of *Richard II.* V. 1. 5, 6:

> "Here let us rest, if this rebellious earth
> Have any resting for her true king's queen."

186. *afflicted*, struck down, routed (Lat. *afflictus*). *powers*, forces.

187. *offend* = Lat. *offendere*, 'to strike at, harm'; cf. VI. 465.

191. Cf. VI. 787, "hope conceiving from despair." *if not*, i.e. if we may not gain reinforcement.

197. *as whom*, as those whom. *fables*, the mythological stories of the classics; Milton generally speaks of them contemptuously as "fabulous."

198. *Earth-born*, the Giants; like the Titans (with whom writers confused them much) they were reputed the offspring of Uranus and Ge (Earth); see 509, note, and 778. *that warred*; referring to the Giants only; the legend of their conflict with Zeus (or Jove) seems to be due to the earlier revolt of the Titans against Uranus.

199. *Briareos or Typhon*; the former (*centumgeminus Briareus*, *Æn.* VI. 287), being the son of Uranus, is meant to represent the Titans —the latter, the Giants. The legends about both were conflicting. Scan *Briáreos*, though classically the name is *Brĭăreus*.

or Typhon. Cf. Fairfax, *Tasso*, II. 91, "He looked like huge Tiphoius loos'd from hell." Typhon, or Typhœus, is commonly described as a hundred-headed serpent-monster, who, trying to seize sovereignty over gods and men, was vanquished by Zeus with a thunderbolt and buried under Ætna. See II. 539.

200. *Tarsus*, the capital of Cilicia; M. alludes here to Pindar and Æschylus who describe Typhon as living in "a Cilician *den*"; cf. Æschylus, *Prometheus Vinctus* 351—54, *τὸν γηγενῆ τε* Κιλικίων *οἰκήτορα* | *ἄντρων*...Τυφῶνα ('the *earth-born* inhabitant of Cilician dens'), where Æsch. seems to be quoting Pindar, *Pyth.* I. 17, [Typhon] *τόν ποτε* | Κιλίκιον *θρέψεν πολυώνυμον ἄντρον*. So *Pyth.* VIII. 16, Τυφὼς Κίλιξ. This Typhon is said to be not the same as the Egyptian Typhon of the *Nativity Ode*, 226, and of the wonderful allegory of Isis and

Osiris in the *Areopagitica* (*P. W.* II. 89); the latter Typhon being the Egyptian god Set. But M. either identifies them in the *Nativity Ode*, or else transfers to the Egyptian Typhon the description ("Typhon huge ending in snaky twine") proper to his Greek namesake. See Osgood's *Classical Mythology in Milton*, pp. 83, 84.

201. The Bibles of that time identified the Leviathan with the whale, and M. probably did so; but the Heb. *livyáthán* was used of any huge monster, e.g. the crocodile, *Psalm* lxxiv. 14.

202. *ocean-stream*; Homer's ῥόος (or ποταμὸς) ὠκεάνοιο.

203—208. Todd quotes a story to this effect from the Swedish writer Olaus Magnus, whose *History of the Northern Nations* had been Englished (1658). Evidently some remarkable 'traveller's tales' as to the size of whales were in circulation: Heylin, *Cosmography* (1682 ed.), tells us of 'Leviathans' four acres big (III. 191, 192). Cf. Milton's own description, VII. 412—16.

204. *pilot*, steersman (*S. A.* 198); or 'master of the vessel.'

night-foundered, benighted; literally 'plunged or sunk in night' (and so unable to continue his course). Cf. *Comus*, 483.

206. i.e. with *anchor fixed* in his rind. Such inversions of the order of words are common in Shakespeare; cf. *Richard II.* III. 1. 9. As a matter of natural history, whales have not "scaly rinds"; but M. alludes to *Job* xli. 15 (where, however, the crocodile is meant).

207. *the lee*, the sheltered side.

208. *invests*; in the Latin sense 'to wrap' (*investire*).

211. *heaved*, lifted; cf. Germ. *heben*. To "heave the head" occurs in *S. A.* 197, *Comus*, 885, *L'Allegro*, 145; Dryden borrowed it (*St Cecilia's Day*).

221. *rears*, raises; as often in Spenser and Shakespeare.

226. *incumbent*, leaning, resting, on (Lat. *incumbens*).

229. *liquid fire*; a Vergilian phrase; cf. *Eclogue* VI. 33.

230—33. This notion of earthquakes being caused by the escape of winds from underground recurs in VI. 195—98, *S. A.* 1647, 1648.

232. *Pelorus*, the north-east promontory of Sicily, now Cape Faro; near Ætna, by whose volcanic action M. implies that it was affected.

233—37. Editors compare *Æneid* III. 571—77.

233. *whose*. The antecedent is Pelorus as well as Ætna, the description that follows being applied to both.

235. *sublimed*, kindled into pure flame.

236. *involved*, wrapped in (Lat. *involvere*).

239. *Stygian flood*, the "fiery gulf" (52).

242. *clime*; here and in 297 the sense seems to be 'climate, temperature'; but in II. 572, 'region, realm.'

244. *change for*, take in exchange for.

246. *sovran*; the Italianised form used by M.

248. i.e. they were his equals in reason, but not in power.

253. Cf. Horace's *cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt* (*Epist.* I. 11. 27).

254. A glance at the teaching of the Stoics (Thyer). *its*; see IV. 813. Goldsmith probably remembered these lines when he wrote:

"Still to ourselves in every place consign'd,
Our own felicity we make or find" (*The Traveller*).

Compare also Hamlet's sentiment that "there is nothing either good or bad, but thinking makes it so" (II. 2. 255—57); where editors cite similar passages from Montaigne's *Essays* (I. 40) and Lyly, in illustration of the Elizabethan love of aphorism.

255. A reminiscence, I suppose, of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 1. 243, "I'll follow thee and make a heaven of hell." Hartley Coleridge says, "One sinful wish would make a hell of heaven." For this conception of Hell as not a place, but a mental state, of punishment, see IV. 20—23; also XII. 587, note. Sir Thomas Browne writes, *Religio Medici*, LI., "every devil is an hell unto himself; he holds enough of torture in his own *ubi*." In Marlowe's *Faustus*, when the Doctor asks, "Where is the place that men call hell?", Mephistophilis replies (V. 119, 120):

"Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscribed
In one self place; for where we are is hell."

257. *all but less than* = nearly equal to. The phrase is a combination of 'only less than' and 'all but equal to' (Beeching).

259. i.e. in building Hell the Almighty has created a place such that he could never grudge Satan its possession.

261—63. When William Lauder published in 1750 his infamous *Essay* on Milton, the object of which was to show that the poet had plagiarised from a number of obscure writers (mostly foreign scholars of the 16th and 17th cents.), he took these three lines, translated them into what he conceived to be Iambic verse, said that he had found them in the *Adamus Exul* (1601) of Grotius, and printed them as a convincing proof of Milton's dishonesty. His version runs—or limps—thus: *nam, me judice,* | *regnare dignum est ambitu, etsi in Tartaro;* | *alto præesse Tartaro siquidem* (sic) *juvat,* | *cælis quam in ipsis servi obire munia.* In 1752 he reprinted the *Adamus* in his *Delectus*, but did not venture to interpolate his forgery. The mischief, however, had been done; for Bishop Newton printed the lines in his notes on this passage as genuine, and remarked that M. had evidently 'translated' them from Grotius. Of course, the fraud was eventually exposed.

Bishop Newton, whose own work in editing *Paradise Lost* was of signal merit, had no reason to suspect Lauder, and probably no opportunity of consulting the *Adamus*.

263. Probably the germ of this famous line (varied in VI. 183, 184) is Homer, *Od.* XI. 488, where Achilles (in Hades) says that he would rather serve on earth as a poor man's slave, than reign over all the dead. Fletcher says of the fallen angels, "In Heaven they scorn'd to serve, so now in Hell they reign" (*The Purple Island*, VII. 10).

266. *oblivious*, causing forgetfulness; cf. II. 74.

276, 277. Cf. VI. 108. *edge* = Lat. *acies*, the front line of a fight.

281. *amazed*, utterly confounded; a far stronger word then; cf. 313.

282. *pernicious*, destructive, ruinous; some, however, explain it 'great,' 'excessive.'

284—87. *his...shield*; see VI. 254—56. *like the moon*; Spenser had appropriated the sun for this simile; cf. *The Faerie Queene*, II. 2. 21, "His sunbroad shield about his wrest (i.e. *wrist*) he bond."

285. *temper* = a thing tempered (cf. II. 813): abstract for concrete.

288. *optic glass*; apparently not an uncommon phrase for the telescope; I find it in Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Victory on Earth*, 60, and in Henry More, *Song of the Soul*:

> "The Opticke glasse has shown to sight
> The dissolution of these starrie crouds"

(p. 212, Cambridge ed. 1647). Cf. "optic tube," III. 590 (borrowed by Thomson, *Autumn*). Galileo did not invent the telescope, but he developed it: hence it is generally associated with his name; cf. Bacon, "those glasses (*illa perspicilla*) discovered by the memorable efforts of Galileo," *Novum Organon*, XXXIX.

A *Tuscan* by birth, Galileo (cf. V. 261—63, note) passed the latter part of his life in, or near, Florence. M. saw him (1638—39); cf. the *Areopagitica*: "There (in Italy) it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo, grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought," *P. W.* II. 82. Another great Englishman who visited Galileo not long before M. (in 1636) was Hobbes. The poet would remember that, like himself, Galileo lost his sight (about 1638). See an article, "Galileo in the Val D'Arno," in *The Monthly Review*, April, 1907.

289, 290. There is true pathos in the mention, here and in 302—304, of Italian scenes. M. is revisiting in memory places associated with what was, perhaps, the happiest period of his whole life, viz. his stay in Italy: "times when...I tasted bliss without alloy" (as he wrote in 1647, *Letter*). He always spoke of Italy with the deepest affection:

especially of Florence which he loved for its language (*Letter*, 1638), "its genius and taste" (*Second Defence*), and the friends whom he should ever remember with pleasure (*vestri nunquam meminisse pigebit—Epitaphium Damonis*, 125). He was much courted there by men of letters, says his nephew (*Life* of M., 1694).

Fesolè, Fiesole, classical *Fæsulæ*; a hill about three miles north-east of Florence. *Valdarno*, the valley of the river Arno, in which Florence lies. Here (290) M. has in mind Galileo's last residence at the villa called *Il Gioello* ('the Gem') at Arcetri, on the left bank of the Arno, i.e. west of the main part of the city. Near this villa "an old tower is still pointed out as having once been his observatory" (Masson). There is a passage in one of Milton's *Letters* from Florence, in which he speaks of his "visiting with delight the stream of the Arno, and the hills of Fæsolæ" (*P. W.* III. 497).

292, 293. *his spear...the mast.* I find the comparison twice in Fairfax's famous translation (1600) of Tasso's epic *Jerusalem Delivered* (briefly referred to in these *Notes* as "Fairfax, *Tasso*"); cf. III. 17, "Mast-great the spear was which the gallant bore," and VI. 39.

293. *Norwegian hills.* Norway, of course, was a great timber-emporium: thence, says Hexham's *Mercator* (1636), "the high *masts* for shipping, the plankes and boords of Oak and *firre trees* are sent yeerely in great abundance into Germanie, Holland, France, *England*, Spayne, and other places" (I. 93). And Jonson says that the appearance of the tall-masted vessels of the Armada was as if "half of Norway with her fir trees came," *Prince Henry's Barriers*. See also Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis*, st. 143.

294. *ammiral*, the chief vessel of a fleet, the flagship.

296. *marle*, soil; more correctly used of rich, moist earth.

those, i.e. the well-known, famous (Lat. *illi*).

298. Cf. VI. 214, and *P. R.* I. 116.

299. *nathless*=not the less: A. S. *nâ*=not.

302. The comparison of a multitude to fallen autumnal leaves is found in Homer, Vergil, Dante, and other epic poets. Cf. Dryden (who has obviously recollected this passage), "Thick as the leaves in autumn strew the woods...the army stands," *Æn.* VI. 428. M. was himself at Florence in the autumn (September, 1638). The Italian allusion in 302—304 follows naturally on the other (288—90).

303, 304. *Vallombrosa*, 'shady valley'; about 18 miles from Florence. The name is applied not only to the valley itself, but to the wood-covered amphitheatre of hills rising therefrom. High up stands a monastery (now secularised) where M. was said to have spent some days (a tradition of which Wordsworth makes effective use in his "At Vallombrosa"), and

in the chapel an organ used to be shown as that on which M. played. The reference to the fallen leaves is appropriate, the approach to the monastery being through forests of chestnut and beech trees, deciduous species. Dean Stanley wrote, "inasmuch as the whole mountain is furrowed with streams, which gave to the place its original name of *Bellacqua*, the leaves constantly falling on these streams, and almost choking their currents, give the exact picture" painted by M.: "an instance" (he added) "of the tenacity of Milton's memory in retaining, through all the vicissitudes of civil war, age, and blindness, the precise recollection of what he had seen in early youth"—*Notes and Queries*, V. v. 306, XI. 488, 489.

There is a good description of Vallombrosa in a once popular book of travel, Eustace's *Classical Tour through Italy*, vol. III. chap. 2. He says that the monastery was "at all times celebrated in the literary history of Italy" (Ariosto, for instance, mentioning it in terms of high eulogy); so that Milton's reference is really a touch of his literary allusiveness, as well as an echo of happy personal experience. Eustace also notes that the description in *Paradise Lost*, IV. 131—42, has been thought by some to be a recollection of the scenery at Vallombrosa.

embower, form as it were bowers.

sedge; "in allusion to the Hebrew name of the Red Sea, Yâm Sûf, i.e. Sea of Sedge, on account of the quantity of sea-weed in it" (Keightley). As the angels are afloat on waves (of fire), the simile is in the highest degree appropriate.

305. The rising of the constellation Orion (at midsummer) and his setting (at the beginning of November) being attended with storms, the name became proverbial of rain and "fierce winds." Cf. *Æneid* I. 535, *nimbosus Orion*, IV. 52, *aquosus Orion*; and Grotius, *Adamus Exul—illic procellis tumidus Orion furit*. So Marlowe, *Faustus*, III. 2, "Orion's drizzling look"; and Heywood's *Hierarchie*, "*Orion*... riseth in the winter season, disturbing both earth and sea with showres and tempests" (ed. 1635, p. 177).

armed; from *Æneid* III. 517, *armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona*. "After his death, Orion [the great hunter] was placed among the Stars where he appears as a giant with a girdle, sword...and club" (*Class. Dict.*).

306—11. *Exodus* xiv. *vexed*; in the sense ('to disturb violently, to buffet') of Lat. *vexare*, as applied to a storm, e.g. in Vergil, *Eclogue* VI. 76, Horace, *Odes* II. 9. 3. Cf. "the still-vex'd Bermoothes," *The Tempest*, I. 1. 229; and Tennyson's *Ulysses*, line 11. See II. 660, and *P. R.* IV. 416.

307. Late Greek writers (cf. the XIth *Oration* of Isocrates) speak

of an Egyptian king Busiris, unknown to Homer and Hesiod, and not mentioned in Egyptian records. Some describe him as builder of Thebes. Legend said that he was slain by Hercules—an event depicted often on vases. Why M. identifies him with the Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea, no one has ever explained. Some editors say that M. follows Raleigh's *History*; but Raleigh expressly states that Busiris was "the first oppressor of the Israelites" (p. 204), and that after *two* intervening reigns came "Cenchres drowned in the Red Sea" (p. 197, 1621 ed.). Cf. again p. 218, "through which (i.e. Red Sea) Moses past, and in which Pharaoh, otherwise called Cenchres, perished." Either M. follows some unknown authority, or he treats *Busiris* as a general title for the rulers of Egypt, like 'Pharaoh.'

Memphian = Egyptian; cf. 694. The same use occurs in Sylvester; cf. "The *Memphian* Sages then, and subtill Priests," where the margin has, "The Magicians of Egypt" (Grosart's ed., I. 187). He calls the Egyptians variously "Memphites," "Memphists," and "Memphians." Memphis was the ancient capital (before Thebes) of Egypt; founded by Menes (1st monarch of 1st dynasty), and called *Men nefer*, 'the good station,' from its position at the apex of the Delta.

chivalry, forces, as *P. R.* III. 344. In neither place need we limit it to 'cavalry' (with which *chivalry* is etymologically identical).

308. *perfidious*; because he had given the Israelites leave to go.

309. "Israel dwelt...in the country of Goshen," *Gen.* xlvii. 27.

311. *broken*; cf. XII. 210.

312. *abject*, cast down.

320. *virtue*, valour = Lat. *virtus*.

321. *the vales of Heaven*. In V. 642—55 he describes the angels sleeping in Heaven, "among the trees of life."

330. One of the earliest allusions to *Paradise Lost* seems to occur in Marvell's *Satires* ("Britannia and Raleigh," 1673 or 1674): "Awake, arise from thy long blest repose!" (Aitken's ed., p. 82).

335. *nor did they not*, i.e. and they did—Lat *neque non*.

337. For "obey *to*" (Fr. *obéir à*), cf. Greene, *Friar Bacon*, IX. 142, "I charge thee to obey to Vandermast"; *Troilus and Cressida*, III. 1. 165, and *The Phœnix*, 4, "To whose sound chaste wings obey." There is a single instance in the Bible—*Romans* vi. 16.

338—43. *Exod.* x. 12—15. See the account of the ten Plagues in XII. 184—86. *Amram's son*, Moses; see *Exod.* vi. 20.

340. *a pitchy cloud*, dark as pitch; the expression occurs in the deleted lines of *Comus*, between 356 and 357; cf. 1 *Henry VI.* II. 2. 1, 2:

> "The day begins to break, and night is fled,
> Whose pitchy mantle over-veil'd the earth."

341. *warping*, working themselves, undulating, forward; the metaphor of a ship.

345. *cope*, roof, covering; cf. IV. 992.

351—55. Alluding to the invasions of Italy and the Roman empire by the Goths (as early as 248 A.D.); the Huns, notably under Attila, defeated at Chalons-sur-Marne, 451; and the Vandals. Genseric, or Gaiseric, the leader of the Vandals, crossed from Spain into Numidia, 428, captured Carthage, 439, and built up an empire in Africa.

Observe the effectiveness of the three similes whereby M. conveys an impression of the numbers of the angels. They are compared—resting on the water, to fallen leaves (or floating sea-weed): flying, to a cloud of locusts that "darkens" the land (*Exodus* x. 15): alighted, to a vast host that throngs a plain. Each aspect has its simile.

353. *Rhene*, from Lat. *Rhenus*=Rhine, and *Danaw* or *Donau*, the German form of Danube, were current forms in the 17th cent.; they are in Hexham's *Mercator* (1636) and Heylin's *Cosmography* (1682 ed.), perhaps the two most popular geographical works of the time. So "Rhenish wine"=Rhine wine, *The Merchant of Venice*, I. 2. 104, *Hamlet*, I. 4. 10.

355. *beneath*, south of; alluding to the Vandals.

356. *every...each.* A favourite variation with Milton; cf. *Comus*, 19, "Of every salt flood and each ebbing stream," and 311, "I know each lane, and every alley green." Etymologically *ever-y*=*ever-each*.

361—75. Again in VI. 379, 380, he tells us that the original names of the apostate angels were "Cancelled from Heaven and sacred memory." How then is he to describe them? He must give them *some* titles. So he adopts (see pp. 672—74) the view that they became the gods of heathenism, oriental and classical, and here, by anticipation, uses those "new names" (365) which later ages assigned to them.

363. Bentley thought that M. dictated *Book*; cf. *Rev.* iii. 5. A passage in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 4, seems to make this probable: "mention is frequently made of those who are written among the living and of the book of life, but never of the book of death."

370, 371. See *Romans* i. 23.

372. *religions*, religious rites. *full of pomp*; M. often expresses dislike of ceremony and ritual in worship (see XII. 534).

376. *who first, who last*; τίνα πρῶτον, τίνα δ' ὕστατον, *Iliad* V. 703. The long list of the deities is intended as a counterpart to Homer's catalogue of the ships and Vergil's list of warriors.

381. Those who led astray "the chosen people" come first.

382—91. Texts probably glanced at are: 1 *Pet.* v. 8; *Ezek.* vii. 20, xliii. 8; *Exod.* xxv. 22; 2 *Kings* xix. 15. For the setting up of altars to heathen gods inside the Temple, see Manasseh's reign, 2 *Kings* xxi.

386. *thundering*; "perhaps taken from *Exodus* xx., where Jehovah thunders the Ten Commandments from Sinai" (Beeching).

386, 387. The reference is to the golden images of Cherubim, with expanded wings, placed over the mercy-seat covering the ark in the Tabernacle. Cf. *Psalm* lxxx. 1.

389. *abominations*; the Bible word for idolatrous worship.

391. *affront*; commonly taken in its primary sense 'to confront,' 'face' (Lat. *ad+frons*)—cf. *Hamlet*, III. 1. 31; but IX. 328 and *P. R.* III. 161 make the ordinary sense, 'to insult,' more likely.

392. *Moloch*; god of the Sun regarded as a destroying power; "the abomination of the children of Ammon," 1 *Kings* xi. 7; worshipped with human sacrifices, 2 *Kings* xxiii. 10, *Ps.* cvi. 37, 38. The name, better written 'Molech,' means 'King' (cf. *Amos* v. 26, margin), and M. generally adds "King" (cf. II. 43, VI. 357). He comes "first" because "fiercest" (II. 44). With these lines, 392—96, cf. the *Nativity Ode*, 205—10, where Warton pointed out Milton's probable obligation to Sandys.

396. Sandys, whose *Relation* (1615) of his travels in Palestine was certainly known to Milton (see again XII. 143, 144, note), gives, no doubt, the picture of the idol handed down by Jewish tradition, and describes it as "of brasse, hauing the head of a Calfe, the rest of a kingly figure, with armes extended to receiue the miserable sacrifice, seared to death with his burning embracements. For the Idol was hollow within, filled with fire. And least their lamentable shreeks should sad the hearts of their parents, the Priests of Molech did deafe their eares with the continual clang of trumpets and timbrels," *Relation*, p. 186 (ed. 1637). This sacrifice of children by fire was due to the notion that the fierce summer heat of the god would be allayed thereby (Sayce).

396—99. *Rabba*, the capital of the Ammonites, "the city of *waters*," 2 *Sam.* xii. 27: *Argob*, a district of the mountain range of *Bashan*: *Arnon*, the boundary river between Moab and the Amorites: all E. of Jordan. Part of this territory (as Keightley notes) belonged to—not the Ammonites, spite of their claim (*Judg.* xi. 13)—but the Amorites.

398. *Basan*; the form used in the Septuagint, Vulgate, and *Prayer-Book*. M. always avoids *sh*; cf. *Hesebon*, 408, *Sittim*, 413, *Beersaba* (Beersheba), III. 536, *Silo* (Shilo), *S. A.* 1674 (as in Sandys,

p. 201). It will generally be found that he has the authority of either the Septuagint or Vulgate (or both) for his Scriptural proper names, where they differ in form from the Authorised Version.

401—403. Solomon, persuaded by his wives (cf. 443—46), built "high places" to Moloch, Chemos and Astarte on the Mount of Olives (1 *Kings* xi. 5—7)—thence called the "mount of corruption" (2 *Kings* xxiii. 13), and later, the "mount of offence." These titles M. glances at here (403), and in 416, 443.

401. *by fraud*, by deceit.

402. *his temple*, i.e. of Moloch.

404. The valley of Hinnom, lying S. and S.W. of Jerusalem, skirted the southern part of Olivet. Having been the scene of rites paid to Moloch, it was "defiled" (cf. 418) by Josiah (2 *Kings* xxiii. 10), and made the common refuse-place of Jerusalem. Previously it formed part of the royal gardens. Sandys says, "We descended into the valley of Gehinnon, which divideth the Mount Sion from the Mountaine of Offence...This valley is but streight (i.e. narrow); heretofore most delightful, planted with *groves*, and watered with fountains," *Relation*, p. 186. The grove of Hinnom is not directly mentioned in Scripture.

405. *Gehenna*, hell; the Greek form of *Ge Hinnom*, 'valley of Hinnom.'

406. "Moloch and Chemos ('the abomination of Moab') are joined, 1 *Kings* xi. 7. And it was a natural transition from the god of the Ammonites to the god of their neighbours the Moabites" (Newton). Chemos (really the same deity as Moloch) was often identified with Baal-Peor (412).

obscene, foul; referring to the character of the rites with which he was worshipped. *dread*, i.e. object of dread.

407—11. Roughly, all the places here mentioned (of which the sites are known) lay in the territory assigned (*Numb.* xxxii.) to the tribe of Reuben—a region fringing the east shore of the Dead Sea, bounded S. by the river Arnon, N. by Mt Nebo. It had belonged to the Moabites till it was won from them by the Amorites (*Numb.* xxi. 26).

407. *from Aroer to Nebo*, i.e. from S. to N. of the region. *Aroer*; a small town on the bank of the Arnon; cf. Tennyson, *A Dream of Fair Women*, "from Aroer on Arnon unto Minneth." *Nebo*, the mountain (forming part of the range of *Abarim*) from whose summit, Pisgah, Moses saw the Promised Land (*Deut.* xxxii. 49, xxxiv. 1).

408. *Hesebon*, Heshbon, "the city of Sihon the king of the Amorites," *Numb.* xxi. 26.

410. The germ of the line lies in *Isaiah* xvi. 8, "the *vine* of Sibmah" (and verse 9). "Several rock-cut wine-presses are to be seen here,

and these are probably the remains of the vineyard industry for which Sibmah was once so famous" (Murray's *Palestine*, p. 173); the "flowery dale" is now "quite barren and uncultivated."

411. *Elealè*, mod. El-'Al, 'the High'; about 1½ miles from Heshbon. *the Asphaltic pool*=the Dead Sea; cf. Blount, *Glossographia*, "Asphaltick of or belonging to the Dead Sea, or Lake called Asphaltites"; and Sandys' *Relation*, p. 141, "that cursed lake Asphaltites; so named of the Bitumen which it vomiteth." The bitumen or "asphaltus" (729) floating on its surface is called "slime" in *Gen.* xi. 3, or 'Jews' Pitch.' See x. 298, 561, 562, notes. Compare the description of the Dead Sea in *The Talisman*, chapter I.

412—14. *Peor*, Baal-Peor. *Sittim*; see *Numb.* xxv.; it was situated "in the plains of Moab." *to do...rites*=ἱερὰ ῥέζειν, *sacra facere* ('to *sacrifice*'); cf. *Comus*, 535, "Doing abhorred rites to Hecate." *cost them woe*, i.e. the plague wherein died "twenty and four thousand."

In Milton's list (Trinity MS.) of possible Scriptural subjects for his great poem occurs the entry: "Moabitides Num. 25"; and later a second entry: "Moabitides or Phineas," with a very brief outline of the treatment of the theme.

415—18. He means that in later times, under Solomon, the rites (="orgies") of Chemos were introduced at Jerusalem. *of scandal*, i.e. of 'offence' or 'stumbling.' *homicide*; he received human sacrifice (392—96).

415. *orgies*; cf. Jonson, *Hymenæi* (footnote), "ὄργια with the Greeks value the same that *ceremoniæ* with the Latins; and imply all sorts of rites." *enlarged*, carried still further.

419—21. *bordering*, i.e. Palestine, on the north. *the brook*, the Besor, "the river of Egypt." These limits comprise Canaan.

422. *Baalim*. The supreme male deity of the Phœnician and Canaanitish nations was the Sun-god, Baal: worshipped in different places under different aspects and titles—e.g. Baal-Berith, Baal-Zebub, Baal-Peor. The collective name of all these manifestations of the god was 'Baälim' (plural). So 'Ashtaroth' (plural) was the collective name of the different manifestations of the Moon-goddess Ashtoreth (sing.), the supreme female deity of these nations, and counterpart of Baal.

423—25. Imitated by Pope, *The Rape of the Lock*, I. 69, 70:

"For Spirits, freed from mortal laws, with ease
Assume what sexes and what shapes they please."

Pope imitates Milton much—often most wittily.

See also VI. 351—53, where M. says that spirits "limb themselves," as they like, and assume "colour, shape, or size," according to their pleasure. Sir Thomas Browne discusses curious beliefs concerning

"mutation of sexes," in *Vulgar Errors*, III. xvii. *essence pure*=the "liquid texture" of spirits, VI. 348.

428. *in what shape they choose.* See 789, 790. Satan takes several "shapes" in *P. L.*: e.g. in IV. 402, 403, he is first a lion (an allusion to 1 *Peter* v. 8), then a tiger. In works on demonology popular in the 17th century evil spirits often appear in the shape of wild animals; see the "Digression of Spirits" in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, I. ii. I. 2. Thus in the *Faust-buch* (1587), chap. XXIII., numerous spirits are introduced to Faustus, each in the form of some animal; see Dr Ward's *Faustus*, p. 141.

429. *dilated*, expanded. *obscure*, dark. M. invests the angels with a radiance which they can lay aside.

433. Cf. "living Dread," *S. A.* 1673, "living God" in Scripture.

434—36. *bowing...bowed.* Sarcastic play on words.

The punctuation of the original editions makes *bowed* the main verb, and *sunk* a participle.

436. *before*; implying 'under the onslaught of'; as if they scarcely awaited it.

438—41. *Astoreth*, or Astarte, identical with the Assyrian Istar and Greek Aphrodite, was symbolised in the religion of Phœnicians by the planet Venus or the Moon: in the latter case she was represented as horned like the crescent moon. Cf. Selden, *de Dis Syris—Lunam autem se ostendit Astarte, cum fronte corniculata fuerit conspicua* (1629 ed., p. 246). So M. regards her here and in the *Nat. Ode*, 200, "mooned Ashtaroth, *Heaven's queen*"—a title due to her as Moon-goddess ("the queen of heaven," *Jeremiah* vii. 18). Cf. "Assyrian queen" (i.e. Istar), *Comus*, 1002. The name is cognate with Sanskrit *tara* or *stara*, Lat. *stella*, E. *star*.

Sidon was the oldest, and for a time the chief, city of Phœnicia.

443—46. See 401—403, note, and cf. *P. R.* II. 169—71. *large*; "God gave Solomon...largeness of heart," 1 *Kings* iv. 29. One of the entries in the list of subjects in the Cambridge MSS. is "Salomon Gynæcocratumenus or Idolomargus."

446—52. "In vain the Tyrian maids their wounded Thammuz mourn," *Nat. Ode*, 204. According to the legend, Thammuz, son of Cyneras, King of Byblus in Phœnicia, was slain by a boar in Lebanon; but every year his blood flowed afresh, and he came to life again—there being annual festivals in his honour at Byblus and elsewhere, first to lament his death, then to celebrate his revival. Thammuz, 'sun of life,' is the Greek Adonis (the god of the solar year), and the story symbolises the alternation of summer and winter. The notion of his blood flowing again was due to the reddening of the waters of the river Adonis

through the peculiar red mud brought down by spring torrents from the Lebanon heights. M. alludes to the story in IX. 440, *Mansus*, 11, and *Eikonoklastes*, 1 ("let them who now mourn for him as for Thammuz, them who howl in their pulpits"—where "him" refers to Charles I.). The story is given at some length in Sandys' *Relation*, p. 209.

450, 451. *smooth*, smooth-flowing. *Smooth* was used similarly of the river Mincius in *Lycidas*, 86, but amplified to *smooth-sliding*. *native*, i.e. from the river's source. *ran purple*, i.e. with reddened waters.

454—57. *Ezekiel* viii. 14. Probably the Jews owed this worship to their intercourse with the Phœnicians.

457—62. "Behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold," 1 *Sam.* v. 4. *Dagon*, the national god of the Philistines. See *Samson Agonistes*, *passim*, and cf. an entry in the Trinity MS.: "Dagonalia. Jud. 16"; the reference being to *Judges* xvi. 23—30 (the events dramatised in *S. A.*). His worship seems to have been introduced from Babylonia, since cuneiform Assyrian inscriptions mention a god *Dakan* or *Dagan*, probably identical with Dagon. The name has also been derived (1) from Heb. *Dag*, 'a fish,' (2) from the Heb. word for 'corn,' Dagon being the god also of agriculture.

458. *in earnest*, with better reason than the mourners just mentioned. *captive ark*; see 1 *Sam.* v. 2.

460. *grunsel*, threshold.

463. *downward fish*; a symbol that he was a "sea-idol" (*S. A.* 13), the Philistines themselves being a race who had come into Canaan over the sea (from Crete), and dwelt along the sea-coast. Cf. 1 *Sam.* v. 4, margin. Probably M. connected the name with *Dag*, 'a fish.'

464—66. He mentions the five chief cities of the Philistines, Ashdod and Gaza (cf. *S. A.*, *passim*) being the principal seats of the worship of Dagon. *Azotus*, the Greek form of *Ashdod* (*Acts* viii. 40); used in the Vulgate; Selden, *de Dis Syris* (p. 262), says, *In Azoto sive Asdodo... fanum celebre erat Dagonis*. *Ascalon*=Askelon; so the Septuagint and Vulgate. *Accaron*=Ekron, as in the Vulgate, which also has *Accaronitæ*=the people of Ekron. These must have been current forms in the 17th century: cf. Sandys' *Relation*, p. 153, "Ten miles North of Ascalon along the shore stands Azotus: and eight miles beyond that Acharon, now places of no reckoning." Cf. also Scot, *Discoverie*, 1584, "Belzebub the god of Acharon" (VII. xiii.), and Heywood's *Hierarchie*, "Baalzebub, of the Accarronites," p. 40. *Gaza*, the modern Guzzeh; on the borders of the desert that separates Palestine from Egypt: hence "frontier bonds." (For Selden see Gibbon's *Decline*, XV. note 4.)

467—69. *Rimmon*, the Syrian deity of *Damascus* (2 *Kings* v. 18), which lay between the rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar* (2 *Kings* v. 12).

M. rightly stresses the name *Ábbana*.

471—76. *a leper*, Naaman (2 *Kings* v.). For the Syrian altar of Ahaz, see 2 *Kings* xvi. *sottish*, foolish.

476—82. Cf. the *Nativity Ode*, 211—15. The religion of the Egyptians consisted in a pantheistic worship of nature that took animals for its symbols. Thus *Osiris*, their chief god, was worshipped under the symbol of a sacred bull, Apis; cf. the *Essay on Man*, I. 64, "the dull ox...Is now a victim, and now Egypt's god." Of *Isis*, 'goddess of the earth,' Herodotus says, "the statue of this goddess has the form of a woman but with horns like a cow" (Rawlinson, II. 73). *Anubis* again was represented with a jackal's head, which the Greeks and Romans changed to that of a dog (cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 482 B and Vergil *Æn.* VIII. 698, *latrator Anubis*). *Orus* (or *Horus*), 'path of the sun,' was their Sun-god.

Milton seems to be fond of referring to Egyptian mythology, drawing mainly, it is said, on Plutarch's treatise of Isis and Osiris. Thus he introduces the story of Isis and Osiris in his beautiful allegory of the dismemberment of Truth (*Areopagitica*); cf. also the bitter gibe at Charles I.'s death-scene in *Eikonoklastes*, I ("that I should dare to tell abroad the secrets of their Ægyptian Apis"), *P. W.* I. 328. See also his *De Idea Platonica*, 29—34.

477. *crew*; a depreciatory word in Milton (except in *L' Allegro*, 38), being used often of Satan and his followers; cf. 51, 751.

479. *abused*, deceived, deluded; cf. Fr. *abuser*.

482—84. The worship by Israelites of the golden calf in the wilderness (*Exod.* xxxii.) is traced to the Egyptian cult of Apis. *borrowed*, i.e. from the Egyptians, whom they "spoiled," *Exod.* xii. 35, 36.

484—86. *rebel king*, Jeroboam, a rebel against Rehoboam (who succeeded Solomon); he "doubled" the sin because he "made *two* calves of gold," setting one in Bethel, the other in Dan (1 *Kings* xii. 20, 28, 29). With 486 cf. *Psalm* cvi. 20.

487—89. Referring to the tenth plague, *Exod.* xii. See XII. 189, 190. *he passed*, i.e. Israel.

489. "The Lord smote all the first-born in the land of Egypt...and all the first-born of cattle," *Exod.* xii. 29. *bleating*; their deity Ammon was worshipped under the form of a ram.

490. Strictly, *Belial* was not the name of any god, but an abstract word meaning 'that which is without profit'=worthlessness, wickedness: hence generally found in phrases like 'son (or man) of Belial'

(501, 502). Cf. Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*, 597, 598:

"During his office treason was no crime,
The sons of Belial had a glorious time."

It has been treated so in the Bible sometimes, but more often—incorrectly—as a proper name. M. makes Belial a type of effeminacy and lust (cf. *P. R.* II. 150), and rightly does not limit his worship to any particular place—although, to gratify his own hostility to the Church (493—96) and the court (497), he cannot refrain from indicating his opinion as to where Belial is most prevalent. Cf. *P. R.* II., where Satan, speaking to Belial, says (182, 183):

"Have we not seen, or by relation heard,
In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st?"

last; because "timorous and slothful" (II. 117).

495. See 1 *Samuel* ii. 12—17.

497. Charles II. was then on the throne. The Licenser might have been expected to raise objections to the line.

498—512. Macaulay suggested that M. had in mind "those pests of London," the street bullies, known at different times under various slang names, e.g. "Hectors," "Mohawks," "who infested London by night, attacking foot-passengers and beating the watch" (Mark Pattison, note on Pope's *Satires*, I. 71).

502. *flown*, flushed; the combination of the abstract word, "insolence," with the literal "wine," suggests the figure called *zeugma*.

503—505. *Gen.* xix., *Judg.* xix. The First Ed. had:

"when hospitable Dores
Yielded thir Matrons to prevent worse rape."

503. *witness*, i.e. let the streets bear witness, be a proof.

506. *prime*, first, foremost.

507. *were long to tell*. Cf. X. 469, XII. 261; an imitation of the Latin; cf. Lucretius, IV. 1170, *cetera de genere hoc longum est, si dicere coner*. Spenser has it in *The Faerie Queene*, II. 7. 14, and Drayton, *Polyolbion*, XV. (Keightley). *were*; the subjunctive, rare now, but common in Elizabethan English (Abbott).

508, 509. i.e. held (=considered) by Javan's descendants (the Greeks) to be gods. *confessed later*, admitted to be of later origin; see *Deuteronomy* xxxii. 17.

Javan, the son of Japhet; see *Genesis* x. 2. He stands for the Greek race; the name being the same word as Ἴων (older form Ἰάων), whence *Ionians*, the section of the Greeks with whom the Hebrews were best acquainted through Phœnician trade. Cf. "isles of *Javan*" =isles of Greece, *S. A.* 715, 716; see *Isaiah* lxvi. 19. See IV. 717, note.

509. *Heaven and Earth*, i.e. Uranus and Ge (or Gaia), whose 12 sons, according to the ordinary mythology, were called Titans (see 198, note). One of them, Cronos (=Saturn in Roman mythology), deposed his eldest brother (cf. 511, 512), and afterwards was himself expelled by his own son Zeus=Jove, whose mother was Rhea (cf. 512—14). In 510 M. uses *Titan* as a name for the eldest ("first-born") of the 12 Titans.

511. *enormous*, monstrous.

514, 515. *Ida*, the mountain in Crete where Jove was born. In *Il Penseroso*, 29, M. associates "Ida's inmost grove" with Saturn.

515, 516. *Olympus*, a mountain range between Thessaly and Macedonia; early Greek poets speak of it, literally, as being the abode of Zeus and the other deities; so Milton here and in VII. 7, X. 583, 584 (note). *snowy*; "its chief summit is covered with perpetual snow" (*Class. Dict.*): hence Homer's epithet *νιφόεις*.

the middle air; an old theory of physics divided the air into three regions (*aëris trina spatia*, according to the *Adamus Exul* of Grotius), and M. refers to this view and means the middle region of the three. See *Appendix*, pp. 674—76.

517. *Delphian cliff*; the seat of the famous oracle of Apollo; on the southern slope of Mt Parnassus. Keightley quotes from Sophocles, *Œdipus Rex* 463, Δελφὶς πέτρα; cf. "steep of Delphos" (with the same reference to Apollo), in the *Nat. Ode*, 178, and Gray's *Progress of Poesy*, 66.

518. *Dodona*, in Epirus. There was an oracle of Zeus here.

519, 520. *Doric land*, Greece. According to the common tradition, Saturn came alone to Italy ("the Hesperian fields").

521. *the Celtic*, i.e. "fields"—cf. *Comus*, 60, "Roving the Celtic and Iberian fields"; or he may be imitating Greek ἡ Κελτική (i.e. χώρα or γῆ, 'country'): in either case he means France—perhaps too Spain. *utmost isles*, e.g. Britain (cf. Vergil, *Ecl.* I. 67, *penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*) and '*ultima* Thule.'

523. *damp*; see XI. 293, note.

528. *recollecting*, re-collecting, getting back again; cf. X. 471.

532. "A *clarion* is a small shrill treble trumpet" (Hume).

534. *Azazel*, from *Leviticus* xvi. 8, where the A.V. has "the scapegoat," while the margin has "Azazel," which the R.V. adopts. That the word was the title of some evil demon is now generally held. I am told there is a long passage about Azazel (taken as a type of strength, such as his office here demands) in *An Essay towards the Amendment of the Last English Translation of the Bible*, p. 293 (1659), by Robert Gell, a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge in Milton's time.

536. *advanced*, uplifted; cf. V. 588; the term for raising a standard.

538. *emblazed*=emblazoned: a term from heraldry. Cf. v. 592. and 2 *Henry VI.* IV. 10. 76. The banner had rich devices portrayed on it.

540. *metal blowing*; an absolute construction. The music changes (cf. 551) when their spirits have been duly raised by the trumpet-notes.

542. *Hell's concave*, the vaulted roof of Hell; cf. II. 635.

543. *reign*, realm; so "regency," v. 748. See II. 894—96 (note), 959—63.

546. *orient*, lustrous, bright.

547, 548. *helms*, helmets. *serried*, locked together, Fr. *serré*.

549—62. Cf. VI. 63—68. Here M. is thinking of the description in Thucydides (v. 70) of the Spartans advancing at the battle of Mantinea ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν πολλῶν, "to the strains of many flute-players" (Keightley).

550, 551. The "Dorian" is one of the 'authentic' modes in music; Plato calls it "the true Hellenic mode," and "the strain of courage," ἀνδρεία, in contrast to the effeminate "Lydian" mode (see *L' Allegro*, 136, note). It inspires "a moderate and settled temper in the listener," says Aristotle (*Pol.* VIII. 5). In the *Areopagitica* M. speaks of music which is "grave and Doric," *P. W.* II. 73. Many old German chorales are written in this mode (Grove). In *On Education* M. dwells on the influence of music upon character, in a passage closely parallel to this (*P. W.* III. 476). The lines seem an expression of his own devotion to the same art and inspiration. *phalanx*; the close formation ('unit') of the Spartan ("Dorian") army. *to*, to the sound of, Gk. ὑπό; cf. 561.

mood=mode. *recorders*, flutes.

556. *swage*, assuage; lit. 'to make sweet,' Lat. *suavis*.

561. *in silence*; cf. VI. 64.

562. *the burnt soil*; see 228, 229.

563. *horrid*; probably in the lit. sense 'bristling' (Lat. *horridus*), i.e. with spears etc.; cf. II. 513 and VI. 82.

567, 568. *files*, ranks; cf. VI. 339. *traverse*, across.

573. i.e. since the creation of man, *post hominem creatum*: a Latinism often used by M. with *after*; cf. *Comus*, 48, "After the Tuscan mariners transformed."

574. *embodied*, assembled, brought together.

574, 575. i.e. any other army, compared with this host of angels, would be as absurdly inferior as an army of pygmies.

that small infantry, i.e. the Pygmies (cf. 780), the fabulous little folk, of the height of a πυγμή (13½ inches), whom Homer mentions, *Il.* III. 5. Sir Thomas Browne, not quite certain whether to believe in them, is sure of one thing—that "if any such nation there were, yet it is ridiculous what men have delivered of them; that they fight with cranes

upon the backs of rams or partridges" (*Vulgar Errors*, IV. xi.). Addison was "afraid" that M. meant a pun on "small *infantry*."

576—87. Expanding the idea in 573—75, he takes the great cycles of heroic story—Greek (576—79), British (579—81), mediæval, whether French or Italian (582—87)—and says that all the warriors and armies severally associated with these stories could bear no comparison with Satan's followers.

577. *Phlegra*, the old name of the peninsula of Pallene in Macedonia, where (according to ancient legend) the Giants were born, and where they were vanquished by the Gods. Cf. the *Inferno*, XIV. 58.

578, 579. Greek legend, as embodied in epic or tragic verse, centres mainly round Thebes, Troy (Ilium), and Mycenæ (the city of the Pelopidæ). Thus in his first *Elegy* (45, 46) M. epitomises the chief themes of Greek tragedy—*seu mæret Pelopeia domus, seu nobilis Ili,* | *aut luit incestos aula Creontis avos* (Creon was king of Thebes). Here he mentions only two of the cycles. By the "heroic race" that fought at *Thebes* he means (1) Polynices and his six companions whose exploit is told in Æschylus's play, *Septem contra Thebas*; (2) their descendants, the Epigoni, who ten years later destroyed Thebes. The heroes of the story of *Ilium* are those whom the *Iliad* presents to us. There "auxiliar gods" take part, some helping the Trojans, some the Greeks.

579—81. Cf. Milton's own account of his youthful studies: "hear me out now, readers, that I may tell ye whither my younger feet wandered; I betook me among those lofty *fables and romances*, which recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood," *An Apology for Smectymnuus* (*P. W.* III. 118). The interest of this reference to the legend of King Arthur is explained in the *Introduction*. M. discusses the story at some length in his *History of Britain*, and evidently had studied it closely. It had appealed to Dante. These lines are the reference in the *Introduction* to *Marmion*, where Scott is speaking of King Arthur:

> "The mightiest chiefs of British song
> Scorn'd not such legends to prolong:
> They gleam through Spenser's elfin dream,
> And mix in Milton's heavenly theme."

580. *in fable*; an allusion, suggests Keightley, in particular to Geoffrey of Monmouth, who gives one of our earliest versions (1140) of the Arthurian legend. No doubt M. is thinking of Geoffrey whom he used extensively in his *History;* but there he often refers also to the Breton monk Nennius and to Gildas, yet earlier authorities than Geoffrey—likewise to William of Malmesbury. "Fable" is his favourite term in the *History* for these old Chronicles.

romance; e.g. Malory's *Morte Darthur*, published by Caxton, 1485 (the basis of Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*).

Uther's son, King Arthur, son of Uther Pendragon; cf. Tennyson, *Palace of Art*, "mythic Uther's deeply-wounded son." In the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 166—68, M. glances at the story of Arthur's birth.

581. The division of Arthur's "fabulous paladins" (as Drummond calls them, *Forth Feasting*, 1617) into "British and Armoric" coincides with *P. R.* II. 360, "By Knights of Logres or of Lyones": where *Logres* = Britain, more strictly England east of the river Severn; and *Lyones* = Brittany (according to one theory), whence came Sir Tristram. Brittany "was first called *Armorica* from its situation on the Sea, as the word importeth in the old language of that people" (Heylyn, I. 167). Brittany is closely connected with the Arthurian legend.

begirt with, surrounded by. Cf. Gray, *The Bard*, III.

582—87. The names are associated with romances (mainly Italian) in prose or verse; see *Appendix*, pp. 676—80. *jousted*, tilted.

586. *his peerage*, the "douze pairs" (i.e. *peers*) or 12 "paladins" of France (*P. R.* III. 343): the most famous being Roland, the Achilles or brave man, and Oliver, the Ulysses or wise man, of the Old French epic poems and prose-romances which narrate the exploits of Charlemagne and his knights. *fell*; not literally true of Charlemagne himself; M. may use it as a strong word = 'was utterly vanquished.'

587. *Fontarabbia*, modern Fuenterrabia, a frontier fortress on the Bay of Biscay—S. of Biarritz. Its position made it the scene of many encounters between the Spanish and the French.

588. *observed*, obeyed.

591. *like a tower*; cf. Tennyson's *Ode on the Duke of Wellington*:

> "O fall'n at length that tower of strength
> Which stood four-square to all the winds that blew!"

Vergil bids Dante not trouble about the surprise of the spirits in Purgatory at the sight of him: "Follow me and let the people talk; stand thou as a firm tower [*sta come torre firma*] which never shakes its summit for blast of winds" (*Purgatorio*, V. 13—15).

592. *her*; he personifies "form."

596—99. The lines to which the Licenser for the Press took exception when the MS. of the poem was submitted to him. It was indeed somewhat early after the Civil War and Restoration to speak of "change." The Licenser, as Chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury, might well have objected to Milton's attacks on the Church, e.g. in XII. 507—37. Cf. IV. 193, note.

597. *eclipse*; proverbially of evil omen, the precursor of trouble; see XI. 183, note. *disastrous*, boding disaster.

601. *intrenched*, cut into; cf. O. Fr. *trencher*, 'to cut.'

603. *considerate*, considering, full of thought. Cf. *Areopagitica*, "let us be more considerate builders, more wise," *P. W.* II. 93.

605. *remorse*, pity. *passion*; in the general sense 'deep feeling.'

606. *fellows of*, partners in.

609. *amerced of*, deprived of, lit. 'fined with the loss of.'

613—15. *scathed*, damaged. Whether lightning can be said to "singe" the top of a tree seems doubtful. *blasted heath*; see *Macbeth*, I. 3. 77. *blasted*, withered by the lightning.

619. *thrice*, a conventional number; cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XI. 419, *ter conata loqui, ter fletibus ora rigavit*. *assayed*, tried.

624. *event*, issue, result, Lat. *eventus*; so often in Milton and Shakespeare.

632. Scan *exile*; cf. X. 484, *Richard II.* I. 3. 151.

633. *emptied Heaven*; a mere boast; see II. 692, note.

634. *self-raised*; see II. 75—77.

642. *tempted...attempt*. There are not a few of these jingling phrases in M. Cf. "beseeching or besieging," v. 869, "feats of war defeats," *S. A.* 1278. Generally he expresses sarcasm or contempt by them. The use of this figure of speech (*paronomasia*) is specially common in late Latin writers,—see Mayor's note on Cicero's 2nd *Philippic*, XI. 13—and also in the Italian poets. Milton uses it in his Latin writings; cf. *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 2, "*Natura natam* se fatetur...et *fatum* quid nisi *effatum* divinum omnipotentis cujuspiam numinis potest esse?" Something similar is found in Hebrew.

645. *better part*. *Luke* X. 42 ("Mary hath chosen that good part").

650—54. See II. 345—53, 830—35, and X. 481, 482. The first hint of the design against mankind comes from Satan (cf. II. 379 *et seq.*), though Beëlzebub afterwards developes it (II. 345—78). *fame*, report.

660. *peace is despaired*, i.e. *pax desperatur*; cf. VI. 495.

662. *understood*, i.e. among themselves, and so secret.

668. Like Roman soldiers applauding an oration of their general, by smiting their shields with their swords (Bentley).

674. "It was the common opinion of chemists that metals were composed of sulphur and quicksilver" (Keightley).

675. *brigad*; so the original editions here and in II. 532.

676. *pioner*; an Elizabethan form of *pioneer*.

678. *cast*, form by throwing up the earth. *Mammon*, like "Belial," is not really a proper name, but an abstract word = 'wealth.'

679. *erected*, lofty, elevated (= Lat. *erectus*).

682. "And the street of the city was pure gold," *Rev.* xxi. 21.

684. *vision beatific* = *Visio Beatifica*, the phrase used by Schoolmen to express "seeing" God (*Matthew* v. 8). Cf. "blessed vision," v. 613, "happy-making sight," *Ode on Time*, 18. See III. 61, 62, note. *Ultima et perfecta beatitudo non potest esse nisi in Visione divinae essentiae.*

685, 686. *men also*, i.e. as well as the fallen angels. *the centre*; probably the centre of the earth; or the earth itself.

688. Horace's *aurum irrepertum et sic melius situm* (*Od.* III. 3. 45). Cf. Pope, *Essay on Man*, III. 7—14.

690. *ribs*, bars, large pieces. *admire*, wonder = Lat. *admirari*.

692. *precious bane*; an oxymoron (see II. 252—57).

694. Some interpret *Babel* = Babylon; but why not the Tower of Babel (XII. 43—62)? There is a reference to Babylon in 717.

the works, i.e. the Pyramids; cf. Ben Jonson's Masque, *Prince Henry's Barriers*, "And did the barbarous Memphian heaps out-climb." *Memphian*, Egyptian; as in 307.

697. *and in an hour*, i.e. is performed (from 699).

698, 699. Cf. Pliny, speaking of the Great Pyramid, "it is said (see Herodotus II. 124), that in the building of it there were 366,000 men kept at worke twentie yeares" (Holland's *Pliny*, 1601, II. 577).

702. *sluiced*, led by sluices; cf. Tennyson, *Arabian Nights*.

703. *founded*, melted; it seems impossible to follow the Second Ed., which reads *found out*.

704. *severing*, separating. *bullion-dross*, the scum rising from the bullion, i.e. the liquefied mass of unpurified gold. See V. 439—43, note.

708. M. would be likely to understand the mechanism of the organ, his favourite instrument; cf. XI. 558—63.

710—17. Cf. Pope (imitating the passage), *The Temple of Fame*, 91, "The growing towers, like exhalations, rise"; and Tennyson, *Œnone*:

> "Hear me, for I will speak and build up all
> My sorrow with my song, as yonder walls [i.e. of Troy]
> Rose slowly to a music slowly breathed,
> A cloud that gather'd shape."

Peck noted that Milton's lines read like an account of some Jacobean Masque (IV. 768, note), describing one of those elaborate structures of stage-architecture designed by Inigo Jones and brought on the scene by means of machinery, to the accompaniment of music. For instance, in Jonson's *Entertainment at Theobalds* the main scene represented "a glorious place, figuring the seat of the household gods...erected with *columns* and *architrave*, *frieze* and *cornice*." See XI. 205, 206, note.

It should be remembered too that the classical architecture of the Renaissance, familiar to Milton through his visit to Italy, had come into vogue in this country.

712. *symphonies*, i.e. the harmonious strains of the instruments accompanying the voices; see XI. 595, note.

713—17. *pilasters*, square columns usually set within a wall and slightly projecting. *architrave*, the main or 'master' beam (ἀρχὴ + *trabs*) that rests immediately upon a row of pillars, the *frieze* coming just above, and the *cornice* projecting above the frieze.

bossy sculptures, i.e. sculptures in relief.

fretted gold, gold wrought with designs, patterns.

718. *Alcairo*; he means Memphis, giving it the name of the later capital built (10th cent. A.D.) some few miles from the site of its predecessor. The form *Alcairo* (Arab. *Al Kahirah*, 'the city of victory') seems to have been current then; compare Hexham's *Mercator*, "Memphis...is called at this day (1636) *Cairo* or *Alcairo*" (II. 427).

720. *Belus*. Cf. Sandys' *Relation* (p. 207), "*Belus Priscus*, reputed a God, and honored with Temples; called *Bel* by the Assyrians, and *Baal* by the Hebrewes." The famous temple of Bel at Babylon (Herodotus I. 181—83), attributed to Semiramis, is described by Raleigh, *History*, p. 183 (1621 ed.).

Serapis; there was a temple to him at Memphis, but more celebrated was that at Alexandria, called the *Serapeum*, to which the great library was attached. Serapis was identical with the Greek Hades, whose worship was introduced into Egypt by Ptolemy I., some of the attributes of Osiris being transferred to him. *Serăpis* and *Serāpis* are found; the latter is more correct.

723, 724. *stood fixed*, i.e. was now complete (Lat. *stabat*), having reached its appointed height. *discover*, reveal; F. *découvrir*.

725. Thyer quotes *ampla spatia* from Seneca's *Hercules Furens* III.

727. *pendent by subtle magic*. "I always like this, it is mystical"—Tennyson. (In Tennyson's *Life* by his son there is an *Appendix*, entitled "My Father's talk on Milton's *Paradise Lost*"; it is the source of these criticisms by Tennyson, often conversational in form.)

728. *cresset*, a kind of hanging lamp.

729. *naphtha and asphaltus*; the former the liquid (for the lamps), the latter the solid substance (for the cressets).

732. *the architect*. Masson thinks that Mammon is intended, M. identifying him with Mulciber (or Vulcan). But M. only says that Mammon discovered the gold out of which the fabric was made, and leaves us, I think, to infer from what follows that the architect was Vulcan or Mulciber—in classical mythology the god of fire and all metal-work, and architect of the palaces of the gods (cf. 732—35). He was too famous to need mentioning by name.

733. *towered structure high*. The order of the words—a noun

placed between two qualifying words—is a favourite with M. The idiom is Greek; in his note on *Lycidas*, 6, Mr Jerram quotes Hesiod, *Theogony*, 811, 812, χάλκεος οὐδὸς ἀστεμφής, and Euripides, *Phœnissæ* 234, νιφόβολον ὄρος ἱρόν. Gray probably borrowed the device from Milton; cf. his *Elegy*, 53, "Full many a gem of purest ray serene." See II. 615, 616, v. 5 (note).

736. *gave to rule.* A Lat. idiom; cf. *Æneid*, I. 65, 66, *tibi divum pater...mulcere dedit flectus.* So in III. 243, XI. 339.

737. M. alludes to a mediæval belief that the Heavenly beings were divided into Hierarchies and Orders; see *Appendix*, pp. 680—82.

738, 739. *his name...in...Greece.* Hephæstus was "the god of fire as used in art, and master of all the arts which need the aid of fire, especially of working in metal." All the palaces in Olympus (the heaven of the classical gods) were built by Hephæstus.

Ausonian land, Italy, so called poetically from the *Ausones*, an ancient Latin race who dwelt on the west coast of Italy before its conquest by the Romans.

740. *Mulciber*, 'the softener, welder' (i.e. of metal), from Lat. *mulcere*, 'to soften.'

740—46. Partly a translation of *Iliad* I. 591 *et seq.*, where Hephæstus describes his fall. Cf. two allusions in Milton's Lat. poems: *sic dolet amissum proles Junonia cælum, | inter Lemniacos præcipitata focos* (*Elegy*, VII. 81, 82); and—*qualis in Ægeam proles Junonia Lemnon | deturbata sacro cecidit de limine cæli* (*Naturam Non Pati Senium*, 23).

741. *angry*; because in a dispute between Jove and Juno, Vulcan took the part of Juno, his mother.

742—44. "We fall not from Virtue, like Vulcan from heaven, in a day," says Sir Thomas Browne, *Christian Morals*, I. 30.

746. *Lemnos*, sacred to Hephæstus, "the Lemnian God" (Spenser, *Muiopotmos*); probably because it was volcanic. I think that we should scan:

"On Lem|nos, th' Æg|'an isle|. Thus they | relate."

750. *engines*, contrivances.

752. *harald*, herald.

756. *Pandemonium*, 'the home of all the demons'; cf. X. 424. The word seems to have been coined by Milton (from Gk. πᾶν, 'all' + δαίμων, 'a demon'). Some prefer the form 'Pandæmonium.' Milton's picture, in itself, does not seem to me to owe anything to Dante's description of the City of Dis (=Lucifer or Satan) in cantos VIII., IX., of the *Inferno*; apart, possibly, from the suggestion of the idea.

758. *squared regiment*="perfect phalanx," 550.

763—66. "He alludes to those accounts of the single combats

between the Saracens ('Panim chivalry') and Christians (cf. 582) in Spain and Palestine, of which the old romances are full" (Callander): using, as in *S. A.* in the dispute between Samson and Harapha, the technical terms of the mediæval duello. For a good description of such scenes cf. *The Faerie Queene*, IV. 3. 4 *et seq.*

763. Possibly "covered field" = Fr. *champ clos*, the space for combat, enclosed with barriers or 'lists'; cf. *S. A.* 1087, "listed field." *champions*; the technical word for combatants—*campiones qui in campum descendunt et duello seu monomachia decertant* (Ducange).

764. *wont*, were wont. *Soldan*, the Sultan.

765, 766. *Panim*, pagan. He mentions the two kinds of combat—(1) that fought out "to the utterance" (*Macbeth*, III. 1. 72), i.e. till one of the fighters was killed: cf. "mortal duel," *S. A.* 1102; (2) that which was merely an exhibition of skill, spears and swords with blunted points being used. *career*, a short gallop at high speed.

767. Cf. II. 528.

768—75. *as bees*. The simile had been used by Homer, *Iliad* II. 87 *et seq.*, and Vergil, *Æneid* I. 430—36, VI. 707—709.

The prevalence of *s* is meant to suggest the scene—'sound echoing sense'; so that one is tempted to print with the original editions 'russling.' In *King Lear*, II. 4. 304, the Quartos have *russel* (=*rustle*), for the less obvious *ruffle* (Folio).

769. *Taurus*, one of the signs of the Zodiac; strictly, the time of year defined is April 19—May 20. Cf. X. 671—73.

with; not 'in company with,' since Taurus is a fixed constellation, but 'in the neighbourhood of' (Beeching).

774. *expatiate*=Lat. *spatior*, 'walk abroad'; cf Blount, "Expatiate to wander, to stray, to spread abroad." *confer*, confer *of*, discuss.

776. *straitened*, crowded, pressed together.

777—80. Spirits, we have seen (428), can contract themselves.

A passage like this brings before us one of the great difficulties inherent in the design of *Paradise Lost*, namely the representation of the angels, good and evil. Milton (says Johnson) "saw that immateriality supplied no images, and that he could not show angels acting but by instruments of action [i.e. bodies]; he therefore invested them with form and matter"—notably in his account (bk. VI.) of the battle in Heaven. Yet sometimes they are viewed as "incorporeal Spirits" (789), and it is seemingly as a spirit that Satan enters the form of the toad (IV. 800), and of the Serpent (IX. 85, 86, 187—90). There is in fact some inconsistency: "his infernal and celestial powers are sometimes pure spirit, and sometimes animated body" (Johnson). The difficulty is really insuperable, but Milton purposely modifies its effect,

particularly in the case of the evil angels, by several passages; see the notes on I. 423—29, V. 478, VI. 327. As regards the good angels, I suppose he would have argued that divine beings had the power to assume corporeal forms and to resume their incorporeal being; whereas the evil angels, through sin, gradually lost their immateriality and were forced "to incarnate and imbrute" (IX. 166).

780, 781. Pliny (*Nat. History*, VII. 11. 26) placed the dwelling of the Pygmies (575) "beyond the source of the Ganges—even in the edge and skirts of the mountains." So *Batman vppon Bartholome* (1582 ed., p. 377), "Pigmei be little men of a cubite long...and they dwell in mountaines of Inde."

that, the well-known, whose name needs no mention.

781. *beyond the Indian mount*; probably he means Imaus (cf. III. 431), in classical writers (e.g. Pliny) the *western* chain of the Himalayas, i.e. between the Ganges and the Caspian. It should be noticed that *extra Imaum* (i.e. east of or "beyond") and *intra Imaum* (i.e. west of) were phrases employed by map-makers of the 17th century to describe (with convenient vagueness) regions of Central Asia. Thus in Mercator's map of Tartary we have *Scythia extra*—and *Scythia intra—Imaum montem*. Milton's readers might be reminded of this common distinction.

781—85. A reminiscence of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 1. 28, 29, 141 (a play constantly imitated by Milton). Cf. too, *The Rape of the Lock*, 31, "Of airy Elves by moonlight shadows seen." Commonly "fairies" and "elves" (more rustic in character) are distinguished.

sees, or dreams he sees; from Vergil's *aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam—Æneid* VI. 454.

785, 786. *arbitress*, witness; cf. Horace's *non infideles arbitræ | Nox et Diana—Epod.* V. 50, 51. She comes "nearer to the Earth" because influenced (II. 665, 666) by the fairies. *pale*, with alarm.

790, 791. i.e. they had so contracted their forms that, though numberless, they had plenty of room to move about (Richardson).

795. *recess*, retirement. His application of the ecclesiastical word "conclave" to the assembly of evil angels seems sarcastic: that being the term specially applied to "the Meeting or Assembly of the Cardinals for the Election [of the Pope], or for any important affair of the Church" (Blount). Cf. his contemptuous reference in *Of Reformation in England*, I, to the "councils (i.e. of the Church) and conclaves that demolish one another" (*P. W.* II. 389), and the similar use of "consistory," *P. R.* I. 42. See X. 313, note. Strictly "conclave," like Lat. *conclave*, meant the room in which a meeting took place: then the meeting itself.

797. *frequent*=Lat. *frequens*, 'crowded, numerous.'

797, 798. *after...summons read.* Cf. 573 and Tennyson, *Pelleas and Ettarre*, "after trumpet blown." *consult*, consultation; commonly the result of a consultation, i.e. a decision, decree=Lat. *consultum*.

BOOK II.

1. There is a counterpart to this Council in *Paradise Regained*, II. 115—235. The picture of the debate may reflect Milton's recollections of the meetings of the Council of State to which he was Latin Secretary.

high on a throne. Cf. v. 756. The mock-heroic opening of the second book of *The Dunciad* is modelled on this passage.

2. *Ormus*; the ancient *Armuza*, a town situate on an island near the mouth of the Persian Gulf; called *Armous* in Webb's *Travels* (1590) —see Arber's ed., p. 23. It was much celebrated as a mart for pearls and jewels; cf. Howell's *Familiar Letters*, "Ormus...the greatest Mart in all the Orient for all sorts of jewels" (Jacobs' ed. 1892, I. 157), and Marvell, *Song of the Emigrants*, "Jewels more rich than Ormus shows." The Elizabethan traveller Coryat (1611) compares it with Venice, "of which the inhabitants may as proudly vaunt as I have read the Persians have done of their Ormus, who say that if the world were a ring, then should Ormus be the gem thereof." Hexham (1636) calls it *Ormus Emporium*, and Heylyn says, "in regard of the situation, it was one of the richest Empories in all the world; the wealth of Persia and East-India being brought hither" (*Cosmography*, 1682 ed., III. 143). Tasso mentions it (Fairfax, XVII. 25).

2—4. Cf. *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. 3. 222, 223:

"like a rude and savage man of Ind,
At the first opening of *the gorgeous east.*"

Wordsworth borrowed the phrase in his Sonnet *On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic*; cf. the first line, "Once did She hold the gorgeous East in fee." The form *Ind* (or *Inde*) is common in poets—cf. *Comus*, 606. The first settlements of the East India Company dated from early in the 17th cent., and English people heard much concerning the wealth of India (cf. 638). See *Shakespeare's England*, I. 189.

or where, i.e. of the places where. "It was the eastern ceremony, at the coronation of their kings, to powder them with gold-dust and seed-pearl" (Warburton); also to strew pearls and jewels at the monarch's feet. Shakespeare knew of the custom (cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. 5. 45, 46), which some traveller must have related. At the end of his *History of Moscovia* M. gives a list of authorities, mainly

'Voyages' and 'Travels' (e.g. Hakluyt and Purchas); and passages like this and III. 437—39 show how he used such sources of information.

4. Cf. Pope, *Temple of Fame*, 94, "With diamond flaming and barbaric gold." *Barbaricus* is an epithet of *aurum* in *Æneid* II. 504.

5. *merit*, i.e. of daring most against the Almighty (Cowper).

9. *success*, ill-fortune.

12—17. He calls them "Deities of *Heaven*" because he still regards Heaven as theirs. Exactly similar parentheses are v. 361, 362 (note), and x. 460—62. In each case the clause introduced by *for* explains some particular word or phrase in the previous sentence.

14. i.e. I do not consider Heaven lost. Cf. *S. A.* 1697, "So Virtue, given for lost," and George Herbert, *Church Porch*, "Who say, 'I care not,' those I give for lost." See too *The Winter's Tale*, III. 2. 96.

17. i.e. have such trust in themselves as not to fear.

20. Cf. I. 635—37. *counsel*; some needlessly change to *council*.

23. *unenvied*, not to be envied, unenvi*able*.

28. *the Thunderer*, the Almighty; an obviously fitting title here; see I. 93, 174—77, 258. Cf. *Tonans* applied to Jupiter.

42. *we now debate*. The Councils of Diabolus and his followers (Lucifer, Beelzebub, Belial and other outcast spirits) in Bunyan's *Holy War* (1682) may well have owed something to the model furnished by Milton.

44. *fiercest*. See I. 392. Moloch ("furious king," VI. 357) is conspicuous in the great battle in Heaven. Newton reminds us of Homer's phrase σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς (*Iliad* I. 279).

50. *thereafter*; 'accordingly' (i.e. as not fearing God), or 'thereupon.'

51. *sentence*, opinion, vote, Lat. *sententia*; cf. 291.

52. *more unexpert*, less experienced in them than in war.

59. i.e. the prison assigned by his tyranny. For Milton no word has worse associations than 'tyranny'; cf. his treatises, *A Defence of the People of England*, XII., "the two greatest mischiefs of this life, and most pernicious to virtue, tyranny and superstition"; and *The Ready Way*, "the most prevailing usurpers over mankind, superstition and tyranny" (*P. W.* I. 212, II. 113). See 255—57, note, and I. 124. There is a good deal about "tyrants" and "tyranny" in Milton's Common-place Book (see IX. 200, note), which reflects his and his age's deep interest in the question of forms of government.

60—70. Contrast Belial's reply, 129—42.

63. *tortures*, the things that torture us.

67. *fire and horror*; cf. I. 502, note. *equal*, i.e. to his.

69. *Tartarean*. Milton applies to this nether world terms drawn from the classics; see 506, 858, 883. Strictly, the practice involves some incongruity of effect; cf. the mixture of classical and Scriptural allusions in *Lycidas*. No doubt, M. was influenced by the Renaissance fashion of identifying the Hell of Christian theology with that of classical writers. We find the same combination of pagan mythology and Hebrew story in the Italian poets, e.g. in the *Paradiso*, XII. 10—18, where the classical legend of Iris and the Biblical story of the rainbow are interwoven.

73, 74. *such*, i.e. those who think the way difficult. Used as a noun *drench* ('that which drenches,' i.e. wets thoroughly) was, and is, commonly applied to a draught of physic for animals. Here therefore it is a contemptuous word—as in the *Animadversions*, 2, "to diet their ignorance, and want of care, with the limited draught of a matin and even-song drench," *P. W.* III. 57. Moloch's object is to rouse them to action by taunts. *forgetful lake*="oblivious pool," I. 266.

75—81. See I. 633, 634, and cf. the account of the expulsion of the angels from Heaven, VI. 856—77. Not being subject to the law of gravitation they did not fall, but were driven down by force.

75. *proper*, natural=Lat. *proprius*, 'belonging to oneself.'

77. *but*='that not'; usually in a negative clause; cf. *The Tempest*, I. 2. 209, "*not* a soul *but* felt a fever," i.e. *that* did *not*. So *Richard III.* I. 3. 186. (See Abbott, *Shakesp. Gram.* p. 84.)

79. *the deep*, Chaos.

82—84. The lines give a supposed objection from one of the audience. *event*, issue (I. 624).

89. *exercise*, torment; a Latinism.

90—92. Thyer quotes *The Teares of the Muses*, 125, 126:

"Ah, wretched world! and all that is therein,
The vassals of Gods wrath, and slaves of sin";

and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, V. 1. 37, "To ease the anguish of a *torturing hour*." The latter phrase is borrowed by Gray, *Hymn to Adversity*, 3. *inexorably*; so the original editions; he may have dictated *inexorable*.

92. *calls*; singular because the two subjects really form a single idea ('punishment'); cf. I. 139.

97. *essential*, essence, substance, viz. of their angelic forms. In M., as in Shakespeare, an adj.=a noun is very common (cf. 406, 409, 438): an illustration of Dr Abbott's remark that in Elizabethan E. "almost any part of speech can be used as any other part of speech."

99, 100. Cf. 146—54, and I. 117.

100, 101. *at worst*, i.e. we have already reached the worst point (cf. 162, 163), short of absolute annihilation. Satan argues somewhat similarly in *Paradise Regained*, III. 204—11. To place *at worst* between commas changes the sense.

104. *fatal*, upheld by fate (I. 133), hence secure.

109. *Belial*; see I. 490, note. In the systems of the demonologists Belial holds high rank; Heywood (*Hierarchie*, 1635, p. 436) makes him head of the fourth of the nine Orders into which the fallen angels were divided (corresponding with the nine Heavenly Orders). In assigning to Belial the two qualities of personal beauty and persuasive speech M. has followed tradition. Cf. Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), "This Beliall...taketh the form of a beautifull Angell, he speaketh faire" (XV. 2). *humane*, polished, refined.

113. *manna*, words sweet as manna, "the taste of [which] was like wafers made with *honey*," *Exod.* xvi. 31.

113, 114. Alluding, as Bentley noted, to the profession of the Sophists—τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν. The reproach was made against Socrates; cf. Plato, *Apology* 18 B, which probably alludes to the satirical lines referring to Socrates in Aristophanes' *Clouds* 112—15.

Bacon says: "So likewise we see that Anytus, the accuser of Socrates, laid it as an article of charge and accusation against him, that he did... profess a dangerous and pernicious science, which was, to make the worse matter seem the better, and to suppress truth by force of eloquence and speech" (*The Advancement of Learning*, I. 2. 1). Cf. Milton's *Tetrachordon*, "as was objected to Socrates by them who could not resist his efficacy, that he ever made the worst cause [i.e. λόγος] seem the better," *P. W.* III. 320. *dash*, confound, cast down.

117. *timorous and slothful*; as might be inferred (I. 490—503).

119. The first part of his speech answers Moloch point by point.

124. *in fact of arms* = Fr. *en fait d'armes*, i.e. in deeds, exploits; *fact* = *feat* in sense as in etymology (Lat. *factum*).

127. *scope*, aim, mark; Gk. σκοπός.

129. "Note the great pauses in Belial's speech" (Tennyson).

130. *render*; plural, because *watch* = watchmen.

132. Scan *óbscure* (cf. *Hamlet*, IV. 5. 213), and see 210, note.

139—42. *mould*, substance, i.e. of the angels, whom Moloch would assail with Hell-fire. Spiritual frames, M. has said (I. 117), are formed of an "empyreal substance," i.e. of pure fire; cf. *Psalm* civ. 4, "Who maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire." And this fire, argues Belial here and in 215, 216, will, through its greater purity, prevail over (i.e. be insensible to) the "baser" fire of Hell.

143. *flat*, absolute, complete. Cf. *King John*, III. 1. 298.

146. Gray's editors trace to these lines the stanza (*Elegy*, 85—88):

"For who to dumb Forgetfulness a prey
This pleasing anxious being e'er resigned?" etc.

148. Cf. Wordsworth's lines on the statue of Newton at Trinity College (*The Prelude*, bk. III.).

151. *motion*; probably from *Measure for Measure*, III. 1. 120 Todd). See 180, note.

155—59. This thought that the evil angels must live, so that they may suffer the more, is not peculiar to M. Thus Grotius (*Adamus Exul*) makes Satan say, *mors una... | mihi summa voti est; nec, quod extremum est malis, | licet perire*; and Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, I. li., has, "the devil, were it in his power, would do the like [viz. destroy himself]; which being impossible, his miseries are endless, and he suffers most in that attribute...his immortality." He has the same thought in his *Christian Morals*, II. xiii. (end).

156. Ironical. *belike*, perhaps, no doubt; only here in M., but many times in Shakespeare; cf. *Hamlet*, III. 2. 305. *impotence*, lack of self-restraint (=Lat. *impotentia*).

159. *cease*, i.e. from war: 'why give up the struggle?'

160. *they who*, Moloch: a courteously indirect reference, consonant with Belial's "humane" character.

162, 163. A very similar passage is *P. R.* III. 203—11.

165. *what when*, i.e. how was it when—what was our state? Many texts print a note of exclamation (not in the original editions) after *what*, making the sentence an *anacoluthon*. Rhetorical questions are a favourite literary device. *amain*, with all speed. *strook*; Milton's preference for this form to *struck* is marked (Masson).

166. *afflicting*; perhaps in the lit. sense of *affligere*; cf. I. 186.

168, 169. See I. 50—53, 311—13. *chained*; see I. 48.

170. *Isaiah* xxx. 33.

174. *red right hand=rubens dextera* of Jupiter (Horace, *Od.* I. 2. 2, 3).

175, 176. *this firmament*, i.e. of "the horrid roof" (644) of Hell to which he points. *cataracts*, floods, torrents; Gk. καταρράκτης, 'a waterfall.' See XI. 824, note.

180—82. Editors compare *Æneid* VI. 75, *rapidis ludibria ventis* ("the *sport* of every wind," Dryden), and 740, 741. Probably M. had in his thoughts *Measure for Measure*, III. 1. 124—26:

"To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,
And blown with restless violence round about
The *pendent world*" [cf. 1052].

182. *racking*; Keightley says, "sweeping, driving along. Clouds

thus driven are called the *rack*" (cf. "the racking clouds," 3 *Henry VI.* I. 1. 27). But perhaps='torturing.' Cf. I. 126.

184. *converse*, dwell with; Lat. *cum*, 'with'+*versari*, 'to dwell.'

185. With M. (even in his prose, as Todd noted) and other poets a favourite arrangement of words, expressing emphasis; cf. v. 899, *S. A.* 1422, *P. R.* III. 429, *Hamlet*, I. 5. 77. Compare the repetition in the Greek dramatists of adjectives compounded with the negative prefix ἀ- (=Eng. *un-*); e.g. in Euripides, *Hecuba* 669, ἄπαις, ἀνανδρος, ἄπολις, ἐξεφθαρμένη; and Sophocles, *Antigone* 1071, ἄμοιρον, ἀκτέριστον, ἀνόσιον νέκυν.

187. *open or concealed.* See I. 661, 662.

190, 191. "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision," *Psalm* ii. 4. *motions*, proposals, schemes; cf. the verb in IX. 229.

194—96. A supposed objection; cf. 82—84.

199. *to suffer...to do.* Editors quote: *Et facere et pati fortia Romanum est*, Livy, II. 12: *quidvis et facere et pati*, Horace, *Od.* III. 24. 43. Sir Thomas Browne says, "A man may confide in persons constituted for noble ends, who dare do and suffer"—*Christian Morals*, I. 25. See I. 158, note.

207. *ignominy*; a trisyllable (I. 115). The 1st Folio prints *ignomy* in 1 *Henry IV.* V. 4. 100, "Thy *ignomy* sleep with thee in the grave."

210. Scan *súpreme.* This throwing back of the accent in dissyllabic adjectives is usual in M. (and Shakespeare) when they precede a monosyllable or a noun accented on the first syllable. Cf. I. 735, *Comus*, 273, "Not any boast of skill, but éxtreme shift," 421, "She that has that is clad in cómplete steel."

211. *far removed*; cf. 321, and see I. 74, 75, note.

215, 216. *essence*; see 439. *vapour*; used of hot exhalations, as in XII. 635. *inured*, accustomed to the flames. To *inure* is literally 'to bring into practice' (=*ure*).

217—19. Cf. 274—78. *temper*, temperament.

219. *void of pain*; a consideration appropriate to Belial, who represents slothful ease and luxury.

220. *light*; a noun, surely; to take it as an adj., 'easy,' is to lose the fine hyperbole that for them darkness may become—light.

Cowper notes the awkwardness of the rhyme in 220, 221: "rhyme" (he adds) "is apt to come uncalled, and to writers of blank verse is often extremely troublesome."

224. *for happy*, regarded as happy—looked at from that standpoint.

226—28. His counsel accords with his effeminate character (I. 490). Cf. *Comus*, 759, "Obtruding false rules pranked in reason's garb." *ignoble ease=ignobile otium*, Vergil, *Georg.* IV. 564.

228. *thus Mammon.* See I. 678. His speech partly replies to Moloch (since he dismisses the notion of war altogether), partly carries Belial's counsel a step farther. The gist of what Belial said was—'let us temporize, stay here and trust to chance—something may happen.' Mammon answers—'let us indeed stay here, but not idly look to the future: rather straightway set about founding a realm here to compensate for what we have lost there.' Belial, type of ease and sloth, stands, as it were, halfway between Moloch and Mammon.

This notion of a "realm" in Hell, the counterpart of that in Heaven, is of course purely traditional, not invented by M. Thus in the old *Faust-book* (1587) Mephistophiles tells Faustus that Hell is divided into ten kingdoms, under five rulers (Lucifer, Beelzebub, Belial, Phlegethon and Ascheroth). See Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, III. 185, 186.

231, 232. *then...when*, i.e. then only = 'never.' A favourite phrase; cf. IV. 970, "Then, when I am thy captive, talk of chains."

233. *the strife*, between Fate and Chance (cf. 907—10); or between the rebellious angels and the Almighty (less probable).

234, 235. *the former*, to unthrone the King of Heaven; *the latter*, to regain our lost rights. *to hope*, to hope *for*; cf. VII. 121. *argues*, shows, proves (Lat. *arguere*); this is a common Elizabethan use. Cf. IV. 830.

241—43. See V. 161—63. *forced*; contrast VI. 744.

245. *ambrosial*, often used by M., as by Tennyson, of that which delights the sense of taste or of smell. Cf. *ambrosia* = 'fragrance,' V. 57.

249. *pursue*, seek after, try to regain, i.e. "our state" (251).

254. Horace, *Epist.* I. 18. 107, 108, *et mihi vivam | quod superest ævi.* We may note the oxymorons in these lines (252—57).

255—57. It was a favourite thought with Milton that many men would rather have "Bondage with ease than strenuous liberty" (*S. A.* 271): i.e. would sacrifice their freedom to save the trouble of maintaining it. Sallust, his favourite historian (as M. writes in a *Letter* to Lord Henry de Bras), makes Æmilius Lepidus say—*accipite otium cum servitio...mihi potior visa est periculosa libertas quieto servitio.* Aubrey (reflecting, no doubt, what he had heard from Milton's nephew Edward Phillips and others acquainted with the poet) says that Milton's intense "zeal to the liberty of mankind," and his republicanism, came largely from his admiration of the Roman writers and Roman Commonwealth. Similarly Hobbes complained that at the Universities young men learnt from the classics to despise monarchy (see *Marvell*, "English Men of Letters Series," pp. 11, 12).

263—67. Cf. *Psalm* xviii. 11, 13; and xcvii. 2, "Clouds and darkness are round about him."

270—73. See I. 670 *et seq.*

271. *wants not*, does not lack.

273. *magnificence*; such as the palace described in I. 710 *et seq.*

274, 275. All existing things were supposed to consist of four elements or constituent parts—*fire*, *air*, water, earth; and in each element dwelt certain Spirits or dæmons peculiar to it, ruling it, and partaking of its nature. Cf. *Il Penseroso*, 93, 94:

"And of those dæmons that are found
In *fire*, *air*, flood, or under ground."

That these dæmons were the fallen angels was a common view; see *Appendix*, pp. 672—74. When M. makes Mammon say that their "torments" (i.e. Hell's fires) may become their "element," he clearly alludes to these beliefs.

278. *sensible*, sense; adjective for noun.

281. *compose*, adjust, i.e. adapt ourselves to.

282. *where*; so the First Ed.; the Second Ed. has *were*.

284—90. Cf. v. 872, 873. Editors compare *Iliad* II. 144, *Æneid* X. 96—99. For the elaboration of the simile cf. the note on 488—95.

288. *o'erwatched*, tired with watching; cf. *S. A.* 405.

292. *field*, battle.

294. *the sword of Michaël*, i.e. the "two-handed" sword, "from the armoury of God" (VI. 251, 321), with which in the battle in Heaven Michael laid low the rebellious angels and disabled Satan himself (VI. 320—30). Not mentioned in *Daniel* or *Revelation*.

299, 300. In Scripture Beël-zebub = Baal-zebub, 'lord of flies,' is the Sun-god of the Philistines, i.e. a local manifestation of the great deity Baal (see I. 422), his chief oracle being at Ekron, "where answers seem to have been obtained from the hum and motions of flies" (Sayce). In *P. L.* he ranks next to Satan (see V. 671, note). Perhaps this notion that he was one of the chief of the infernal powers was due to the rendering of *Mat.* xii. 24, where the title "prince of the devils" is really applied to Beel-zebul, 'lord of the heavenly height' (cf. the margin).

301, 302. Scan *aspéct*, as often in M. and Shakespeare; cf. V. 733, VI. 450. Newton quotes 2 *Henry VI.* I. 1. 75, "Brave peers of England, pillars of the state." *front*, brow, Lat. *frons*; cf. *Hamlet*, III. 4. 56.

306. *Atlantean*, worthy of Atlas, one of the Titans, who as a punishment for making war on Zeus was condemned to bear heaven on his shoulders. Cf. Spenser, sonnet to Lord Burleigh:

"As the wide compasse of the firmament
On Atlas mighty shoulders is upstayd."

"The myth seems to have arisen from the idea that lofty mountains supported the heaven" (*Class. Dict.*).

309. *thus he spake*; and what he says sweeps on one side the main arguments of the previous speakers. 'War,' he urges, recognising their true position, 'with the Almighty (such as Moloch counsels), *that* is ridiculous: peace (such as Belial and Mammon dream of), *that* is not to be hoped for: suffer we must and shall, but suffering may be lightened by revenge—and that of a subtler kind than Moloch proposes.' The speech of each deity is carefully differentiated, and consistent with his character. Similarly in the later books (v.—viii., xi., xii.) the good angels Raphael and Michael are drawn on contrasting lines. But, in the main, the characters of the evil angels "are more diversified" (Johnson).

311, 312. *these titles*; see i. 737. *style*, title, appellation; cf. 2 *Henry VI.* i. 3. 51, 52:

"Am I a queen in title and in style,
And must be made a subject to a duke?"

313. *for so*; alluding to the applause which Mammon had (284).

315. In the original editions *doubtless* has a semicolon before and after, i.e. it is a parenthetic sarcasm: 'build up here an empire—as is so *very* likely!' Some remove the second semicolon and explain: 'while we dream undisturbed by any doubt.'

324. "I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last," *Rev.* i. 11; also xxi. 6, xxii. 13. Cf. Ben Jonson, *Masque of Augurs*, "Jove is that one, whom first, midst, last you call." *highth or depth*, Heaven or Hell.

327, 328. Cf. Abdiel's warning to Satan, v. 886—88. In each case there is an allusion to *Psalm* ii. 9, "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron" (cf. *Rev.* ii. 27). The distinction between iron typifying hostility and gold typifying benevolence is part of the symbolism in which M. delights. Cf. *Lycidas*, 110, 111, where St Peter bears "two massy keys"—the golden admitting to Heaven, the iron excluding. A rod of gold, 'the Rod of Equity,' is among the regalia of the English Crown.

those, his loyal subjects, the angels who had not rebelled with Satan.

330. *determined*, made an end of us, i.e. crushed us. Cf. vi. 318.

336. *to*, to the best of; cf. *The Winter's Tale*, v. 2. 182, "I will prove so, sir, to my power," and *Coriolanus*, ii. 1. 262.

337. *untamed*, not to be tamed. *reluctance*, resistance.

345—51. Addison considered this ancient prophecy in heaven concerning the creation of man a wonderfully imaginative stroke: "Nothing could shew more the dignity of the species, than this tradition which ran of them before their existence. They are represented to have been the talk of heaven before they were created...Milton gives us a glimpse of

them even before they are in being." See I. 650—54, note. *fame* = Lat. *fama* in the literal sense 'report'; cf. I. 651.

352, 353. *by an oath.* Cf. v. 607; see *Gen.* xxii. 16, "By myself have I sworn, saith the LORD," and *Isai.* xlv. 23.

that shook; cf. *Æneid* IX. 106, *annuit et totum nutu tremefecit Olympum*—itself from Homer, *Iliad* I. 530, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον (the subject of the verb being Zeus); echoed by Dryden, *Alexander's Feast*, 35—37. Epic poetry has its conventions and formulas, handed down from Homer to Vergil, from Vergil to the Italian poets.

360. Contrast 410—13; here he purposely lessens the danger.

375. The First Ed. has *originals*, which shows that *original* = originator, parent (i.e. Adam). Cf. *The Reason of Church Government*, I. 3, "run questing up as high as Adam to fetch their original," *P. W.* II. 449, and *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 1. 117, "We are their parents and original." Some explain it = 'earliest condition, primitive state.'

376—78. *advise*, consider. *or to*, i.e. whether it is better to. *vain empires*; such as Mammon foreshadowed.

382, 383. *confound*, utterly ruin. *one root*, Adam (1 *Cor.* xv. 22).

384, 385. Cf. Raphael's warning that Satan would plot Adam's fall, "As a despite done against the Most High" (VI. 906).

387. *States*; often used by Shakespeare of a body of representatives or parliament; cf. *King John*, II. 395, "How like you this wild counsel, mighty states?" So here; cf. the phrase 'estates of the realm,' and *états* in French.

391. *synod*, meeting, assembly; cf. VI. 156, XI. 67.

397—402. In later times, according to tradition, some of the outcast angels do become 'Spirits of air,' and dwell in "*mild* seats" of the middle region of air.

398. *not unvisited*; M. is fond of this classical figure of *meiosis* or under-statement.

404. *tempt*, try, essay, Lat. *temptare*.

406. *obscure*, obscurity: "palpable obscure" = "palpable darkness," XII. 188, i.e. "darkness which may be *felt*," *Exod.* x. 21. Drayton had used the phrase "darkness palpable," and the *Preface* to the A.V. speaks of "thick and palpable clouds of darkness." Without doubt, the original of all these passages was *Exod.* x. 21 in the Vulgate—*tenebræ tam densæ ut palpari queant.* (From Newton.) Lat. *palpare* = 'to stroke, feel.'

407. *uncouth*, strange; cf. 827.

409. *the vast abrupt*, the gulf between Hell and the World.

arrive, arrive *at*, reach; cf. Milton's divorce-pamphlet, *The Judg-*

ment of Martin Bucer, "if our things here below arrive him where he is," *P. W.* III. 282; so *Julius Cæsar*, I. 2. 110, "But ere we could arrive the point proposed." In Elizabethan E. this omission of the preposition with verbs of motion is common.

410. *the happy isle*, i.e. the Universe of this World, hung (1051) in Chaos, which is a kind of "sea" (1011): hence the peculiar fitness of comparing Satan, as he journeys through Chaos, to a vessel making for its port (1041—44). See again III. 76.

412. *senteries*; so the original editions, and the metre requires the form. Perhaps the form *sentery* was due to the notion that the word came from Fr. *sentier*, 'a path,' Lat. *semita*; it is thought to be a corruption of *sentinel*. *stations* = Lat. *stationes*, 'guards, pickets.'

413. *had*, would have.

415. *choice*, care in selecting by vote some one to send.

423. *astonished*, struck with dismay. *prime*, chief, Lat. *primi*.

425. *proffer*, offer himself, volunteer.

430. With this speech cf. *P. R.* I. 44—105. The scenes are similar. In each case Satan undertakes a design from which his followers shrink—here against Mankind, there against Christ. And there he reminds them how he alone faced the former danger, and argues that, having succeeded once, he will succeed again.

432, 433. An echo of *Æneid* VI. 126—29, where the Sibyl tells Æneas that the descent into Avernus is easy:

> "But to return, and view the cheerful skies,
> In this the task and mighty labour lies" (Dryden).

The slow monosyllabic rhythm and the alliteration seem intended by Milton to suggest the laborious effort of ascent.

434. *convex*, vault (= Lat. *convexum*); a poetical use; cf. VII. 266.

438. *the void profound* = Lucretius' *inane profundum*. Cf. Tennyson's line, "Ruining along the illimitable inane" (*Lucretius*).

439. *unessential Night*, i.e. having no substance or being. *essence* = Lat. *essentia* (from *esse*) = Gk. *οὐσία* (or *τὸ ὄν*, 'that which really exists'). Night, he means, is a mere vacuity (932).

441. *abortive*, monstrous, because unnatural, i.e. born prematurely. He speaks of the gulf as though it were some monstrosity, horrible through premature birth. Others says 'rendering abortive.'

448. *moment*, importance. Cf. "of great moment," *Hamlet*, III. 1. 86; "of no moment," 3 *Henry VI.* I. 2. 22.

450. *me*; purposely emphatic by position.

452. *refusing*, if I refuse: honours and dangers go together.

457. *intend*, consider; a Latinism.

461. *deceive*, beguile; cf. Cowper, "to deceive the time, not waste

it." So Lat. *decipere*—e.g. in Horace's *dulci laborum decipitur sono*= is beguiled into forgetting his troubles (*Od.* II. 13. 38).

465, 466. The abrupt form of the ending is significant.

467. *prevented*, anticipated, forestalled.

468. *raised*, encouraged; agreeing with *others*.

478. *awful*, full of awe, respect; cf. *Nat. Ode*, 59.

483—85. i.e. "Let not bad men set much store by those casual acts of seeming nobleness to which glory or ambition may doubtless spur even the worst of them; for neither have that other class of evil beings...lost such virtue as this" (Masson).

485. *close*, secret; often in Shakespeare. *varnished...with*, speciously hidden by.

488—95. This simile is typical of many in Milton: similes classical in manner, more like Vergil's than Shakespeare's. The peculiarity is that he works the simile out, in all its bearings, into a picture complete in itself but rather detached from the context. Cf. I. 768—75.

489. *while the North-wind sleeps*=Homer's ὄφρ' εὔδησι μένος Βορέαο (*Il.* v. 524), "that wind generally...dispersing clouds" (Newton). See XI. 842, note.

490, 491. *element*, sky.

492. *if chance*, if it chances that; cf. *Comus*, 508, "How chance she is not in your company?" The verb-construction (e.g. 'how does it chance that?') is influenced by the noun-phrase ('by what chance?'). So in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, I. 1. 129, "How chance the roses there do fade so fast?"

497—502. The Civil Wars in England; the Thirty Years' War in Germany (1618—48); the Civil War of the Fronde in France (1648—52).

501. Dr Bradshaw notes that the phrase *to levy war* (see XI. 219), which Johnson censured, was a technical term found in legal documents and statutes. He cites from one of Barrow's *Sermons* (May 29, 1676), "those in the late times who, instead of praying for their sovereign,... did raise tumults, and levy war against him." Add Tennyson, *Queen Mary*, II. 1, "must we levy war against the Queen's Grace?"

503. *to accord*, to agree among ourselves.

508. *Paramount*, lord, chief.

512. *globe*, compact band; cf. *P. R.* IV. 581. Lat. *globus* is used similarly of a close mass of men.

513. *emblazonry*, i.e. shields emblazoned (I. 538) or figured with designs. *horrent*, bristling (see I. 563, note).

514. Only the great angels had taken part in the council (I. 792—98); the others were awaiting its result.

516. i.e. towards the four quarters of the compass; cf. III. 326, and see *Ezekiel* xxxvii. 9, "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live."

517, 518. *alchymy*, trumpets made of the metal called 'alchemy gold' or 'alchemy.' Misunderstanding the word, Bentley proposed *Orichalc*; Gk. ὀρείχαλκος, Lat. *orichalcum* (cf. *Æneid* XII. 87), yellow copper ore, and the brass made therefrom. *harald*; cf. I. 752.

522. *ranged*, assembled in ranks.

526. *entertain*, pass, while away; cf. the *Argument* of this book, "to entertain the time till Satan return," a phrase used by Shakespeare; cf. *Lucrece*, 1361, "The weary time she cannot entertain," and *Sonnet* 39. The picture of the angels variously employed recalls Vergil's description of the souls of the blessed in Elysium with their diversions, *Æneid* VI. 640 *et seq.*

528—32. These "heroic games" (IV. 551, a similar scene) are Milton's counterpart to the Trojan sports, *Æneid* V. 577 *et seq.*, and those of the Myrmidons, withheld from war, *Iliad* II. 773 *et seq.*: whence too the contests in *The Dunciad*.

528. *sublime* = Lat. *sublimis* in the literal sense 'aloft,' 'uplifted'; cf. *P. R.* IV. 542, "through the air sublime."

530. Two of the great festivals of Greece were the *Olympic* games held every fifth year at Olympia, a small plain of *Elis*, and the *Pythian* at Delphi in honour of Apollo (the Pythian god).

531, 532. Cf. XI. 643, "Part curb the foaming steed," i.e. in horse-races. *or shun*; alluding (cf. *Areopagitica*, *P. W.* II. 68) to Horace, *Od.* I. 1. 4, 5, *metaque fervidis | evitata rotis*, i.e. in chariot-races. To the chariot-races at Olympia M. refers in his sixth *Elegy*, 26 (*volat Eleo pulvere fuscus eques*), in the lines on Pindar. Cf. Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis*, stanza 56. *brigads*; cf. I. 675.

533. Probably the *Aurora Borealis* is meant. *to warn*; because considered omens.

534. Newton quotes 1 *Henry IV.* I. 1. 10, "like the meteors of a *troubled* heaven."

535. *van*, vanguard; Fr. *avant-garde*.

539. *Typhœan*; see I. 199, and cf. *Astræa Redux*, 37, 38:

"Thus when the bold Typhœus scaled the sky
And forced great Jove from his own heaven to fly."

But *Typhon* is the commoner form in English.

540. *ride the air*; cf. *Macbeth*, IV. 1. 138; see 662, note.

542. *Alcides*, Hercules, grandson of Alcæus. The story, as commonly told, was: Hercules, returning to Trachis from Œchalia where he

had killed Eurytus, landed at Cenæum, the N.W. promontory of Eubœa, and sent Lichas, his companion, to Trachis to fetch a white robe wherein to sacrifice to Zeus; Deianira, his wife, sent instead a robe dipped in what she thought to be a love-potion that would make Hercules true to her: the potion was a poison, and when Hercules put the robe on it ate into his flesh, and could not be removed: in his agony he hurled (i.e. from Cenæum) Lichas into the sea, and himself *afterwards* ascended Mt Œta in Thessaly, raised a pile of wood, and was burnt thereon. The story forms the subject of Sophocles' *Trachiniæ*; it is told also by Ovid, *Metamorphoses* IX., whom M. follows closely, e.g. in making Mt Œta the scene; cf. Marvell, *The Loyal Scot*:

"When Œta and Alcides are forgot,
Our English youth shall sing the valiant Scot."

There is a fine application of the tale in *S. A.* 1038, 1039, where an ill-matched wife is called "a cleaving mischief" to her husband.

from Œchalia crowned; Ovid's *victor ab Œchalia* (136). *Œchalia*, a town in Thessaly. The First Ed. has *Oealia*.

543. *envenomed*, because steeped by Deianira in the blood of the Centaur Nessus, whom Hercules had slain with a poisoned arrow. Cf. M. in *In Obitum Procancellarii Medici*, 10, 11 (alluding to the same story), *ferus Hercules | Nessi venenatus cruore*.

545. *Lichas*; see *The Merchant of Venice*, II. 1. 32—35.

546. *Euboic sea*, between Eubœa and the mainland.

546—55. Heywood says of the infernal angels, "in Musicke they are skill'd" (*Hierarchie*, p. 441).

552. *partial*, prejudiced—in favour of themselves; it "was silent as to the corrupt motive of their conduct, and dwelt only on the sad consequences of it" (Cowper).

554. *suspended*, held rapt, thrilled. *took*, enchanted.

557. Cf. Scott's happy allusion—"others apart sat on a bench retired, and reasoned highly on the doctrines of crime" (describing the lawyers at the trial of Effie Dean, *The Heart of Midlothian*).

558—69. Cf. *S. A.* 300 *et seq.*, *P. R.* IV. 286 *et seq.*, where Greek philosophies are sneered at; and contrast *Comus*, 476—80 ("How charming is divine Philosophy").

559, 560. Probably M. is ridiculing the theological controversies of his own age: yet he himself discourses on free-will and predestination, not only in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. iv. (*P. W.* IV. 43—77), but even in *P. L.*; cf. III. 96—128, V. 524—40.

564, 565. Referring primarily to the Stoics, whose philosophy he condemns in *P. R.* IV. 300 *et seq.*: *apathy* (Gk. ἀ-, 'not' + παθεῖν, 'to suffer') signifying in their system insensibility to suffering, hence freedom

from passion or feeling—i.e. a passionless *tranquillitas*, "contemning all," *P. R.* IV. 304. Cf. the *Essay on Man*, II. 101, 102:

"In lazy apathy let Stoics boast
Their virtue fixed; 'tis fixed as in a frost."

There is a passing allusion to "Stoic apathy" in *An Apology for Smectymnuus* (*P. W.* III. 136).

568, 569. Horace, *Od.* I. 3. 9, *illi robur et æs triplex | circa pectus erat*, where *æs*, like "steel" here, is figurative. *obdured*; cf. VI. 785.

570. *gross*, dense, compact.

572. *clime*, region; see I. 242.

575, 576. In the main this picture of the infernal rivers is modelled on the classics (cf. *Æneid* VI.), with touches perhaps from the much fuller treatment in the *Inferno*. But M. has added some details, e.g. the making of the four rivers unite in the burning lake, i.e. the "lake of fire" of the *Revelation* (xix. 20, xx. 10). He refers to the meaning of each river's name, the collective allusion being to the lamentations of the souls of the wicked, borne to their punishment. *baleful*, sorrowful.

577. *Styx*; from στυγεῖν, 'to hate, abhor'; the chief river of the nether world, round which it flowed "with nine circling streams" (Dryden) = *novies Styx interfusa* (*Æneid* VI. 439).

578. *Acheron* = ὁ ἄχεα ῥέων, 'the stream of woe.'

579, 580. *Cocytus*; Gk. κωκυτός, 'wailing,' from κωκύειν, 'to wail.'

580, 581. *Phlegethon*; φλεγέθων, 'flaming'; also called "Pyriphlegethon"; waves of fire (πῦρ), not water, flowing in its "torrent."

583. *Lethe*; Gk. λήθη, 'a forgetting.' "A river in the lower world was called Lethe. The souls of the departed drank of this river, and thus forgot all they had said or done in the upper world" (*Class. Dict.*). Cf. Dryden, *Æneid*, VI. 957, "The gliding Lethe leads her silent flood," and 968, "In Lethe's lake they long oblivion taste." There is extant a copy of Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* with MS. notes pronounced by some to be by Milton, and over against a description of this river are written the words, "They who drinke of Lethe never think of love or ye world."

"The topography of the infernal rivers is rather indefinite and varied in classical writers. Lethe is generally removed from the rivers of horror as in Milton" (Osgood, *Classical Mythology in Milton*, p. 73). So Dante placed Lethe, not in Inferno but in Purgatorio (see canto XXVIII.), making it the cleansing influence by which all memory of *sin* was washed out, and inventing a companion stream, Eunoë, by which the memory of all good deeds was restored to a man.

589. *dire hail*; Horace's *jam satis...diræ grandinis*, *Od.* I. 2. 1, 2.

590, 591. i.e. the ruin of some ancient building; cf. "pile high-built," *S. A.* 1069.

592, 593. Lake Serbonis (now dried up) lay on the coast of Lower Egypt, separated from the sea by a narrow strip of sand (Herodotus III. 5); close to Mt Casius (Herod. II. 6).

Damiata, now Damietta on the easternmost mouth of the Nile; it has been identified with Pelusium. Milton's reason for introducing the name Damiata is, no doubt, its association with the great Italian epics. Ariosto makes Orlando go to Damiata (*Orlando Furioso*, XV. 48), and Tasso (XV. 16) speaks of it; and in the *Inferno*, XIV. 104, it "stands for the Eastern civilisation which was superseded by that of Rome."

Burke quotes these lines (592—94) with great effect in his speech on *Conciliation with America* (Payne's ed., I. p. 196); see also his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (II. p. 231).

594. Primarily from Diodorus Siculus (I. 30), who says οἱ the Σιρβωνὶς λίμνη—πολλοὶ τῶν ἀγνοούντων τὴν ἰδιότητα τοῦ τόπου μετὰ στρατευμάτων ὅλων ἠφανίσθησαν. How this happened, Sandys' *Relation* shows: the Lake, he says (and he had been there), was "borderd on each side with hils of sand, which being borne into the water by the winds so thickened the same, as not by the eye to be distinguished from a part of the Continent: by means whereof whole armies have bin devoured. For the sands neere-hand seeming firme, a good way entred slid farther off, and left no way of returning, but with a lingring cruelty swallowed the ingaged: whereupon it was called *Barathrum*....Close to this standeth the mountaine Cassius (no other than a huge mole of sand)," p. 137. Seemingly the only historical basis of this story is the fact that when Darius Ochus, the Persian, invaded Egypt he lost part of his troops in the lake.

594, 595. *parching*, used of the drying, withering effect of cold (cf. *Lyc.* 13, "parching wind") or heat (cf. XII. 636). *frore*, frosty. *cold...fire*; Newton aptly quotes *Ecclus.* xliii. 21, "The *cold* north wind...*burneth* the wilderness, and consumeth the grass *as fire*"; and Vergil, *Georg.* I. 93, *ne...frigus adurat.* The *r...r* sound may be meant to suggest shuddering. Aubrey says that M. "pronounced the letter *R* very hard" (and adds, "a certaine signe of a satyricall wit").

596—603. "This idea of making the pains of Hell consist in cold as well as heat [i.e. by alternations] was current in the Middle Ages... it seems to have come from the Rabbin [Jewish commentators], for they make the torments of Gehenna to consist of fire and of frost and snow" (Keightley). Cf. Dante, *Inferno*, III. 86, 87, where Charon says, "Woe to you, depraved spirits! I come to lead you...into the eternal darkness, into fire and into ice," and the *Purgatorio*, III. 31, 32. Dante

makes the last circle, the ninth, of the Inferno the frozen circle, where the greatest sinners are confined (XXXII.—XXXIV.). I find the idea worked out in Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victory on Earth*, 22, and in the *Faust-book* (1587), where Mephistophiles describes Hell to Faustus in a passage closely resembling these lines: also, when Faustus is suffered to visit Hell, out of curiosity, he finds there "a most pleasant, clear and cold water; into the which many tormented souls sprang out of the fire to cool themselves, but being so freezing cold, they were constrained to return again into the fire, and thus wearied themselves and spent their endless torments out of one labyrinth into another, one while in heat, another while in cold," Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, III. pp. 194, 212. The notion was known to Shakespeare; see *Measure for Measure*, III. I. 121—23. And Sir Thomas Browne introduces it in his *Urn Burial*, IV.

596, 597. *harpy-footed*, with feet like the talons of Harpies (hideous winged creatures, with hooked claws—see *Æn.* III. 211—18, *P. R.* II. 403). *haled=hauled*, dragged; in First Ed. *hail'd*, i.e. summoned—a possible reading. *revolutions*, i.e. of time.

600. *starve*, afflict, perish with cold. O.E. *steruen*=to perish, die.

604. *sound*, strait.

611. *Medusa*, one of the three Gorgons; the one most mentioned in classical writers. Her hair being changed into serpents by Athene, her appearance became so terrible that all who looked at her were changed into stone. See the allusion in *Comus*, 447, to "that snaky-headed Gorgon shield" worn by Athene, and cf. the note on X. 526, 527. So Gray, *Adversity*, 35, "Not in thy Gorgon terrors clad."

612—14. According to legend, Tantalus, for divulging the secrets of Zeus, was "punished in the lower world by being afflicted with a raging thirst, and at the same time placed in the midst of a lake, the waters of which always receded from him as soon as he attempted to drink them" (*Class. Dict.*). See *S. A.* 500, 501.

615—18. See I. 733, note. *first*, for the first time. *found no rest*; editors compare *Mat.* xii. 43, *Luke* xi. 24.

620. *Alp*; used of any high snow-capped mountain.

621. The number of monosyllables suggests variety, i.e. of scenery.

625. *prodigious*, unnatural, monstrous.

628. Cf. X. 524 (for rhythm) and *Comus*, 517. Hesiod mentions three *Gorgons*, daughters of Phorcys, monsters with wings and brazen claws, and hissing serpents, instead of hair, on their heads. The Lernean *Hydra* was a serpent with nine heads that ravaged the country near Argos; slain by Hercules (his 2nd 'labour'). In *Of Reformation in England*, II, M. has the phrase "a continual hydra of

mischief and molestation," *P. W.* II. 411. See also his *Sonnet* to Fairfax. The *Chimæra* was a fire-breathing monster, *πρόσθε λέων, ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα* (*Iliad* VI. 181), i.e. part lion, part dragon, part goat. M. mentions these three monsters together because Vergil (*Æn.* VI. 287—89) and Tasso (IV. 5) had done the same.

634. *shaves*, skims; cf. *radit iter liquidum*—*Æneid* V. 217.

635. *concave*, roof.

636. "What simile was ever so vast as this?" (Tennyson). His other favourite simile in *Paradise Lost* was "the gunpowder one" (IV. 814—19). Note here how fully the simile is worked out, beyond the precise point of comparison (see 488, note): how also the proper names convey an impression of mysterious remoteness (see I. 583—87). Milton's great similes are introduced with a peculiar hush, a thrill of expectancy.

637—40. *hangs*, i.e. seems to the distant spectator to be in the clouds. *equinoctial winds*, "the trade-winds, which blow from east to west at the time of the equinoxes" (Bradshaw); afterwards (640) M. transfers "trading" from the wind to the sea. *close*, i.e. together, so as to form, seen from far, a single object—like the single figure of Satan.

M. had in his mind's eye a fleet of East Indiamen (Newton). The importance of the East Indian trade, especially the Dutch, is felt in Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*; cf. especially stanzas 2, 3, 4, 24—30, and 304, with its picture of merchantmen "doubling the Cape" (cf. 641). Cf. also Marvell's description of the merchant ships sunk in the Thames to prevent the victorious Dutch going further up the river in 1667 (*Last Instructions to a Painter*, 660—74).

638. *Bengala*, a relic of the old form *Bangálá* = Bengal. In Hexham's ed. of *Mercator's Atlas* the Bay of Bengal is marked "Golfo di *Bengala*" in the map of Asia. Some of our earliest trading-settlements were along the Bengal coast (cf. 2—4, note).

639. *Ternate and Tidore*, two of the Moluccas or '*Spice* Islands' in the Malay Archipelago, close together. Hexham describes the "Moiluccoes" as "famous throughout the world, in regard of the abundance of all sorts of sweete *spices*, but especially for the Cloues which come from them... *Tidor* and *Ternate* are the principallest" (II. 423, 424). Cf. *The Island Princess* by Beaumont and Fletcher.

640. *they*, the ships. *flood*; used similarly of the sea by Shakespeare, e.g. in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 1. 127, "Marking the embarked traders on the flood."

641. A glance at the map will show that Milton uses "the wide Ethiopian" (i.e. sea) = the Indian Ocean—that is, the ocean *east* of Africa. This was in accordance with classical usage, *Æthiopia* being

limited to the only part of Africa south of the Red Sea which the ancients knew, namely, its eastern coast. Gradually the use of the term "Ethiopia" expanded with the progress of Portuguese geographical discovery westward, until it applied to the vast region stretching from ocean to ocean. And the name "Ethiopic Sea" was transferred from the sea washing its eastern shores, which had come to be known as the "Indian Ocean" (*Mare Indicum*), to the sea on its western side. Thus in Hexham's *Mercator*, in the map of Africa, I find the name *Oceanus Æthiopicus* given to the sea west of Africa—what we call the 'South Atlantic'; and in the letterpress the terms "Æthiopicke Ocean," "Æthiopicke Sea," are always used so. The same is the case in Heylin's map of Africa; while speaking of the Atlantic, he says, "some parts hereof, which wash the *Westerne* Shores of *Œthiopia Inferior*, be called the Œthiopick Ocean" (*Cosmography*, Lib. IV. 71). One can scarce do else than conclude that for Milton's readers the title *Ethiopian* might more naturally have meant the South Atlantic (or western sea), not the Indian Ocean (=*Oceanus Orientalis* in *Mercator*).

641, 642. *Cape*, of Good Hope. *stemming*, pressing forward, i.e. breasting the waves; cf. *Julius Cæsar*, I. 2. 109. *the pole*, the South Pole.

643—48. Cf. 434—37. For nine as a sacred number, see I. 50. *impaled*, encircled. The double alliteration (*i...i* and *p...p*) has a fine effect of emphasis.

648—73. The basis of the allegory of Sin and Death lies, appropriately, in Scripture: "Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin: and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death," *James* i. 15. In IX. 12 Death is called the "shadow" of Sin, and in the poem we never meet with them apart. How far M. means us to read an allegorical meaning into his description is hard to say. I doubt, e.g., whether the "yelling monsters" (795) should be regarded as typifying "the mental torments that are the consequence of sin" (Keightley). To me they seem to be introduced—without allegorical intent—partly because they intensify the element of mere horror, partly for the sake of the literary parallel. On the other hand, the "mortal sting" is plainly symbolical; cf. 1 *Cor.* xv. 56.

650. *the one*. Milton's figure of Sin is own sister to Spenser's Error (*The Faerie Queene*, I. 1. 14, 15) and Phineas Fletcher's Hamartia or Sin (*The Purple Island*, XII. 27—cf. also his *Apollyonists*, I. 10 *et seq.*): their common origin being the classical accounts of Scylla, notably Ovid's (*Metamorphoses* XIV.) and Vergil's (*Æneid* III. 424 *et seq.*). It is therefore as a study in a familiar style, not as a fresh creation,

that the picture should be viewed. So with his figure of Death. The subject of his poem, in itself, supplied him with few characters.

651, 652. So Hesiod describes Echidna, *Theogony* 298.

voluminous; perhaps with the literal sense 'in rolls or folds' (Lat. *volumen*, from *volvere*, 'to roll'); cf. Pope, *Windsor Forest*, "The silver eel in shining volumes roll'd." So in Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*, st. 123.

654—56. *cry*, pack. *Cerberean*, as of Cerberus, the many-headed dog that guarded the entrance to Hades. *list*, wished, chose.

659—61. According to the legend, Circe threw magic herbs into the waters where Scylla bathed, so that she was changed in the way M. implies. See Bacon's application of the myth in *The Advancement of Learning*, I. 4. 6. *abhorred*, to be abhorred. *Calabria*, in South Italy. *Trinacria*, Sicily, so called from its triangular shape.

662. *the night-hag*; probably Hecate, the goddess of sorcery, is meant. Cf. *Macbeth*, III. 5 (from which M. quotes in *Comus*, 1017), especially 20, where Hecate says, "I am for the air," and Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis*, st. 248. See *Comus*, 135.

called, i.e. invoked to take part in rites; cf. *Macbeth*, III. 5. 8 and 34 ("Hark! I am call'd").

664. *infant blood*; alluding to an ancient superstition. When the witches in Jonson's *Masque of Queens* assemble and relate what they have been doing, one says: "Under a cradle I did creep, By day; and when the child was asleep, At night I sucked the breath"; whereto the next: "I had a dagger: what did I with that? Killed an infant." In the footnote Jonson adds, "Their killing of infants is common... Sprenger reports that a witch confessed to have killed above forty infants...which she had offered to the devil"; and then he cites authorities, e.g. Horace, *Epod.* v. Cf., perhaps, *Macbeth*, IV. 1. 30.

to dance; like the witches in *Macbeth*; cf. IV. 1. 132, stage-direction, "The Witches dance, and then vanish, with Hecate." So Jonson makes his witches, in the midst of their rites, fall "into a sudden magical dance"—commenting that this is in accordance with tradition (*Masque of Queens*). Upon the significance of the custom, see Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, II. 133.

665. *Lapland* was traditionally a home of witchcraft; cf. Burton's *Anatomy*, I. ii. 1, 2 ("Digression of Spirits"), *The Comedy of Errors*, IV. 3. 11, "Lapland sorcerers," and *Hudibras*, III. 1. 1113, 1114. Heylyn calls the Laplanders "great sorcerers" (*Cosmography*, II. 122). Their chief instrument of divination was an oval cylinder or drum figured with various designs, notably of the moon and heavenly bodies. See "Regnard's Journey to Lapland" (1681), which contains a full account of the 'sorcerers' and their incantations; also the narrative of Leems

(1767), on the "Magic Arts of the Laplanders" (both in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, 1808, vol. I.). See *Shakespeare's England*, I. 182.

665, 666. The belief that the moon (see I. 785, 786) and heavenly bodies are affected by magic is very old and widespread. Cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* II. xii. 1, "As for the Moone, mortall men imagine that by Magicke sorcerie, and charms, she is inchaunted" (Philemon Holland's translation, 1601). See Vergil, *Ecl.* VIII. 69, Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VII. 192 *et seq.*, Horace, *Epod.* V. 45, 46. Marlowe's Doctor Faustus claims (III. 38) that Mephistophilis must do

"whatever Faustus shall command,
Be it to make the moon drop from her sphere."

So in Fairfax, *Tasso*, IX. 15, "The moon and stars for fear of spirites were fled," and XIII. 9.

labouring; cf. Cowper (translating Milton's Italian sonnet to Diodati), "And *from her sphere draw down* the *labouring* moon." So Lat. *labores* = 'eclipse,' *laborare*, 'to suffer eclipse.' Cf. Vergil, *Georg.* II. 478, *defectus solis varios, lunæque labores.*

666. *the other Shape.* Joseph Warton thought that Milton owed the "person of Death" to the θάνατος of Euripides in the *Alcestis*; cf. the Sonnet, "On his Deceased Wife." But Death as a personified figure had been described by Spenser (*F. Q.* VII. 7. 46), and introduced (as Todd noted) in Morality and early Elizabethan plays. Three of the pictures of Holbein's famous wood-cuts *The Dance of Death* (1538) deal with the story of Adam and Eve, and each presents a hideous figure of Death. We must remember that the tendency to personify (fostered by the very important influence of the Morality-plays and, later, of the Masque) was a characteristic of early 17th century poetry. Roughly it may be said that this allegorising habit came from the Latin tendency to personify abstract words, the two great masters of it being Dante and Spenser.

670. Cf. Homer's ἐρεμνῇ νυκτὶ ἐοικώς, *Od.* XI. 605 (Newton).

672. The "dart" of Death, a symbol of the force by which humanity is laid low, is mentioned in XI. 491.

what seemed. In his fine criticism of this passage Coleridge notes how the abstract vagueness of such description appeals to the imagination with a subtle force which concrete, more clearly defined, imagery would lack altogether. Cf. IV. 990.

673. *a kingly crown*; cf. *Job* xviii. 14, *Rev.* vi. 2.

677. *admired*, wondered; cf. I. 690.

678, 679. Strictly, the construction includes "God and his Son" among "created things"; but the sense is clear.

686, 687. *taste*, i.e. its effects. *Hell-born!* echoed in 697.

688. *Goblin*, demon, evil spirit. Cowper remarks on the variety of titles for Death: "the poet...seems to exhaust both invention and language for subtle appellations."

692. See *Rev.* xii. 4, and cf. v. 710, vi. 156. In ix. 141, 142 Satan boasts that his followers were "well nigh half" the angels. Their number was a point of dispute among the Schoolmen.

693. *conjured*, sworn together (*conjurati*).

695. *waste*, spend, pass; cf. *The Tempest*, v. 302.

701. *whip of scorpions.* Cf. 1 *Kings* xii. 11.

706. *deform* = Lat. *deformis*, 'hideous, unsightly.'

706—11. Cf. iv. 985 *et seq.* (Satan's meeting with Gabriel).

708. The comparison of a warrior clad in armour to a comet is at least as old as the *Æneid* (x. 272, 273), and is finely employed by Tasso (ii. 52). The vast scale of the simile here conveys a profound impression of Satan's majesty.

709. *Ophiuchus*, a constellation of the northern (cf. "arctic") hemisphere, consisting of some 80 stars and extending about forty degrees in length: lit. 'the Serpent-holder,' from Gk. ὄφις, 'a snake' and ἔχειν; Lat. *Anguitenens* or *Serpentarius*; cf. Heywood's *Hierarchie* (p. 124), and for an apt illustration of the simile, Henry More's *Song of the Soul*:

> "Ye flaming comets wandering on high,
> And new-fixt starres found in that Circle blue,
> The one espide in glittering Cassiopie,
> The other near to Ophiuchus high."

710, 711. The appearance of a comet was traditionally held an omen, generally of disaster. Cf. a passage in *Batman vppon Bartholome* (1582), viii. 32, curiously like this: "*Cometa* is a starre beclipped with burning gleames...and is sodeinly bred and betokeneth changing of kings, and is a token of *pestilence or of war*...and they spread their beames toward the *North*" (="arctic sky"). *horrid hair*, i.e. the tail of the *comet* (=κομήτης, 'long-haired,' from κόμη, 'hair'). Cf. 1 *Henry VI.* i. 1. 2, 3:

> "Comets, importing change of times and states,
> Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky."

711. Cf. the encounter of Michael and Satan in the battle in Heaven, compared to the clash of two planets, vi. 310—15.

715, 716. Cf. Dryden:

> "Lightning and thunder (*heaven's artillery*)
> As harbingers before th' Almighty fly."

But the phrase was common. *Caspian*; chosen as typical in poets of a tempestuous region; cf. Tasso vi. 38, *The Faerie Queene*, ii. 7. 14.

719. *so*, thus; completing the simile; cf. 947, I. 209, 311, 775. *that*, so that; a constant use in M. Cf. *The Tempest*, I. 2. 370, 371:

"[I'll] make thee roar,
That beasts shall tremble at thy din."

722. *foe*, i.e. Christ. See 1 *Cor.* xv. 25, 26, *Heb.* ii. 14.

730. *and know'st*, though knowing; in original eds. not a question.

739. *spares to*, refrains from; cf. Lat. *parcere* followed by infinitive. So M. in prose; cf. *Of Reformation in England*, II, "neither doth the author spare to record," *P. W.* II. 411.

746. Phineas Fletcher in his *Apollyonists* has the line, "The *Porter* to th' infernall gate is *Sin*."

749—51. By a fitting stroke of allegory, the birth of Sin is made to synchronise with the first sign of disobedience in Heaven.

755—58. As Athene sprang from the head of Zeus.

787—89. Cf. *Georgic* IV. 525—27 (with Pope's imitation, *St Cecilia's Day*, VI.), where the river-banks re-echo the name 'Eurydice'; also Tennyson's *Merlin and Vivien* (end). Other Vergilian references are *Eclogue* VI. 43, 44, *Æneid* II. 53.

809. So Satan recognises Fate as the highest power (I. 116, note).

813. To *temper* metal is to harden it by cooling after it has been heated; cf. I. 285, VI. 322. *mortal dint*, deadly blow.

815. *lore*, lesson, what he had to learn (*lore* and *learn* cognate). Note the change in his tone. When in bk. IX. Eve tells (659—63) Satan that she may not touch the forbidden fruit under pain of death, Satan affects (695) not to know what death is. He is "the father of lies."

818. *pledge*; cf. the use of Lat. *pignus*.

823. Cf. VI. 877 (note).

825. *pretences*, claims; or 'designs, ambitions'; cf. VI. 421.

829. *unfounded*, bottomless, lit. 'having no base' (Lat. *fundus*).

830. *foretold*; see 345—53.

833. *purlieus*, outskirts.

836, 837. *surcharged*, overfull. *broils*, turmoils; Fr. *brouiller*.

839—44. Cf. X. 397—409, where after the Temptation Satan bids Sin and Death make Mankind their prey and the Earth their possession—"There dwell and reign in bliss." See *Psalm* xlix. 14.

842. *buxom*, yielding. Cf. V. 270, and *The Faerie Queene*, I. II. 37, "And therewith scourge the buxome aire so sore." The phrase is a reminiscence, as Keightley noted, of Horace's *pete cedentem* ['yielding'] *aera disco* (*Sat.* II. 2. 13). *embalmed*, made fragrant; cf. *balmy*='fragrant,' from *balm*='aromatic resin or oil.'

847. *famine*, hunger; "the cause for the effect" (Cowper).

855. *might*; the edition of 1678 (the third) has *wight* (from 613?).

868. Homer's θεοὶ ῥεῖα ζώοντες, *Iliad* VI. 138; cf. *Comus*, 2—6, and Tennyson, *Œnone*:

"the Gods who have attain'd
Rest in a happy place and quiet seats
Above the thunder, with undying bliss."

There is a similar passage in *The Lotos-Eaters*, 8.

869. As the Son sits at the right hand of the Father (v. 606, VI. 892); profane sarcasm seems intended.

880. The sound, especially the *r* sound, echoes the sense; see II. 594, 595, note.

883, 884. That Sin cannot close the gates is symbolical.

885. *that*, so that; cf. 719.

889. *redounding*, in clouds, volleys; Lat. *redundare*, 'to overflow.'

890. In this picture of Chaos, to be compared with Ovid's, *Metamorphoses* I. 5—20, Milton labours (as Masson notes) to convey to the reader an impression of the utter confusion of the scene described: heaping image on image, idea on idea, by which the imagination may be baffled (e.g. in 892—94), and the mind bewildered with an insistent sense of the inconceivable. And the rhythm heightens the effect. It is to this part of *P. L.* that M. alludes in III. 15—21.

891. "One would think the deep to be hoary," *Job* xli. 32. Perhaps *secrets* = 'secret places,' Lat. *secreta*, here and again in 972 (Newton).

894—96. "All the ancient naturalists [i.e. men of science], philosophers, and poets held that *Chaos* was the first principle of all things; and the poets particularly make *Night* a Goddess, and represent *Night* or darkness, and *Chaos* or confusion, as exercising uncontrolled dominion from the beginning" (Newton). But in personifying Chaos as a distinct divinity Milton seems to have extended the classical conception. His epithets referring to the antiquity of Night ("the ancestress of gods and men") are drawn from the classics. (See Osgood, s.v. "Chaos" and "Night.") *Nature*, the created Universe.

898. The four "elements" are meant, Milton's terms for them being, I suppose, proverbial; cf. Drummond of Hawthornden, *Flowers of Sion* ("The Muses' Library" edition of Drummond's *Works*, II. 9). See 274, 275, note, 912, III. 714, 715 (closely parallel); and cf. Dryden, *St Cecilia's Day*, 1—10:

"From harmony, from heav'nly harmony
This universal *frame* [cf. 924] began.
When Nature underneath a heap
Of *jarring atoms* lay,

And could not heave her head,
The tuneful voice was heard from high:
Arise, ye more than dead.
Then *cold and hot and moist and dry*
In order to their stations leap,
And Musick's pow'r obey."

899. *mastery*. The original editions have the curious form *Maistrie*, up till the fourth (1688), which changes to *Mast'ry*.

900. *embryon*, embryo; the *semina rerum* of Lucretius.

903, 904. *unnumbered*, innumerable. *Barca...Cyrene*, the chief cities of Cyrenaica in northern Africa, a region often treated as typical of sand. Cf. Fairfax, *Tasso*, XVII. 5, "From Syria's coasts as far as Cirene sands."

905, 906. *levied*, raised (Fr. *lever*), but also with the notion 'to levy troops'—cf. "*warring* winds"; it qualifies *sands*. *poise*, give weight to (Fr. *peser*). *their...wings*, i.e. of the winds. *lighter*, which would be too light but for the sand.

906, 907. i.e. the element, or champion, to whom for the moment most atoms cling, is victor.

910—27. Satan's pause is artfully contrived so as to enable the poet to describe Chaos without seeming to delay the narrative (Richardson).

911. As Nature, i.e. the Universe, was born out of Chaos (= "this Abyss"), so may she at last fall back again into Chaos. He is varying an old thought, that all things proceed from Nature and, perishing, pass back into Nature. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, II. 3. 9, 10:

"The earth that's nature's mother is her tomb;
What is her burying *grave* that is her *womb*";

and Tennyson, *Lucretius*, "the womb and tomb of all, Great Nature" (from Lucretius V. 260, *omniparens eadem rerum commune sepulcrum*). The idea occurs also in Shakespeare's 86th *Sonnet*.

918, 919. i.e. standing looked. *frith*, channel, estuary, *firth*.

921, 922. Cf. Vergil's *sic parvis componere magna solebam*, *Ecl.* I. 24, and *Georg.* IV. 176, *si parva licet componere magnis*; so in VI. 310, 311, X. 306, *P. R.* IV. 563, 564. *Bellona*, the goddess of war; cf. *Macbeth*, I. 2. 54.

923. *engines*; probably cannon are meant.

924. *frame*, fabric, structure.

927. *steadfast*, i.e. according to the Ptolemaic system; cf. VIII. 32 ("the sedentary Earth"). *vans*, wings, Ital. *vanni*.

933. *pennons*, i.e. pinions, Lat. *pennæ*.

934. *fathom*; in the original edition *fadom* (cf. the Middle E. form

fadme), and M. himself evidently intended this spelling, since the MS. of *Comus* (in his own beautiful handwriting) has the cancelled line "And halfe the slow *unfadom'd* poole of styx" (i.e. Styx). The *d* sound gives a stronger sense of depth.

937. *instinct*, filled, charged with. *nitre*, saltpetre.

939. *Syrtis*, quicksand.

941. *consistence*, substance or mixture, of sea and land.

943—47. Cf. Herodotus III. 116, "The northern parts of Europe are very much richer in gold than any other region: but how it is procured I have no certain knowledge. The story runs, that the one-eyed Arimaspi purloin it from the griffins" (Rawlinson); and IV. 13, 27, where he speaks of "the gold-guarding (χρυσοφύλακες) griffins." Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* VII. 2) says that these Arimaspi live near the Scythians, "toward the pole Arkticke," and that they "maintaine warre ordinarily about the mettall mines of gold, especially with griffons, a kind of wild beasts that flie, and use to fetch gold out of the veines of those mines: which savage beasts strive as eagerly to keepe and hold those golden mines, as the Arimaspians to disseize them thereof, and to get away the gold from them" (Philemon Holland's translation, 1601, I. 154). See Lucan, *Pharsalia* III. 280, VII. 756.

The legend, which Sir Thomas Browne places among his *Vulgar Errors*, III. xi., may have had some connection with the fact that gold is found in the Ural mountains near which the Arismaspi were thought to dwell.

943. *gryphon*, a mythic monster, a sort of chimæra; "sum men seyn that thei han the body upward as an eagle, and benethe as a lyoune.... But a griffoun hathe the body more gret, and is more strong thanne viij. lyouns, and more gret and strongere than an C (i.e. 100) egles, suche as we han amonges us"—Sir John Mandeville, who knew a country where the "griffoun" was quite common. See *The Faerie Queene*, I. 5. 8. Jonson makes it a type of "swiftness and strength," *Masque of Queens*.

945. Herodotus (IV. 27) says that the name *Arimaspi* means 'one-eyed,' "in the Scythian language."

948. *dense, or rare*, i.e. matter now thick, packed close—now thin; *raro e denso*, as Dante says (*Paradiso*, II. 67, XXII. 141); "dense," or "condense" (VI. 353), and "rare" are exact opposites. The rhythm expresses the difficulty of Satan's journey.

958, 959. i.e. the nearest way to the point where darkness borders on light. There should be no comma after "lies."

959—67. This picture of the palace of Chaos is as conventional and classical as that of Sin. Cf. the cave of Death, thronged with personified Shapes of evil and disease (XI. 477—93); or the abode of Murder

in Milton's Latin poem on the Gunpowder plot, *In Quintum Novembris*, 139—54. So Spenser describes the palace of Pluto: Payne and Strife at his side: Revenge, Treason, Hate hard by: Care guarding the door (*The Faerie Queene*, II. 7. 21—25). Such passages owe their similarity to their common origin, viz. Vergil's account of the realm of Pluto, *Æneid* VI. 273—81. Of 959—63 Pope has a most felicitous parody in *The Dunciad*, IV. (*ad fin.*); see also canto I. where he makes Dulness the "Daughter of Chaos and eternal Night." Indeed, all Pope's burlesque of epic machinery and style, in *The Rape of the Lock* and *The Dunciad*, derives, I think, more from *Paradise Lost* than from the classics. The same Miltonic influence is strongly felt in Gray's satirical *Hymn to Ignorance*, which starts, as his editors note, with a humorous echo of *P. L.* I. 250.

960, 961. *pavilion*, palace; see *Psalm* xviii. 11. *wide...wasteful* (=vast, desolate), Milton's favourite form of alliteration. Cf. *Nat. Ode*, 51, 64, *Arcades*, 47, *Lycidas*, 13, and compounds of *wide*; see VI. 253, XI. 121, 487, *Il Penseroso*, 75.

962. In Euripides, *Ion* 1150, μελάμπεπλος is said of night.

963. *consort*; in Hesiod (*Theogony* 123) Night is the daughter of Chaos. It has been said that Milton sometimes makes his own mythology, e.g. in his genealogy of Mirth, *L'Allegro*, 1—8.

964. *Orcus*, *Ades*; Lat. and Greek names of Pluto, god of Hell.

964, 965. *name of Demogorgon*=Demogorgon himself; a Latinism. *Demogorgon*, a deity supposed to be alluded to by Lucan, *Pharsalia* VI. 744, and said to be first mentioned by name by Lactantius (fourth century A.D.); also to be mentioned by the Italian writers, Boccaccio, Boiardo, Tasso, and Ariosto.

Spenser makes Demogorgon the lord of Chaos—"Downe in the bottome of the deepe Abysse"—*The Faerie Queene*, IV. 2. 47; Marlowe recognises him as co-ruler with Beelzebub of the nether world, *Faustus*, III. 18; Greene speaks of "Demogorgon, master of the fates," *Friar Bacon*, XI. 110, and "Demogorgon, ruler of the fates," *Orlando Furioso*; and he is an important character in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*. Apparently too he is identical with the "Great Gorgon prince of darkness and dead night," at the sound of whose *name* "Cocytus quakes, and Styx is put to flight" (*The Faerie Queene*, I. 1. 37). The name has been considered a corruption of δημιουργός; it is at least noticeable that Demogorgon became the patron of alchemists. Thus Howell, in his *Instructions for Forraine Travell*, calls alchemists "devout Naturalists and Disciples of Demogorgon" (Arber's ed., p. 81).

967. "A thousand busy tongues the goddess bears"—Pope describing Fame (*Temple of Fame*).

977. *confine with*, border on.

983—86. Cf. IV. 665—67.

988. *Anarch*; cf. *The Dunciad*, IV. 655.

989. *incomposed*, disturbed, *dis*composed (Lat. *incompositus*).

993—98. See the closely parallel passage, VI. 871—74.

1001. *our*; so the original editions; changed by some to *your*. But by *our* Chaos proclaims himself an ally with Satan against their common foe: their cause is the same.

1004, 1005. *Heaven*, the sky of this world. *chain*; see 1051.

1006. *Heaven*; here the Empyrean is meant.

1007—9. Chaos, we see, directs Satan's course, as he had been asked (980), and wishes him good speed. Yet when Satan, after the Temptation, descends to Hell and announces to his followers the result of his mission (X. 460 *et seq.*), he pretends that Chaos had "fiercely opposed" (478) his journey.

1011. Cf. XI. 750.

1017, 1018. *Argo*, the vessel in which Jason and the 50 Argonauts sailed to Æa (afterwards called Colchis) to fetch the golden fleece. *Bosporus*, the Thracian Bosporus, now the Straits of Constantinople; connecting the Propontis (Sea of Marmora) with the Pontus Euxinus (Black Sea). At its eastern entrance, i.e. where it opens into the Black Sea, stood two rocks, one on either side, the *Symplegades*, so called (from Gk. συν + πλήσσειν, 'to strike'), because when a ship was passing through they clashed together and crushed it. By the advice of the seer Phineus and the help of Hera, the Argonauts managed to pass, and thenceforth the rocks were fixed motionless. Juvenal calls them *concurrentia saxa* (*Sat.* XV. 19), i.e. "justling."

1019, 1020. *Scylla* (660) and *Charybdis* were two rocks, close together, in the Straits of Messina between Italy and Sicily. The currents or whirlpools were so strong that sailors seeking to avoid the one rock were generally driven on the other: whence the proverbial line, from the *Alexandreis* of Philip Gaultier, *incidis in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim*. Cf. Milton's pamphlet the *Animadversions*, 4: "you have rowed yourself fairly between the Scylla and Charybdis, either of impudence or nonsense," *P. W.* III. 67. It is a very common poetic allusion; cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, III. 5. 18—20.

larboard, the left side of a ship; Ulysses, by steering to the left, nearer to Scylla, thus avoided Charybdis on his right.

1028. *a bridge*; see X. 293 *et seq.*

1032, 1033. For the thought that Guardian Angels watch over men, see *Comus*, 216—20, 453—69, *S. A.* 1431. In *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 9, Milton deals with the ministry on earth of Angels. Todd quotes *Richard III.* V. 3. 175, "God and good angels fight on Richmond's side."

1034. Cf. IX. 107 (said of the stars), and 192. *sacred*; since "God is light," III. 3. Cf. Dante's *lume santo* in the *Paradiso*, IX. 7.

1037. *glimmering dawn*. Cf. *Lycidas*, 26, where the MS. shows that M. first wrote "Under the *glimmering* eyelids of the morne," but substituted *opening*—which heightens the personification.

1039. *her outmost works*, i.e. Nature's.

1042—44. *holds*, makes for; cf. Lat. *tenere*, which implies, also, reaching a destination (*portum*, *terram* etc.).

1048. *undetermined* qualifying *heaven*. "Its extent was such that from the portion that was seen the eye could not determine whether its margin was straight or curved" (Keightley). See X. 381. "Take a segment of a great circle, and you shall doubt whether it be straight or no" (Selden, *Table-Talk*, Reynolds' ed., p. 198).

1050. *living sapphire*; again in IV. 605. M. is fond of this use of *living*, exactly = 'vivid.' Cf. Dante's *la viva luce* of Paradise (XXIII. 31, XXXI. 46), and *vivo lume* (XXXIII. 110).

1051. *golden chain*; alluding to Homer's story of the golden chain of Zeus, suspended from Heaven, whereby he can draw up the gods, and the earth and sea, and the whole universe, though they cannot draw him down (*Iliad* VIII. 18—27). Cf. Chapman, *Shadow of Night*, "The golden chain of Homer's high device." Plato (*Theætetus* 153 C) interprets it of the Sun. It is curious to note how poets apply the story. Spenser uses it of the chain of Ambition by which men strive to rise in the world (*The Faerie Queene*, II. 7. 46, 47). Dryden, in his character of "The Good Parson," says:

> "For, letting down the golden chain from high,
> He drew his audience upward to the sky."

Milton himself in his Latin piece *De Spherarum Concentu* says that Homer meant the golden chain as a symbol of the chain of connection and design that runs through the universe; and Pope follows him (*Essay on Man*, I. 33, 34):

> "Is the great chain that draws all to agree,
> And drawn supports, upheld by God or thee?"

Jonson (*Masque of Hymen*—see his note) writes of marriage, "Such was the golden chain let down from heaven"; and Tennyson of prayer (*Morte D'Arthur*):

> "For so the whole round earth is every way
> Bound by gold chains about the feet of God."

Among prose-references we may add Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, I. i. 3, and II. vi. 1 ("that excellent and divine fable of the golden chain"); Drummond of Hawthornden's Platonic discourse on Death entitled *A Cypress Grove* (1623)—see "The Muses' Library" ed.,

II. 265; and Sir Thomas Browne: "There is a nearer way to heaven than Homer's chain" (*Religio Medici*, I. xviii.).

1052, 1053. i.e. the Universe, hung in space, looked in comparison with the Empyrean as small as some minor star which being close to the moon's superior light seems insignificant. Cf. Tennyson:

"a candle in the sun
Is all but smoke—a star beside the moon
Is all but lost" (*Queen Mary*, V. 1).

"This pendent world," as Newton notes, cannot mean the Earth, which Satan does not see till he has gained entrance through the outer surface of the Universe (III. 498—543).

In IV. 1000 M. uses a similar expression—"the pendulous round Earth"—in a different sense. There the Earth itself *is* meant, and "pendulous" expresses its relation ("self-balanced," VII. 242) to surrounding space within the Universe.

BOOK III.

The exordium (1—55), apart from its beauty of thought and diction, has a twofold interest—personal, in that it is touched with the pathos of Milton's resignation under his affliction of blindness; artistic, in that it is a fitting prelude to a fresh development in the action of the poem. Hitherto the scene has been the gloomy regions of Hell or Chaos: now our imagination is lifted to the Empyrean and the new-created Universe, still in its primal splendour. The transition from darkness to light is aptly marked by this celebrated introduction.

Lines 1, 2 and 21—26 are (I believe) the first lines quoted from *Paradise Lost* in any work by a writer contemporary with Milton. They are cited contemptuously in *The Transproser Rehears'd, or the Fifth Act of Mr Bayes's Play*, Oxford, 1673, by Richard Leigh of Queen's College (see *Notes and Queries*, IV. I. 456, 457); the title of which is an obvious echo of Marvell's controversy with Parker (see p. 366).

1, 2. Either Light was subsequent to the Deity, as being the first thing created by Him, or Light existed from Eternity equally with Him. See VII. 243—52 (with notes).

first-born; cf. VII. 244, and *S. A.* 70, "Light, the prime work of God, to me is extinct," and 83, "O first-created beam."

It has been well said that there is something peculiarly personal and sensitive in Milton's references to light.

2, 3. i.e. or may I, without blame, call ("express") thee co-eternal with the Deity? *since*; he gives his reasons (from Scripture) for

terming Light "co-eternal." Cf. 1 *John* i. 5, "God is light," and 1 *Tim.* vi. 16, "Who only hath immortality dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto."

4. The passage in Thomson's *Summer* beginning, "How shall I then attempt to sing," is a typical example of the spell that Milton exercised over him and his contemporaries, especially in the sphere of blank verse.

7. *hear'st thou rather*, dost thou prefer to be called? A classicism; cf. Gk. κλύειν, Lat. *audire*, as in Horace's *seu Jane libentius audis* (*Sat.* II. vi. 20). So M. in his Lat. poems, e.g. in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 209, *sive æquior audis | Diodotus*; also in his prose-works, e.g. in *Areopagitica*, "what more national corruption, for which England hears ill abroad [κακῶς κλύει, *male audit*], than household gluttony?" (*P. W.* II. 73).

9—12. *Genesis* i. 3—5. *wert*; an old preterite, cognate with *was*.

10. *invest*, enwrap; Lat. *investire*. Cf. I. 208.

12. *won from the...infinite*, formed out of the realm of Chaos.

void, i.e. of form, not of matter.

13—15. *wing...flight*. His favourite metaphor, "wing" (like *penna*) being a natural emblem of that which uplifts the poet's genius. Cf. I. 14.

14. *the Stygian pool*, i.e. Hell. The phrase occurs in a cancelled line (early) of the *Comus* MS. Dante speaks of himself as having passed "from the deepest pool [*dall' infima lacuna*] of the universe," i.e. from Inferno, up to Paradise (*Paradiso*, XXXIII. 22—24).

long detained; the action of books I. and II. (up to 927) being laid in Hell.

16. *utter...darkness*, of Hell, as always in M. (cf. I. 72, v. 614): *middle darkness*, of Chaos. M. means that in II. 629—1055 he described the flight of Satan through Hell, and thence upward through Chaos towards Heaven. *utter*, outer.

17. i.e. with loftier strains than those of the Orphic *Hymn to Night* (one of the poems of unknown authorship attributed to the mythic Orpheus). M. says "other," implying 'greater,' because he regarded himself as literally an inspired teacher—perhaps in the same sense that the Hebrew prophets were inspired. See I. 17—26, note.

19. *the Heavenly Muse*, Urania, the power whom he invokes at the beginning of the poem (I. 6).

20, 21. An echo of *Æneid* VI. 126—29; cf. II. 432, 433. *rare*, seldom achieved. *safe*; carrying on the idea of "escaped" (14).

25, 26. *drop serene...dim suffusion*. See *Appendix*, pp. 682, 683.

quenched; the metaphor of putting out a light; cf. *S. A.* 95.

orbs; used of the eye-balls; cf. *oculorum orbes* in *Æneid* XII. 670, and Gk. κύκλοι, e.g. in Sophocles, *Antigone* 974 (ὀμμάτων κύκλοι).

26—29. His love of literature, in particular classical poetry, has not failed. He is still devoted to those ancient poets inspired by the Muses (note the plural here and contrast 19) who haunted the "hill" of Helicon, with its "clear springs" Aganippe and Hippocrene (where was the famous "grove" of the Muses), and Parnassus with the famed Castalian fountain.

29. So Vergil (*Georg.* II. 476) describes himself as serving the Muses, *ingenti percussus amore.*

sacred; in the general sense 'divine.'

29—32. But his love of the classics is exceeded by his love of Scripture. "Sion hill" (I. 10), and "Siloa's *brook*" (I. 11) and the brook Kidron: these scenes and the literature associated with them—the Psalms of David and the works of the singers of Israel—are dearest to him. See the closely similar lines in bk. I. (6—13). For Milton's preference of sacred Hebrew poetry to classical, cf. *P. R.* IV. 346, 347, where he makes our Saviour say that the works of Greek poets

"Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling."

And in *The Reason of Church Government*, II (Preface), he pronounces "those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets...over all the kinds of lyric poesy...incomparable," *P. W.* II. 479.

32. *nightly*. Milton was best inspired at night or daybreak. This is clear from VII. 28—30 and IX. 21—24. Newton in his *Life* of M. says that the poet's widow, "being asked...who the Muse was, replied it was God's grace, and the Holy Spirit that *visited him nightly*." (Cf. Shakespeare's famous 86th *Sonnet*.) Johnson refers to the statement in Richardson's *Life of Milton* (1734), that M. "would sometimes lie awake whole nights...and on a sudden his poetical faculty would rush upon him with an *impetus*, and his daughter was immediately called to secure what came" (a similar story is told of Pope).

nor sometimes forget, and constantly call to mind; see V. 178, note.

33. *those other two*, i.e. Thamyris and Mæonides, poets as well as "prophets"—rather than Tiresias and Phineus, "prophets" alone. *equalled...in fate*, i.e. blind.

34. i.e. and would that I might be equal; a parenthesis.

so; probably = Lat. *sic* introducing an imperative clause, i.e. as a formula of wishing; cf. Horace's *sic te diva potens* etc., *Od.* I. 3. 1—4. M. apparently uses this Latin "formula of invocation" several times; cf. *P. R.* II. 125, *Lycidas*, 19.

35. *Thamyris*; according to Homer, *Iliad* II. 595—600, a Thracian bard, who, for boasting that he could surpass the Muses in song, was deprived of his sight and of the power of singing. Plato mentions him together with Orpheus twice (*Laws* VIII. 829 E, *Republic* X. 620 A).

Mæonides, i.e. Homer; called *Mæonides*, either as a son of *Mæon*, or as a native of *Mæonia*, the ancient name of Lydia. Hence he is also called *Mæonius senex*, and his poems the *Mæoniæ chartæ* or *Mæonium carmen*. Spenser calls the praise of Queen Elizabeth an "Argument worthy of Mæonian quill" (*The Faerie Queene*, II. 10. 3). Pope ironically laments that he cannot do justice to the merits of George II. (*Satires*, v. 394, 395):

> "Oh! could I mount on the Mæonian wing,
> Your arms, your actions, your repose to sing!"

See also the quotation from Wordsworth on p. 688. The tradition of Homer's blindness is mentioned as early as the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo.

36. *Tiresias*, the blind sooth-sayer of Thebes, famous through the *Œdipus Rex* of Sophocles and many other works down to Tennyson's *Tiresias*. In *De Idea Platonica*, 25, 26, M. refers to him as "the Theban seer whose blindness proved his best illumination"; so in the *Second Defence* (*P. W.* I. 236), where he is speaking of his own affliction.

Phineus, another blind prophet, king of Salmydessus in Thrace; best known in connection with the Harpies (*Æneid* III. 211—13), from whose torments two of the Argonauts freed him. In his second *Letter* to Leonard Philaras (Sept. 28, 1654) M. compares himself with Phineus, quoting the account of the prophet's blindness in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius.

Dante was another sufferer, though from weakness of sight not blindness, and seems to allude similarly to the fact in the *Inferno*, II. 97—98, where the note in the "Temple" edition gives other references, e.g. the *Vita Nuova*, XL. 27—34.

38. *numbers*, verse. *the wakeful bird*, the nightingale, Milton's favourite bird, if we may judge by his many references to it. See IV. 602, 603, VII. 435, 436, *Il Penseroso*, 56—64.

44. *human face divine*; his favourite word-order; cf. 396, 439, 692. See I. 733, note.

45. Cf. I. 22, 23 ("what in me is dark" etc.). *dark*; an adj. = noun is common in M.; cf. 380.

50. *and wisdom ... shut out*; an absolute construction, added rather loosely as a sort of climax to the whole sentence. Cf. *Lycidas*, 128, 129:

> "Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
> Daily devours apace, and nothing said."

This elliptical idiom occurs in Milton's prose-works. Cf. the *Animadversions*, 4: "seeing the power of Thy grace is not passed away with the primitive times, as fond and faithless men imagine, but Thy Kingdom is now at hand, and Thou standing at the door" (*P. W.* III. 72, 90).

55. His favourite claim (in some degree, traditional with epic poets) to peculiar inspiration and novelty of theme.

57. *Empyrean*, Heaven, the abode of the Deity and his angels.

60, 61. *the Sanctities*, the divine beings; abstract for concrete. Editors refer to *2 Henry IV.* IV. 2. 21.

61, 62. *his sight*, the sight of him. An allusion to the *Visio Beatifica*; see I. 684. Hooker, speaking of the three types of "angelical actions," says that the first is "most delectable love, arising from the visible apprehension of the purity, glory and beauty of God, invisible save only unto spirits that are pure," *Ecclesiastical Polity*, I. iv. 1. Cf. M. in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 33, "Perfect glorification [of the righteous] consists in eternal life and perfect happiness, arising chiefly from the *divine vision*." Sir Thomas Browne has a fine passage on the idea (*Christian Morals*, III. xv.), and so has Drummond (*A Cypress Grove*), giving it a Platonic colouring (*Works*, II. 277, 278).

62—64. "Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person...sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high," *Hebrews* i. 3. See 138—42, 384.

69—76. The last lines of bk. II. described Satan reaching in his ascent from Hell the upper regions of Chaos and making his way towards the Empyrean, close to which he perceived the globe of this World hung in Chaos by that golden chain (II. 1051) which is fastened to the Empyrean. Now he has arrived at the "crystal battlements" (I. 742) that separate the Empyrean from Chaos, and is flying along them—of course, on the outside. Below him lies the globe of the World; he prepares to swoop down to its surface; by 422 he has done so.

70. *the gulf*, Chaos, "the main Abyss" (83). *there*, in Chaos.

71. *this side*, i.e. the side nearest to the Empyrean. The realm of Night (personified) lies in Chaos, between Hell and the Empyrean. Into the upper regions of this realm penetrates the light reflected from the battlements of the Empyrean, and forms a kind of half-light, "a *glimmering* dawn" (II. 1037)—what M. calls (72) a "dun" atmosphere, i.e. brownish, dusky (like Dante's *l' aer bruno*). See again 427—29.

72. *sublime* = Lat. *sublimis* in its literal sense 'aloft'; cf. II. 528.

73. The alliteration may be meant to indicate Satan's exhaustion.

75. Viewed from outside, this Universe appeared to be a solid, spherical mass of land, without sky (the sky which we see being supposed to be *inside* the "first convex" or outer crust).

76. *uncertain*; it being uncertain. This is an absolute construction

modelled on the elliptical use of Lat. *incertum*, e.g. in Livy XXXI. 41. 2, *clauserunt portas incertum vi an voluntate*. Cf. IV. 593.

in ocean. So in II. 410 Satan speaks of the World as "the happy *isle*." Chaos, in which it hung, was a mixture of land and sea (II. 939, 940).

80—343. This Council in Heaven has been called a less dramatic counterpart to the Council in Hell in book II. It is perhaps to some of these speeches that Pope would have pointed for the justification of his famous sneer ("To Augustus," 99—102, *Imitations of Horace*):

> "Milton's strong pinion now not Heaven can bound,
> Now serpent-like in prose he sweeps the ground;
> In quibbles angel and archangel join,
> And God the Father turns a School-divine."

Addison showed, with more sympathy, the difficulty inherent in the subject: the poet here "dares not give his imagination full play."

82, 83. *the chains*. Cf. I. 48.

84. *wide interrupt*, with its wide division, i.e. between Hell and Heaven. *interrupt*; a past participle = Lat. *interruptus*.

90. *assay*, attempt.

93. *glozing*, flattering; with the idea of falsehood.

94. *the sole command*, i.e. to abstain from the forbidden tree.

100. Cf. Satan's own words, IV. 63—68. That the rebellious angels, like Adam and Eve, had free will, to obey or disobey, is emphasised in V. 525—43 and elsewhere. Cf. *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 3, "in assigning the gift of free will, God suffered both men and angels to stand or fall at their own uncontrolled choice" (*P. W.* IV. 38).

101. *failed*. Bentley thought that M. dictated *fell*; cf. 102.

106, 107. Cf. *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 4, "the acceptableness of duties done under a law of necessity is...annihilated altogether" (*P. W.* IV. 63).

108. "When God gave him [Adam] reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing," *Areopagitica* (*P. W.* II. 74). Reason is speculative: will, practical—in fact, the power of putting reason into action. It is by reason that we choose the right course, by will that we take it. Such seems Milton's meaning.

129. *the first sort*, the fallen angels. *suggestion*, temptation; a common Elizabethan sense; cf. IX. 90.

135. *ambrosial*, delicious.

136. Cf. 1 *Timothy* v. 21, "the *elect* angels," which M. explains in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 9, to mean "beloved, or excellent." See 360, VI. 374, 375. In *P. L.* this Scriptural word marks off the good angels from the revolted.

138—42. Cf. VI. 681, 682, note.

143. *which*, viz. his *compassion*, *love* and *grace* (=graciousness).

147. The hymns and songs are "innumerable," not their "sound."

150. *should Man...be lost?* 'would it be right that Man should be lost?' The original editions mark that it is a question.

153, 154. "That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked," *Gen.* xviii. 25.

156. The name *Satan* means 'adversary'; cf. Dante's *l' antico avversaro* (*Purgatorio*, XI. 20); and "foe" in 179.

159. *return*, i.e. to Hell.

163. *abolish thy creation*; as Beelzebub hoped (II. 368—70).

166. *blasphemed*, impiously spoken ill of.

168. "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," *Mat.* iii. 17.

169. "The only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father," *John* i. 18. Cf. 239, 279.

170. *my word*; referring to the use in the New Testament of 'Word,' Gk. λόγος (Vulgate *verbum*), as a title of the Son; see 383, note. *effectual might*, i.e. power by whom the will of the Father was effected, e.g. in the creation of the World (*John* i. 1—3; cf. *P. L.* VII.), an idea peculiar to the fourth Gospel.

176. *lapsed*, lost through man's offence. *forfeit*, forfeited. The tone and wording of the line are legal; cf. 219.

177. *exorbitant*, excessive.

179. *mortal*, deadly; cf. I. 2.

183, 184. The doctrine of predestination here alluded to is discussed by M. at some length in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 4.

185, 186. i.e. be warned *of* their state and advised to appease.

189. Perhaps M. refers to *Ezekiel* xxxvi. 26.

197. *persisting*; in a good sense='continuing steadfast.'

safe arrive, i.e. attain salvation ultimately. Cf. *Matthew* x. 22.

206. The Serpent tempts Eve with the promise of godhead, IX. 708. Cf. *Gen.* iii. 5, "in the day ye eat thereof...ye shall be as gods."

affecting, seeking to win; Lat. *affectare*, 'to aim at.'

208. *sacred and devote*, utterly doomed. The words have practically the same meaning: *sacred*=Lat. *sacer*, 'dedicated to a deity for destruction'; *devote*=Lat. *devotus*, 'set apart as by a vow (*votum*)' with the same object.

211. *as willing*, i.e. not less willing than able.

215. *mortal crime*, i.e. deadly; the use of *mortal* in its two senses (cf. 214) is an intentional quibble. Cf. I. 642, note, IV. 181.

to save, i.e. which of ye will be so just as to save the unjust?

(Newton). Cf. 1 *Pet.* iii. 18, "For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust."

216. *charity*, love.

217. All the angels of Heaven shrink from the task of saving man, just as all the fallen angels—their leader excepted—shrank from undertaking the expedition to ruin man (II. 417—26). The Saviour himself must achieve the one work, as the Tempter himself the other (Newton). Dryden challenged comparison when he wrote *The Hind and the Panther*, II. 499—514.

218. "There was silence in heaven," *Rev.* viii. 1.

219. The metaphor of the passage being legal, probably *patron* = Lat. *patronus* in its legal sense, 'defender,' "advocate" (1 *John* ii. 1). Cf. Minsheu's old *Dictionary* (1625): "A Patrone, or defender... L. *advocatus qui alterum defendit*."

intercessor. "And he saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercessor," *Isaiah* lix. 16.

225. "For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," *Colossians* ii. 9.

226. *dearest*, most heartfelt, earnest.

227. *passed*, pledged.

231. For this favourite form of verse see II. 185, note, and cf. *Hamlet*, I. 5. 77, "Unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneled."

unprevented, unanticipated (i.e. by prayer); grace comes before man has prayed for her. *prevent* = Lat. *prævenire*, 'to come before.'

233. *dead in sins*; from *Colossians* ii. 13.

236, 237. *me...me*. For this emphatic repetition see VI. 812—19.

243. *given me to possess*. A Latinism; cf. I. 736, XI. 339.

244—65. Texts of Scripture referred to are: *John* v. 26; *Psalms* xvi. 10, 11, lxviii. 18; *Acts* ii. 27; 1 *Cor.* xv. 26, 55; *Col.* ii. 15; *Rev.* xx. 14. In the speeches which he assigns to the Almighty or the Son M. employs largely the words of Scripture.

246. *all*; qualifying *I* in the previous sentence: 'I am his due—at least, all of me that can die.'

255. *maugre*, in spite of; O. Fr. *maugre* = modern Fr. *malgré*.

show, i.e. to the Almighty.

258. *ruin*, hurl down. M. uses *ruin* = Lat. *ruina* in its literal sense 'fall.' Thus in I. 46 he speaks of the "ruin" of the angels from heaven, and in *S. A.* 1514, 1515 of the "ruin" of Dagon's temple, i.e. 'fall.'

266. Scan *aspéct*, as usually in M. and Shakespeare; cf. IV. 541.

270. *attends*, awaits; cf. Fr. *attendre*.

271. *admiration*, wonder; cf. the verb in II. 677, 678.

275. *under wrath*; referring to the future, when man shall have incurred the Almighty's wrath by the disobedience of Adam and Eve.

276. *complacence*, pleasure, i.e. in whom pleasure is taken.

277, 278. An allusion to the proverbial phrase; cf. *Julius Cæsar*, III. 1. 189, "Though *last, not least*, in love"; and *King Lear*, I. 1. 85, 86, "our joy, Although *the last, not least*."

285. *room*, place, stead.

285—89. See 1 *Cor.* xi. 3, xv. 22 ("as in Adam all die").

290—94. Referring to the doctrine of imputed righteousness which M. deals with in the chapter "Of Justification," *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 22. He writes, "As therefore our sins are imputed to Christ, so the merits or righteousness of Christ are imputed to us through faith"; then he illustrates the doctrine from Scripture. Cf. *P. L.* XII. 407—10.

299, 300. *giving to*, yielding, submitting, to; somewhat similar is 2 *Henry IV.* I. 1. 164, 165, "if you give o'er to stormy passion," i.e. yield to. Some interpret, 'giving *himself*.' *so dearly*, at such a cost.

306. *equal to God. Philippians* ii. 6.

312—41. Among the texts embodied in these lines are: *Phil.* i. 9, ii. 10; *Mat.* xxiv. 30, 31, xxviii. 18; 1 *Cor.* xv. 51, 52; 1 *Thess.* iv. 16.

317. *anointed*; alluding to the meaning of *Messiah* = 'anointed.'

318, 319. Cf. Horace's *sume superbiam | quæsitam meritis* (*Od.* III. 30. 14, 15). *merits*, deserts.

319. Cf. *Ephes.* iv. 15, "the head, even Christ." So in v. 606.

320. All titles of the three Hierarchies of Heavenly beings. *Princedoms* = 'Principalities' (VI. 447), Gk. ἀρχαί. See *Appendix*, pp. 680—82.

326. i.e. from the four quarters of the compass. Cf. II. 516, note. See *The Merchant of Venice*, I. 1. 168, and cf. Tennyson, *Pelleas and Ettarre*:

> "Then Arthur made vast banquets, and strange knights
> From the four winds came in."

327. *cited*, summoned.

328. *doom*, judgment. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III. 2. 67, "Then, dreadful trumpet, sound *the general doom!*"; and *Lucrece*, 924, "From the creation to *the general doom*."

329. *a peal*, i.e. of the last trumpet (1 *Cor.* xv. 52). Cf. *Nat. Ode*, 155, 156.

330. *Saints*, righteous men; a favourite word in this sense with M. and with the Puritans; cf. 461, and XII. 200, note.

333—35. Based on 2 *Peter* iii. 12, 13, as to which Dr Salmon

wrote—"Many parts of the Canonical Scriptures speak of fire as the future punishment of the wicked; but I do not remember any other place where it is said that the whole world itself shall be burned" (*Introduction to New Test.*). The doctrine is conspicuous in works like the *Revelation of Peter* which reveal the influence of the Second Epistle. M. recurs to it XI. 900, 901, XII. 546—51.

335. "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth," *Rev.* xxi. 1.

338. For the apparent accentuation (*triúmphing*), see I. 123, note.

340. *need*, be necessary; cf. IV. 235.

341. "That God may be all in all," 1 *Cor.* xv. 28.

gods; M. applies this title (='angelic or divine being') alike to the "elect" and to the fallen angels (I. 116).

344—415. A parallel to the account in II. 521—628 how the fallen angels "spent their hours" (417) in Hell.

344—47. *all the multitude...uttering*; an absolute construction. The Angels are a "Chorus" such as M. contemplated for his drama on the subject of *Paradise Lost* (Dunster).

350. *towards either throne*; i.e. towards the Father and the Son. See the vision of "the four and twenty elders," *Revelation* iv.

353. *amarant*, the unfading flower; "immortal"; see XI. 78, note.

356. Perhaps the idea of the flower being transferred was suggested by the Rabbinical doctrine that after the Fall of Man "the Garden [of Eden], with its contents, was removed to Heaven" (Keightley).

357, 358. Alluding to the "pure river of water of life, clear as crystal" (xxii. 1), the "living fountains of waters" (vii. 17), mentioned in *Revelation*; "on either side of the river was there the tree of life" (xxii. 2).

359. *Elysian*, such as might grow in *Elysium*=in Vergil and other classical writers the region in which dwelt the souls of the good. Cf. Shelley, *Prometheus*, II. 2, "Elysian flowers, Nepenthe, Moly, Amaranth." Milton's 'Heaven' is, in the main, the 'Paradise' described by the early apocalyptic writings of Christianity; and in this 'Paradise' flowers are a conspicuous feature.

amber, clear, transparent as amber; one of those literary epithets (cf. *P. R.* III. 288, Gray, *Progress of Poesy*, 69) due to the classics; cf. Vergil's *purior electro...amnis—Georg.* III. 522.

362—64. 'Now the pavement was bright ("smiled") with roses in garlands which the angels threw down thick.'

363. "And before the throne there was a sea of glass, like unto crystal," *Rev.* iv. 6.

364. *impurpled*, made brilliant. Cf. *Lycidas*, 141, "And purple all the ground with vernal flowers."

smiled; cf. the use of Lat. *ridere* = 'to be bright, gay with,' e.g. as a field with flowers.

368. *symphony*, harmonious strains; cf. I. 712.

371. *part*; used in its musical sense, as in 'part-song.'

375—77. Cf. 3—8. The construction is—'Invisible, except when thou shadest...and thy skirts appear.'

380. *dark with excessive bright*. Scientifically a fact; as a figure of speech, an oxymoron (see IV. 314, note). Similar is V. 598, 599. Cf. Drummond's *Hymn of the Fairest Fair* (apostrophising the Trinity):

"Incomprehensible by reachless height,
And unperceived by excessive light."

Spenser had had the same idea; cf. *An Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, 118, 119, 176—79.

381, 382. Cf. *Isaiah* vi. 2, "Above it stood the seraphims: each one had six *wings*; with twain *he covered his face*." M. chooses the Seraphim as being the most lustrous, the "brightest" (667), of the Heavenly Orders; yet even they cannot bear the extreme radiance. See Gray's lines on Milton, *Appendix*, p. 683.

383. Cf. *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 5, "certain it is...that the Son existed in the beginning, under the name of the *logos* or *Word* [see 170, note], and was *the first of the whole creation*" (*P. W.* IV. 80). That chapter ("Of the Son of God") reveals Milton's Arianism very clearly.

389. Cf. VI. 704.

391—99. Closely similar to the account of the battle in Heaven in which Satan and his host are overthrown by Messiah (VI. 831—92).

392. *Dominations*; the title (Gk. *κυριότητες*) of one of the Orders of Heavenly beings.

395. *frame*, fabric; a favourite word with M.; cf. II. 924, V. 154.

398. *thee only*; since Messiah drove out the foe unaided (VI. 880).

406. Supply *than* or *but*; the main verb is *offered* (409).

413, 414. *my song...my harp*. Probably the speaker is intended to be the chorus of angels, regarded as one individual (in accordance with the constant practice of the Greek dramatists—cf. the choruses of *S. A.*); the reference to *harp* (cf. 365) makes this probable. But it is possible that M. himself is speaking.

416. *starry sphere*, the starlit sky of this World; so in V. 620.

418. *opacous*, gloomy, because hung in Chaos.

419, 420. *first convex*, the *Primum Mobile* or tenth sphere, formed of solid matter (cf. "firm," 418), and serving as the outer shell of the World, and so dividing from Chaos the nine other spheres (="luminous inferior orbs") which are inside. See *Appendix*, p. 666.

422, 423. The Universe was so vast that its spherical shape was only perceptible from a distance; standing on its surface, Satan might have supposed it to be a plain. Cf. II. 1047, 1048.

429. *glimmering*; a favourite epithet of Tennyson; it suggests the faint light of early morning (II. 1037, *Nat. Ode*, 75) and twilight (I. 182, *Il Penseroso*, 27). The latter use is Gray's (*Elegy*, 5, "the glimmering landscape"—recalling *Macbeth*, III. 3. 5).

430. *at large*, freely, without restraint; cf. I. 790.

431—39. Upon the geography see *Appendix*, pp. 683, 684. The elaborate form of the simile is very characteristic. Like Vergil, M. often works a simile out in all its bearings. Here the comparison is very apposite; the vulture=Satan; the flocks=mankind, Satan's prey; the barren plains=the "continent" where he alighted. Addison dwells on the peculiar grandeur of Milton's similes, which almost always convey "some very great idea"—"some glorious image or sentiment." Dante's similes, much more numerous than Milton's, are less classical in form, and often drawn from homely subjects; sometimes he is very minute in the details.

432. *snowy*. The name *Imaus* is cognate with the Sanskrit *himavat*, 'snowy,' and survives in *Himálaya*, 'the region of cold.'

434. *yeanling*, newly born.

435, 436. *Ganges or Hydaspes*; both have their "springs" (i.e. sources) in the Himalayas. Drummond mentions the two rivers, as typifying India or the East, in the same couplet of *Forth Feasting*. *Hydaspes* was the classical name for the modern Jhelum. The form of the line is a favourite with M.; cf. 36, and I. 469, "Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid streams."

438, 439. Newton quotes from Heylyn's *Cosmography* (the best known English geographical work of the 17th century), "the country [China] is so plain [flat] and level, that they have carts and coaches driven with sails"; and I find in Jonson's *News from the New World*: "*Herald.* Yes, but the coaches...go only with wind. *Chronicler.* Pretty! like China waggons." The following is from Staunton's *Embassy to China* (1797), cited by Todd: "The custom mentioned by some old travellers, of the Chinese applying sails to carriages by land is still, in some degree, retained. [He then quotes Milton's lines and continues:]

Those *cany* waggons are small carts, or double barrows, of *bamboo*, with one large wheel between them. When there is no wind to favour the progress of such a cart, it is drawn by a man, who is regularly harnessed to it, while another keeps it steady from behind, besides assisting in pushing it forward. The sail, when the wind is favourable, saves the labour of the former of these two men. It consists only of a mat fixed between two poles rising from the opposite sides of the cart. This simple contrivance can only be of use when the cart is intended to run before the wind" (II. p. 76).

The plural *Chineses* was in regular use during the 17th cent.; cf. the title of a work published in 1606, "An exact Discourse of the East Indians as well as *Chyneses* and Jauans" (see *New English Dict.*).

440. *so*; Milton's constant manner of completing a simile. Cf. IV. 166, 192, 819. *sea*; perhaps suggested by "sails" (439).

444—97. The germ of the whole idea lies in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, canto 34, of which M. himself translates several lines in *Of Reformation* (*P. W.* II. 383). The passage represents Astolfo, the English knight, as being taken up in Elijah's chariot into the moon and led by St John

> "Into a goodly valley, where he sees
> A mighty mass of things strangely confus'd,
> Things that on earth were lost, or were abus'd."

M. says that there is (as people thought) a Paradise of Fools (496), the rubbish-heap of the Universe: only it is situated, not in the moon (459), but on this outside of the globe where Satan is walking. And from the interior of the World it is approached thus (481—86): vain things and souls (448) mount upward from Earth past the ten spheres, reach the opening in the globe's surface, where the ladder leads up to Heaven (cf. 503 *et seq.*), and emerge on to the outside—when, lo! (486—89) cross-winds suddenly sweep them clean away from the ladder, and, whirled into space, they descend into their appointed Paradise, on the backside (494) of the globe.

The almost burlesque satire of the passage seems scarce in keeping with the dignity of an epic; it has too the demerit of improbability. Probably Milton's main purpose was to introduce the attack on the Church of Rome, carefully placed at the end as a climax. Hardly less bitter, though less direct, are his assaults on the Church of England; see IV. 193, note. He could have pointed to the precedent of Dante's invective against the Papacy, e.g. in the *Purgatorio*, XVI., and *Paradiso*, XXVII.

Milton's brother Christopher became a Roman Catholic; see Hearne's *Collections*, Doble's ed., I. 288, 289, II. 63.

For the Ariosto allusion see also Dryden's 2nd *Prologue* (1681) to the University of Oxford, lines 1—6.

444. *store*, plenty. "Store is no sore" (an old proverb).

449. *fond*, foolish; so *fondly* = 'foolishly' in 470.

451—54. Mainly a sarcasm against priestcraft. M., like Lucretius, detested "superstition," classing it with "tyranny"; see II. 59, note.

456. *abortive*, born before their time. *unkindly*, unnaturally.

457. *in vain*, at random, without purpose (Richardson).

459. *some*, viz. Ariosto. Cf. Pope, *The Rape of the Lock*, v. 113, 114, referring to Belinda's tress:

> "Some thought it mounted to the Lunar sphere,
> Since all things lost on Earth are treasur'd there."

460, 461. Apparently M. thought that the moon is inhabited; cf. VIII. 140—58. *translated saints*, e.g. Enoch (*Gen.* v. 24), Elijah (2 *Kings* ii.). *middle*; explained in the next line.

463—65. He means the "mighty men...men of renown," who were born of the "sons of God" and "the daughters of men" (*Gen.* vi. 4). In XI. 621—25 M. identifies the "sons of God" with the pious descendants of Seth; in v. 447 and *P. R.* II. 178, 179 he regards them as angels. *Gen.* vi. 4 has been interpreted in both ways. Dryden may have recollected these lines; cf. *The Hind and the Panther*, I. 341—44.

466, 467. See the fuller reference to the building of Babel, XII. 38—62. *Sennaar* = Shinar (*Gen.* xi. 2). M. uses the Vulgate form of the name; the Septuagint has Σεναάρ.

469—71. *Empedocles*, a Greek philosopher of Agrigentum in Sicily; 'flourished' about B.C. 444. "He threw himself into the flames of Mount Ætna, that by his sudden disappearance he might be believed to be a god; but...the volcano threw up one of his sandals and thus revealed the manner of his death" (*Classical Dictionary*).

Ætna; this adjectival use of names (to avoid '*s* followed by *s*) is common in Shakespeare; cf. "Philippi fields," *Julius Cæsar*, v. 5. 19.

471—73. *Cleombrotus*, a philosopher of Ambracia in Epirus; according to the legend, he drowned himself after reading Plato's description of Elysium in the *Phædo*, in order that he might exchange this life for a better. *too long*, i.e. to tell.

474. *embryos*, beings in an immature, undeveloped state. He uses *embryon* for the adjective; cf. II. 900, VII. 277. *eremites* = *hermits*; from Gk. ἐρημίτης, 'a dweller in a desert' (Gk. ἐρημία).

friar = Fr. *frère* (cf. *frere* in Chaucer), the distinguishing title of the mendicant orders, of which, till the 15th century, there were four; cf.

Chaucer, *Prologue*, 210, "alle the ordres foure." M. mentions three, the fourth being the Augustinian hermits or Austin Friars.

475. *white*, the *Carmelites*, so called after Mt Carmel, where the crusader Berthold established the order, about 1156. They wear a white cloak.

black, the *Dominicans*, an order of preaching friars (*Fratres Prædicantes*) founded in 1215 by *St Dominic*, a Spaniard; cf. 479. A long black mantle or *cappa* forms part of their dress.

grey, the *Franciscans*, founded in 1209 by *St Francis* of Assisi; cf. 480. They wear a grey gown of coarse cloth—what M. in his *In Quintum Novembris*, 81, 82, calls *cineracea vestis*, i.e. ash-coloured.

From their respective garbs the three orders were known in England as the White Friars, the Black Friars, and the Grey Friars.

476, 477. An allusion to the pilgrimages in the Middle Ages, to the tomb of Christ in the garden (*John* xix. 41) of the place Golgotha, where Christ was crucified.

478—80. Alluding to the belief that even laymen, if they died in friars' robes ("weeds") would pass into Heaven (Masson).

481—83. To understand these lines one must know something about the Ptolemaic cosmology; see *Appendix*, pp. 664—66.

A close parallel is Donne's *Progress of the Soul*, in which he describes how the soul ascends through the air, passes the planets (he names them) one after another, and so reaches Heaven.

481. *the fixed*, i.e. stars, set in the eighth sphere = *Cælum Stellatum*. Note that 'stars,' *not* 'sphere,' is the word understood: the stars in this sphere are fixed, but the sphere itself revolves—nay, is marked by the rapidity of its revolution (cf. v. 176, "orb that flies").

482, 483. i.e. that sphere which with its balance determines the amount of the swaying motion ("trepidation") so much talked about. See the notes on VIII. 130—40.

that, the well-known, Lat. *ille*. Scan *crystálline*.

talked, talked *of*; this contemptuous word rather implies that M. did not believe in the theory of the "trepidation."

that first moved, the *Primum Mobile*, or tenth sphere; cf. *The Death of a Fair Infant*, 39, "that high first-moving sphere."

484, 485. Intended as a sneer (cf. the depreciatory word "wicket") at the Roman Catholic doctrine of 'the power of the keys'; cf. *Mat.* xvi. 19, "And I will give unto thee [Peter] the keys of the kingdom of heaven." M. discusses the subject in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 29. Other references to it in his works are *Lycidas*, 108—11; *In Quintum Novembris*, 101; and *Areopagitica*, where, ridiculing the Roman Catholic censorship of publications and the Papal *imprimatur*, he says: "as if

St Peter had bequeathed them the keys of the press also as well as of Paradise!" (*P. W.* II. 60).

485—89. For a parallel to this idea see the extract from the English *Faust-book* (1592) in the *Appendix*, p. 663.

488. *transverse*, in a cross-direction, aside.

489. *devious*, out of their course; the epithet is transferred (by *hypallage*) from *them* to *air* (cf. 147).

490—93. All terms specially associated with the Roman Catholic Church. *reliques*, relics, like the remains of the bodies or clothes of Saints and Martyrs; Lat. *reliquiæ*. See the *Prayer-Book*, "Articles of Religion," XXII. *beads*, of the rosary. *indulgences*, such as the Roman Church grants. *dispenses*, dispensations. *pardons*, absolutions. *bulls*, papal edicts; so called from the round leaden seal, *bulla*.

493. *the sport*; alluding to *Æneid* VI. 74, 75, where Æneas begs of the Sibyl:

> "But oh! commit not thy prophetic mind
> To flitting leaves, the *sport of every wind*"

(*ludibria ventis*)—Dryden.

495. *limbo*, region.

496. *Paradise of Fools*; a proverbial phrase; cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, II. 4. 176.

501. *travelled*; some interpret 'tired.'

502. *degrees*, steps; cf. *Julius Cæsar*, II. 1. 25, 26.

510. *Gen.* xxviii. 11—17. Probably Milton's notion of a stair connecting the Universe with Heaven was suggested by Jacob's dream; cf. the *Paradiso*, XXI. There is some verbal likeness (and possibly the same Scriptural allusion) in a cancelled passage of *Comus*, after line 215:

> "I see yee visibly & while I see yee
> this dusky hollow is a paradise
> & heaven gates ore my head."

516. *mysteriously*, i.e. had a mystic, allegorical meaning.

517, 518. i.e. *was* drawn up and *became* "viewless" (=unseen).

518—22. He means the Crystalline sphere=the "wide Crystalline ocean" (VII. 271), "the glassy sea" (VII. 619), which the angels behold—through the opening (cf. 526—28) in the surface of the Universe—as they stand at Heaven's gate and look down the stairs (VII. 617—19). M. has already said that souls ascending Heavenward from Earth must pass this sphere (482).

521. *wafted*, carried: like Lazarus (*Luke* xvi. 22).

522. *rapt*, caught up: like Elijah (2 *Kings* ii. 11). Cf. *P. R.* II. 16, 17.

526—39. This is the only opening in the surface of the outer shell (*Primum Mobile*) of the Universe.

527. i.e. immediately above the site of the Garden of Eden.

530. *though that*, i.e. the second passage mentioned in 531. The Old Testament often speaks of angels visiting the Earth, and here we are told that there were two aerial paths for their descent, one leading straight down from Heaven on to Mount Sion, the other extending over the whole Promised Land.

534. *his eye*, viz. passed. *choice regard*, careful watch, look.

535, 536. i.e. "from Dan even to Beer-sheba"=from N. to S. of Canaan. *Paneas*, the later Greek name of Dan, a little S. of Mount Hermon, at the foot of which the Jordan has its chief source.

The form *Beersaba*, instead of 'Beer*sh*eba,' illustrates M.'s avoidance of the sound *sh* in proper names; cf. I. 398, note. He often uses the Septuagint or Vulgate form. The Septuagint has Βηρσαβέε, the Vulgate *Bersabee*.

540. *on the lower stair*, at the bottom of the stairs.

541. *scaled*, ascended like a ladder (Lat. *scala*).

546. *obtains*, attains to, reaches (*obtinet*).

547. *discovers*, unfolds; Fr. *découvrir*.

549. Was M. recalling to memory one of the Italian cities visited on that tour in 1638—39 to which his thoughts reverted so gladly? Perhaps Florence on which he had looked down from Fiesolé (see I. 289, 290, notes); or, yet more likely, Rome. The epithet "glistering" suggests an Italian scene. Cf. the famous description in *P. R.* of imperial Rome and the "glittering spires" of the Palatine (IV. 54).

551. To complete the sense, understand some words like "he (the scout) is seized with wonder" (Keightley).

552. *though after*, i.e. although he was familiar with the splendours of Heaven. For the Latinism (*post cælum visum*) cf. I. 573.

555—57. Standing at the topmost point of the globe, just at the opening, Satan can survey the whole interior of the Universe—from E. to W. (557—60), and from N. to S. (560, 561).

He is far above the night that we know on Earth simply because he is far above the sun. *circling*, surrounding. *canopy*; used somewhat similarly, of the sky in general, in *Hamlet*, II. 2. 311, and *Coriolanus*, IV. 5. 41. Cf. "cope" in IV. 992.

558—60. *the fleecy star*, Aries, the Ram—exactly opposite in the Zodiac (in the west) to Libra, the Balance (in the east). M. says that the constellation Andromeda is borne by Aries because it lies above Aries in the sky, though rather to the west. *the horizon*, i.e. of this Earth.

No poet, I think, conveys a sense of vast distance so acutely as does Milton, perhaps from his blindness, and these lines are a signal example of his gift; excelling perhaps in the suggestion of sheer remoteness and space even the simile of the ships (II. 636—43).

562. *first region*, i.e. the uppermost of the three "regions" (a technical term) into which mediæval physicists supposed the air to be divided; it was distinguished by the pure dry heat of its atmosphere.

563. *and winds*. In his downward flight Satan has passed through two spheres, the *Primum Mobile* and Crystalline. Now he is in the *Cælum Stellatum*, moving up and down (cf. "oblique way") among the host of fixed stars (cf. 481). Till 573 we must picture him in this sphere.

564. *marble*, lucid, bright as marble=*marmoreus*; cf. *Cymbeline*, v. 4. 120, "the marble pavement," i.e. the sky, heavens.

565, 566. i.e. that at a distance seemed to be stars. A Greek idiom.

567. *happy isles*=those Islands of the Blessed, to which, according to an early Greek belief, favoured mortals passed without dying. Later these *Fortunatæ Insulæ* came to be identified with islands off the west coast of Africa (probably the Canaries). One of Ben Jonson's *Masques* is called "The Fortunate Isles."

568. i.e. the gardens (cf. *Comus*, 981—83, *P. R.* II. 357) in which grew the golden apples (IV. 250, *Comus*, 393—97) guarded by the daughters of Hesperus and the dragon Ladon. The *Hesperidum Insulæ* in which the gardens were commonly placed by writers have been identified with the Cape de Verde islands (so perhaps by M. himself in VIII. 631, 632). There is a hitherto unpublished poem, of some length, on *The Hesperides* by Tennyson, in his *Life*, and lines 981—83 of *Comus* are prefixed to it as motto.

571. *above*, more than—*not* 'over,' connoting place, since the sphere of the sun is *below* the sphere of the fixed stars; in fact, being the middle one of the spheres of the seven planets (cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, I. 3. 89—91), it is separated from the *Cælum Stellatum* by three spheres, viz. those of Saturn, Jupiter and Mars (in that order).

574—76. Newton explains: *up or down*, north or south; *by centre or eccentric*, towards the centre, or from the centre...*by longitude*, east or west (cf. IV. 539). Other editors note (1) that M. leaves it undetermined whether the sun (cf. VIII. 122, 123) or the Earth is the centre of the Universe, i.e. whether the Copernican or Ptolemaic astronomy is right: (2) that he makes *longitude*=east to west, and *breadth* (561), i.e. *latitude*=north to south: a use which we just reverse.

577. *aloof*, apart from; rare as preposition.

580, 581. *numbers*, measures = Lat. *numeri* used of the measures of a dance. See VIII. 123—25.

compute days etc.; cf. *Genesis* i. 14. Plato speaks of the planets as created by the Deity εἰς διορισμὸν καὶ φυλακὴν ἀριθμῶν χρόνου, "for defining and preserving the *numbers* of time," *Timæus* 38 c.

586. *virtue*, efficacy; cf. 608. A favourite word with Dante; cf. the *Paradiso*, II. 68, 70, 113, 139. *the deep*, the lowest part of the Universe.

588—90. Probably he is thinking of Galileo, who in 1609 constructed a telescope ("optic tube") by which the spots on the solar disc were perceptible. See I. 288, note.

tube; the common 17th century word for the telescope; cf. Marvell's *Satires* ("To the King"):

> "So his bold tube man to the sun applied,
> And spots unknown in the bright star descried."

Sir Thomas Browne says: "Let intellectual tubes give thee a glance of things which visive organs reach not" (*Christian Morals*, III. xiv.).

592. The First and Second Eds. have *medal* here, but *metal* in 595.

593. *informed*, pervaded by, filled, inspired with. In this sense, which does not occur elsewhere in M., *inform* became one of the stereotyped, poetic words of the 18th century.

594. *glowing iron*, i.e. 'like iron glowing with fire.'

596—98. *chrysolite...ruby*. *Exodus* xxviii. 17—20. In verse 20 the Heb. *tarshish*, rendered "beryl" in the A.V., is a *chrysolite* according to the Septuagint and Vulgate; and in verse 17 the margin of the A.V. has "*ruby*" instead of "sardius."

to, to the full number of the twelve.

600. *that stone* = "the philosopher's stone"; cf. *The Hind and the Panther*, II. 112, 113.

601. *philosophers*, alchemists, who tried to compose a stone which would transmute other metals into gold. Cf. Reginald Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584, XIV. 11, speaking of alchemists, "Now you must understand that the end and drift of all their worke is, to atteine unto the composition of *the philosopher's stone*, called *Alixer*": i.e. *elixir*.

602, 603. *bind...Hermes*, solidify and fix *mercury* or quicksilver. Cf. Ben Jonson's *Mercury Vindicated from the Alchemists*; the scene is "a Laboratory or Alchemist's-workhouse," Mercury appears, and Vulcan as the chief alchemist cries out—"Stay, see! our *Mercury* is coming forth...call forth our *philosophers* [cf. 601]. He will be gone, he will evaporate...Precious golden Mercury, be fixt: be not so *volatile!*" And later (speaking to his assistants): "Begin your charm,

sound music, circle him in, and take him: if he will not obey, *bind* him."

Hermes; the Greek name of Mercury (Lat. *Mercurius*).

603—605. *old Proteus*; the prophetic old man of the sea (ἅλιος γέρων). To escape prophesying, he would transform himself into "various shapes" (cf. *Protean*='shifting, changeable'); but when he was firmly seized, as by Menelaus (*Odyssey* IV. 454, 455) and Aristæus (*Georgic* IV. 437—40), he would return to "his native form" and foretell the future. Milton uses this legend to illustrate the processes of alchemists: the matter on which they experiment is, like Proteus, transformed by being drained through *alembics* (='limbecs') or stills, till at last they restore it to its original ("native") form.

call up. According to legend, no one had this power over Proteus: he only issued from the sea of his own accord, at midday, to sleep on the shore. But, to emphasise the "powerful art" of the alchemists, M. suggests that they might even summon up Proteus at their will.

606. *here*, in the sun: if the sun's heat can produce such marvellous effects on the far-off Earth (611), how much more on its own orb! The sun is compared with an alchemist in *King John*, III. 1. 77—80 (Newton).

607, 608. *breathe...elixir*, i.e. exhale a force similar to that life-prolonging force or principle called *elixir vitæ*, which the alchemists believed to be contained in a tincture of gold called *aurum potabile* =the "potable gold" of 608.

610. i.e. though mixed with moisture which weakens his power.

611. *here*, on Earth. *in the dark*, underground. *precious things*, precious stones, metals. "It was the belief of those times that these were produced by the influence of the sun" (Keightley). Cf. Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*, st. 3, with his footnote: "Precious stones at first are dew condensed, and hardened by the warmth of the sun or subterranean fires." Dryden's editor in the Clarendon Press Series gives other references (p. 244). The idea seems to be present in Pope's *Moral Essays*, I. 141—48, II. 285—92, and Collins's *Ode to Liberty* (end).

613. *gaze*; often transitive; cf. V. 272, VIII. 258. Similarly the noun is used in the sense of a thing gazed at; cf. *Macbeth*, V. 8. 23, 24:

"Then yield thee, coward,
And live to be the show and gaze o' the time."

616—19. "Where Satan was,—i.e. on the Sun itself,—all was sunshine without visible shadow, just as, on Earth, at the equator at noon, the Sun's beams striking vertically downwards, in the self-same manner that they were now shooting directly upwards, cause opaque objects to have no slanting shadow round them" (Masson).

617. This position of the sun is technically called his *culmination*.

620. *visual ray* = 'power of seeing'; light which makes sight possible is put for sight itself. Cf. *S. A.* 163.

623. "And I saw an angel standing in the sun," *Rev.* xix. 17. Young (*Night Thoughts*) says, "A Christian dwells, like Uriel, in the sun."

625—28. Cf. *The Passing of Arthur*, 384—86:

"the light and lustrous curls
That made his forehead like a rising sun
High from the daïs-throne";

and *Œnone*:

"his sunny hair
Cluster'd about his temples like a God's."

Tennyson has it too in *Tithonus*.

tiar, crown. *illustrious*, bright (Lat. *illustris*). *fledge*, feathered.

628. *charge*, office, duty; cf. 688.

634. *casts*, plans; perhaps the metaphor of *cast* = 'calculate.'

637. i.e. not very young, yet youthful-looking (638); or 'not one of the great Cherubim' (*prime* = 'chief').

643, 644. *habit*, dress, Lat. *habitus*; probably in apposition to *wings*, as Milton's angels are always "feathered" (v. 284), not clothed (Newton). *succinct*, literally 'girt up'; hence 'ready, prepared,' taken with *habit* = "wings." *decent*, graceful, becoming.

648, 649. In the chapter (I. 9) of *The Christian Doctrine* on angels, M. says, "Seven of these, in particular, are described [i.e. in Scripture] as traversing the earth in the execution of their ministry." They are "the seven angels which stood before God," *Rev.* viii. 2, "the seven Spirits which are before his throne," *Rev.* i. 4. Of these Uriel was one. He is mentioned four times in 2 *Esdras*, and in three places (iv. 1, v. 20, x. 28) is called "Uriel the angel," but in the fourth (iv. 36) "Uriel the archangel." That he was "regent of the sun" (690) and dispenser of heat was a tradition, due probably to his name which signifies 'the fire of God.' Thus Heywood says that the four quarters of the world are assigned to the government of four angelic beings, and "The South, whence Auster comes, rules Uriel" (*Hierarchie of the Blessed Angells*, 1635 ed., p. 214). There is a passage to the same effect in Scot's *Discourse on Devils* (1584), Nicholson's ed., p. 527. Cf. too Henry More (*Song of the Soul*, Cambridge ed., 1647, p. 53):

"The fiery scorching shafts which Uriel
From Southern quarter darted with strong hand."

650—53. "Those seven: they are the eyes of the LORD, which run to and fro through the whole earth," *Zechariah* iv. 10.

654. The sentence introduces Satan's reason for asking information of Uriel: he does so because Uriel, as chief "interpreter" of God, is likely to know about the new Universe and its inhabitants. But strictly the sense is never completed; it takes a fresh turn in 662.

655. Only these seven archangels may come so near to the Deity.

656. *authentic*, authoritative, because received at first-hand, i.e. from God himself. Gk. *αὐθέντης*, 'one who does a thing himself.'

657, 658. Uriel brings the command of God to the inferior angels, who await it at a distance. *attend*; cf. 270.

659. *here*, in the sun.

667. *Seraph*; strictly not applicable to Uriel (an archangel).

670. i.e. but hath his choice to dwell in all these orbs.

674. *graces*, favours, marks of grace.

681. *unperceived*, not discovered, undetected.

686—89. A fine and just allegory that a wise man may be deceived through the very greatness of his nature: for he is filled with high thoughts, not mean suspicions: which makes him trust his fellow-men, and credit them with being as honest and true as himself.

Had M. not dwelt on the power of hypocrisy it might have seemed strange to us that even Uriel should be deceived (Newton).

699. M. always accents *empýreal* (but *empyréan*).

704. *had in remembrance*; a Scriptural phrase; *Acts* x. 31.

708. *I saw*. Uriel must have been among the angels who accompanied Messiah when he went forth to create the World, VII. 192—215. This rapid sketch (708—21) prepares us for the full narrative of the creation in book VII.; such links between the different books are an important element in the construction of the whole. The lines reveal the influence of Plato's account of the creation (*Timæus*) and of Ovid's description of Chaos (*Metamorphoses* I. 5 *et seq.*). For Milton's knowledge of the *Timæus* cf. V. 580—82, note.

709. *this World's material mould*, i.e. the substance whereof the World was made, being matter in its primal state; see V. 471, note.

712. *his...bidding*, viz. "Let there be light," *Gen.* i. 3.

713. *order from disorder*. Εἰς τάξιν αὐτὸ ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας, Plato, *Timæus* 30 A; *id ex inordinato in ordinem adduxit*, Cicero, *De Universo* 3 (a translation of parts of the *Timæus*). Compare the discourse on order in canto I. of the *Paradiso*, e.g. 103—105: "All things whatsoever observe a mutual order; and this is the form that maketh the universe like unto God"; also XXIX. 22—33. See also Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, II. 25. 20.

715. i.e. the four elements or constituent parts of which all things were thought to consist. See II. 274, 275, 898, notes.

cumbrous; the epithet points the difference between them and the "ethereal" fifth element. Cf. *Batman* (1582), "Heaven is the fift Element, severed from the nether Elements, and distinguished by propertie of kinde: for it is not heavie, for then it might come downward" (p. 120). *flood*, water.

716. M. refers to Aristotle's conception of a fifth element called "ether," and he introduces the two main points of Aristotle's theory: (1) that "the ether fills the celestial spaces, and of it the spheres and stars are made" (cf. 718, 721); (2) that "the nature of the ether... adapts it especially for circular motion" (cf. "orbicular," 718), whereas the motion of the four elements is vertical, up and down. Ueberweg, from whose summary of Aristotle's views the foregoing quotations are made, says, "Ether is the first element in rank [i.e. according to Aristotle]; but if we enumerate, beginning with the elements directly known by the senses, it is the fifth, the subsequently so-called *πέμπτον στοιχεῖον*, *quinta essentia*."

It is disputed whether this "fifth essence" ought to be called an element, since it lacks the principle of contraries that belongs to the four elements; and M. does not apply the title "element" to it. Practically he identifies the "fifth essence" or "ether" with Light (cf. VII. 243, 244), though "ether" (Gk. *αἰθήρ*, from *αἴθειν*, 'to glow') rather implies very bright atmosphere.

Heaven, sky; cf. a definition of "ether" cited by G. H. Lewes from an Alexandrian treatise: "Ether is the *substance of the heavens* and the stars; so named because of its *eternal* circular motion" (an allusion to the false derivation of *αἰθήρ* from *ἀεί*, 'always' + *θεῖν*, 'to run').

717. *spirited*, animated.

718. *orbicular*, with circular motion.

721. i.e. what remained of the ether after the stars were made.

730. See VII. 375—78, and cf. *Hamlet*, III. 2. 167, "moons with borrowed sheen"; and Drummond, *Flowers of Sion*:

"The moon moves lowest, silver sun of night,
Dispersing through the world her borrowed light."

triform, referring to the three phases of the moon—crescent, full and waning. But there is also an allusion to Lat. *triformis* as an epithet of the moon indicating her threefold capacity as Luna, Diana and Hecate; cf. Horace's *diva triformis*, *Od.* III. 22. 4. So in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens* the moon is addressed as "thou *three-formèd* star...to whose *triple* name...we incline"; cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, v. 391, "By the *triple* Hecate's team."

737. Cf. v. 360, "As to a superior nature, bowing low."

739. *coast*, region; as often in M.

740. *the ecliptic*, i.e. "as then understood, the Sun's orbit round the Earth" (Masson).

741, 742. An instance of Milton's power of making the sound an echo to the sense. The rapid movement of the latter half of 741 conveys an impression of Satan's swift descent, while the slow, measured rhythm of 742 suggests rest.

Niphates, 'the snowy range'; a mountain of Armenia, part of the Taurus range—on the borders of Assyria (IV. 126).

BOOK IV.

This book has been described as "the most varied of all in interest and beauty." It introduces, at last, "Man, the central figure of the Epic," and straightway (1—8) "raises the horror and attention of the reader."

1, 2. *O for*, i.e. would that that voice had sounded. *he who*, St John. See *Rev.* xii. 12, "Woe to the inhabiters of the earth and of the sea! for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath." *Apocalypse*, revelation, 'uncovering'; Gk. ἀπό, 'off' + καλύπτειν, 'to cover.' *heard cry*, i.e. the words "Woe to the inhabitants on Earth!"

3. *then when*; M. uses this emphatic phrase often; cf. 838, 970. *the Dragon*, Satan; cf. "The old Dragon," *Nativity Ode*, 168. The title is from *Rev.* xii. 7 and means 'Serpent' (Gk. δράκων).

10. i.e. the tempter before he was the accuser. Cf. *Rev.* xii. 10, "the accuser of our brethren is cast down." The word *devil* is a corruption of Greek διάβολος, 'slanderer,' from διαβάλλειν, 'to slander.'

11, 12. These lines give the main motive of Satan's action against man. *wreak...his loss*, avenge himself for his loss.

12, 13. Contrast III. 740. The nearer Satan approaches to the scene of his task the more he realises its enormity and peril, and the less his confidence becomes.

20—23. For this conception of Hell cf. 75—78 and see I. 254, 255.

24, 25. i.e. rouses the memory of what he was and *the thought* (understood from *memory*) of what he is and will be. So Samson Agonistes is beset by thoughts of "Times past, what once I was, and what am now," *S. A.* 22. In both passages, but more particularly in

the line in *S. A.*, the influence is clear of Dante's famous words: "There is no greater pain than to recall a happy time in wretchedness," *Inferno*, v. 121—23. It has been shown that Dante paraphrased the sentiment (an obvious one) from Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*, and that Chaucer (*Troilus and Cresside*) had anticipated Milton in imitating Dante; the latter being "the poet" of Tennyson's familiar couplet in *Locksley Hall*:

"This is truth the poet sings
That a sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things."

See also Sir Thomas Browne, *Christian Morals*, II. x. Classical parallels have been found in Pindar and Thucydides.

25. *what must be worse*, i.e. how he must become worse. One of the most powerful features of *Paradise Lost* is the presentment of the gradual debasement and decline of Satan as the evil he works against man masters himself—"back recoils."

27, 28. *Eden...pleasant.* "Eden" means 'pleasure.' Cf. 132.

31. *much revolving*, pondering many things (*multa volvens*). The speech that follows throws much light on Milton's conception of Satan.

32—41. The lines written as early as 1642; see *Introduction.* Addison considered this speech (32—113) "the finest ascribed to Satan in the whole poem."

35. One of the most familiar quotations from Milton. Cf. Pope, *Epistles*, III. 281, 282:

"Blush, Grandeur, blush! proud Courts, withdraw your blaze!
Ye little stars! hide your diminished rays."

37—39. Before his fall Satan was lustrous as the sun itself: now his splendour is faded and wan (835—40, 870).

40. *worse*; because it adds fuel to the flame of pride (Hume).

43. In bk. v. when he is inciting the angels to rebel Satan pretends that he and they are "self-begot, self-raised" (860), i.e. not created by the Almighty and so not justly his servants; cf. I. 116.

45. *upbraided*, reproached; cf. *James* i. 5.

50. *sdeined*, disdained.

51. *quit*, pay off, settle. Burke (who quotes Milton much) speaks of "the immense, ever-growing, eternal debt, which is due to generous Government from protected freedom"—*Conciliation with America* (Payne's ed., p. 230).

55—57. On the one hand, true gratitude is in itself payment: on the other, a grateful man, though he may formally have discharged his debt, still retains a sense of indebtedness to his benefactor. Bentley compared Cicero's sentiment, *gratiam autem et qui retulerit habere, et*

qui habeat retulisse (*De Officiis* II. 20), i.e. he who has repaid an obligation is still conscious of it, and he who is conscious of an obligation has repaid it.

66, 67. Cf. III. 102.

73. *me miserable!* Latin *me miserum!*

79. Satan addresses himself; or possibly the Almighty.

79, 80. Cf. *Hebrews* xii. 17, "he found no place of repentance."

81, 82. i.e. disdain forbids me (to use) that word "submission."

84. *other...other*; see X. 861, 862, note.

87. *abide*, suffer for.

90. *advanced*, raised to eminence; it qualifies *me* in 89. Cf. 359.

94. *act of grace*, doing penance, asking pardon (cf. Fr. *grace*).

97. *violent*, extorted by compulsion. *void*, of no effect, null. Burke quotes these lines, 96, 97, with fine effect in his speech on *Conciliation with America* just before the other Milton allusion (line 51, note).

110. Just as evil is to be his good, so later (IX. 122, 123) he confesses, "all good to me becomes Bane" (i.e. evil).

112. *by thee*; repeated for emphasis. *more than half*; since he rules Hell already and hopes to rule the World, thus leaving the Almighty only Heaven. Cf. X. 375—382.

114, 115. i.e. each of the *three* passions—anger, envy, despair—dimmed his face which was *three* times changed with the paleness caused by them. Cf. such expressions as 'pale with anger,' 'pale with envy.' Newton notes that for *ire* the *Argument* of the book has *fear*. *passion*; used by M., as by Shakespeare, of any strong emotion, deep feeling. *pale*=paleness.

116. *borrowed*; see III. 634—44.

118, 119. An allusion perhaps (as certainly in VI. 788, IX. 729, 730) to *Æneid* I. 11. Cf. *The Faerie Queene*, II. 8. 1:

> "And is there care in heaven? And is there love
> In heavenly spirits to these creatures base?"

123. *couched with*, united with; it implies lying hid (Fr. *couché*).

124—30. Cf. Uriel's words, 564—75.

126. *the Assyrian mount*, Niphates; see III. 742.

132. *Eden...Paradise.* Masson says: "Eden is the whole tract or district of Western Asia [see 210—14] wherein the Creator has designed that men should first dwell; Paradise is the Happy Garden [208—10] situated in one particular spot of this Eden—on its eastern side." Cf. *Gen.* ii. 8, "God planted a garden eastward in Eden." *Paradise*= Gk. παράδεισος, 'a park'; a word of Persian origin.

134. *champain head*, an open, level summit of open land.

The garden occupies a plateau or table-land, circular in shape (VIII.

304) and surrounded by a grassy mound or wall (143). On the inner side of this mound is a circling row of fruit trees; their tops are visible from the outside. On the outer side of the mound the hill slopes steep down, covered with shrubs and trees, the tops of which, though lofty, are below the level of the mound and so do not obstruct Adam's view from it over the plain beneath.

This idea of setting the Garden on the summit of a hill is traced to *Ezekiel* xxviii. 13, 14, "Thou hast been in Eden the garden of God... thou wast upon the holy mountain of God." Dante and Ariosto had previously given the Garden a similar site (Keightley).

Thus when Adam meets and converses with Dante in Paradise, he says that he was placed by God "in the uplifted Garden" (*nell' eccelso giardino*)—*Paradiso*, XXVI. 109, 110. See also the *Purgatorio*, XXVIII., where Dante reaches and describes the Garden, which crowns the summit of the Mount of Purgatory—an obvious piece of symbolism. Collins has the allusion in the striking passage about Milton, in his *Ode on the Poetical Character*, 3.

138, 139. Cf. 693, 694. The second line is intended to suggest variety. Cf. II. 621.

140. *ranks*; like the ascending tiers of seats in an amphitheatre; cf. *P. R.* II. 294. Perhaps Vallombrosa was in Milton's thoughts; see I. 303, 304 (note). Verbally ("sylvan scene") there is just a suggestion of *Æneid* I. 164, 165.

151. Cf. *Comus*, 992, "Iris there with *humid bow*" (=the rainbow).

153. *landskip*, landscape.

of, after, following upon; cf. Wordsworth, *Recluse*, "Happier of happy though I be." The idiom is modelled on the use of ἐκ in Greek and *ex* in Latin to express one condition following on another; cf. e.g. τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος (Sophocles, *Œdipus Rex* 454) or Horace's *ex humili potens* (*Od.* III. 30. 12). Cf. VIII. 433, X. 720, 723, XII. 167.

156. *gales*; the conventional 18th century word for a gentle wind, in poems like Gray's *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College* (15—20); Collins's *Eclogues*.

158. *native*, i.e. of the trees, flowers etc.; implying 'natural, not artificial.'

159—65. "The fragrance thus wafted out to sea, sometimes to a distance of twenty or more miles, is well known to every sailor who has been in the West Indies or in the Indian Archipelago" (Keightley). Editors quote various similar allusions in classical, Italian, and other writers, e.g. Waller (*Night-piece*):

> "So we the Arabian coast do know,
> At distance, when the spices blow."

Diodorus Siculus (III. 46) describes how in spring-time, when the wind is from the land, the fragrance of the myrrh and similar trees reaches the passing vessels, even far out to sea. Probably M. had this special description in mind, as it is removed only a few chapters from that account of Ammon and Amalthea which was the undoubted source of 275—79.

161. *Mozambic*; more commonly *Mozambique*; a Portuguese province on the east coast of Africa, opposite Madagascar.

north-east; rather *north*, according to modern geography.

162. *Sabæan*, of or from *Saba*=Sheba.

163. *Araby the Blest*=Gk. Ἀραβία ἡ εὐδαίμων, Lat. *Arabia Felix*, each epithet indicating the fertility of the region. The notion of the fragrances and spices of Arabia—myrrh, frankincense etc.—is a commonplace of poetry; cf. Lady Macbeth's famous "all the perfumes of Arabia will not sweeten this little hand" (v. 1. 57, 58).

166. *so*; his favourite completion of a simile; cf. 192, III. 440.

167—71. There is a similar allusion in v. 221—23 to the story of Tobias and the evil spirit Asmodëus told in the Apocryphal *Book of Tobit*. Tobias was sent on a journey by his father Tobit to fetch ten talents of silver deposited with a friend in Media. The angel Raphael appeared to Tobias in human form, acted as his guide, and bade him marry a Jewish maiden, Sara, who lived at Ecbatana in Media. Her seven husbands had been destroyed in succession by Asmodëus who was in love with her. To escape their fate, Tobias was instructed by Raphael to burn the heart and liver of a fish, since the smell ("fishy fume") would drive away the spirit. This he did after his betrothal to Sara, and the plan succeeded: for Asmodëus "fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel *bound him*" (chap. viii.).

Cf. Reginald Scot, *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), speaking of burnt incense as a charm against evil spirits: "wheresoever the fume or smoke thereof shall come, everie kind and sort of devils may be driven awaie, and expelled; as they were at the incense of the liver of fish, which the archangel Raphael made" (bk. xv. chap. 18). Dante has the allusion, calling Raphael "him who made Tobias sound again" (*Paradiso*, IV. 48). Sir Thomas Browne thought the story not quite "naturally made out" (*Vulgar Errors*, I. 10).

168. *Asmodëus*, one of the rebellious angels expelled from Heaven; called by M. *Asmadai* in VI. 365 and *Asmodai* in *P. R.* II. 151—forms closer to the Heb. *Aschmedai*, 'the destroyer.' He is thought to be connected with the *Aeshmā Daevā* (an evil demon) of the ancient Persian religion. He is sometimes taken as a type of lust, perhaps through the story in the *Book of Tobit*; cf. *P. R.* II. 150—52, and

Tennyson, *St Simeon Stylites*, 159, "Abaddon and Asmodeus caught at me."

170. *with a vengeance*; an intensive phrase, used here with a certain grim humour='in all speed.' Cf. *Coriolanus*, II. 2. 6, "he's *vengeance* proud," i.e. intensely; but there the use is more colloquial.

172. *savage*, wild; cf. *P. R.* III. 23, "savage wilderness." It is derived through the French from Lat. *silvaticus*, 'woody.'

176. *perplexed*, made difficult (or entangled).

177. *that passed*, i.e. that might have passed.

181. *bound...bound*. Cf. I. 642 (with the note). Here Satan's contempt of the barrier is expressed.

186. *secure*; implying a false sense of security; cf. Lat. *securus*.

192. Cf. the parable of 'the Good Shepherd,' *John* x.

193. One of Milton's prose-works was a treatise on "The Likeliest Means to remove *Hirelings out of the Church*" (1659). It seemed to him wrong that ministers of religion should receive salaries, and he was ever ready to bring the charge of avarice and love of lucre against the clergy of the Church of England. Cf. XII. 507—11, and the denunciation (appropriately assigned to Saint Peter—cf. 1 *Pet.* v. 2) in *Lycidas* of the false, greedy shepherds who "Creep, and intrude, and *climb into the fold*" (115). We must remember that he speaks as an enemy, a bitter enemy, of the English Church. *lewd*, base.

194. *the Tree of Life*; *Genesis* ii. 9.

196. i.e. in the shape of a cormorant, chosen because a ravenous bird of prey (cf. III. 431) and thus symbolical of Satan himself; cf. *Richard II.* II. 1. 38, *Coriolanus*, I. 1. 125. As a sea-bird it does not seem very appropriate in Paradise; but cf. *Isaiah* xxxiv. 11 (where, however, 'pelican' is the correct rendering).

198. *virtue*, efficacy; cf. 671 and see III. 586, note.

199—201. *well used*. What use could Satan have made of the tree? He was already immortal. Perhaps M. means that if Satan had eaten of the tree's fruit its saving power might have given him *true life*—a regeneration of spirit that, leading to repentance, would have enabled him to regain his true archangelic immortality.

203. *perverts*; the subject is *he* understood from "before *him*."

210—14. According to these limits, which indicate, however, only its eastern and western points, Eden lay in Syria and Mesopotamia —mainly in the latter.

211. *Auran*, or *Hauran*, a district of Syria, about 50 miles S. of Damascus; Gk. Αὐρανῖτις. Probably M. remembered that it is mentioned in *Ezek.* xlvii. 16, 18, as an eastern bound of Palestine.

212. *Seleucia*; long the capital of Western Asia; on the right bank of the Tigris, about 20 miles S.E. of the modern Bagdad; sometimes called *Seleucia ad Tigrin* or *Seleucia Babylonia*. Here, and again in *P.R.* III. 291, M. terms it "*great* Seleucia" to distinguish it from other cities of the same name, such as the Seleucia near Antioch. It was built by Seleucus, a *Macedonian* who became one of Alexander's generals, and about 312 B.C. founded the dynasty of the Seleucidæ, *kings* of Syria (cf. "Grecian kings").

213, 214. A second description of the site of Eden: it was in that region of Telassar (or Thelasar) where the "children of Eden" dwelt (2 *Kings* xix. 12, *Isai.* xxxvii. 12). They "appear from the Assyrian inscriptions to have inhabited the country on the east bank of the Euphrates, about the modern Balis. Here they had a city called Beth-Adina, which was taken by the Assyrians about B.C. 880" (*Speaker's Commentary*).

219. *blooming*, bearing luxuriantly.

223. "And a river went out of Eden to water the garden," *Gen.* ii. 10. In IX. 71—73 M. identifies this river with the Tigris.

224. *shaggy*; as a wood-covered hill appears, seen sideways; see VI. 645, note.

225—35. The river flowing through Eden reaches the hill on the level summit (cf. 134) of which is Paradise. Part of the river goes straight through by a subterranean passage and issues in the plain (cf. 145) on the other side. But part of its water is drawn up through the hill to the surface in the form of a fountain, the waters of which become rills. These rills irrigate Paradise and then, uniting into a water-course, run down the "hairy side" (135) of the hill to join the rest of the river where it emerges from its underground channel. Then the whole river divides into four great streams.

233. See *Genesis* ii. 10—14; cf. Tennyson's *Enid*:

> "And never yet, since high in Paradise
> O'er the four rivers the first roses blew,
> Came purer pleasure unto mortal kind
> Than lived thro' her."

Dante pictures "Euphrates and Tigris welling up from *one* spring, and parting like friends that linger" (*Purgatorio*, XXXIII. 112—14).

234. *wandering*; transitive; cf. XI. 779.

236, 237. The original texts have a comma after *tell* (236), not after *how* in 237. Some modern texts reverse this punctuation; to the detriment of the rhythm, I think.

sapphire, sapphire-coloured, i.e. light blue. *fount*, source; cf. III. 535. *crisped*, rippling; often used of wind ruffling the surface of

water; cf. Byron, *Childe Harold*, IV. 211, "I would not their vile breath should crisp the stream." See *Comus*, 984.

239. *error*; in the literal sense of Lat. *error*, 'a wandering.' Cf. Tennyson, *Gareth*, "The damsel's headlong error through the wood."

241. *nice*, precise, fastidious. Supply some verb like 'set.'

242. *curious knots*, plots of ground laid out in a fanciful style. *boon*, bounteous (Lat. *alma*).

246. *imbrowned*, darkened; an imitation of the Italian use.

246, 247. *thus was*, i.e. such was—*seat* being in apposition to *place*. Some editors change the construction by removing the comma after *place*. *view*, appearance, aspect.

248. *gums*, i.e. aromatic resins like myrrh and *balsam* (=*balm*), produced by the balsam-tree (*βαλσαμόδενδρον*) and other trees of the same genus. See 630, V. 23. *wept*; cf. *Othello*, V. 2. 348—51.

250. *amiable*, lovely; cf. "thy amiable cheeks," *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, IV. 1. 2; and *Psalm* lxxxiv. 1.

250, 251. *Hesperian...here only*; "the stories told of the apples of the Hesperides being true only of this place, if at all." It is an absolute clause in parenthesis. For the allusion see III. 568, and cf. the cancelled passage (especially "fruits of golden rind") at the beginning of *Comus*.

252. *lawns*, glades, wide spaces clear of trees.

255. *irriguous*, well-watered (Lat. *irriguus*).

256. Thyer quotes Herrick, *Noble Numbers*:

> "Before man's fall the rose was born,
> Saint Ambrose says, without a thorn."

Others of the Church Fathers held the same fancy, which seems to have been applied also to the fabulous gardens of Adonis (see IX. 439, 440, note); cf. Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, V. 3.

Part of the curse (*Genesis* iii. 18) was that the earth should bring forth thorns and thistles; hence the presumption that there were no thorns before Adam's sin (Newton).

258. *mantling vine*; *Comus*, 294.

264. *apply*; either 'practise' or 'add.'

266—68. An allegorical way of saying, with classical imagery, such as he had used in his fifth Latin *Elegy* (*In Adventum Veris*), that in Eden only one season was known, viz. spring (see X. 678, 679, note), and that it was a time of universal luxuriance of growth and freshness. M. might well have had in mind some picture seen in Italy, e.g. Botticelli's famous "Spring." Cf. too the allegorical dance of the Virtues in the *Purgatorio*, XXIX.

Pan; here regarded as the god of all nature, and called "universal" in allusion to his name (Gk. *πᾶν*, 'all').

Graces, Lat. *Gratiæ*, Gk. χάριτες; three goddesses (Euphrosyne, Aglaia, Thalia) who personified the refinements and elevated joys of life.

Hours, Lat. *Horæ*, Gk. ὧραι; goddesses personifying the seasons of the year; the course of the seasons was symbolically described as "the dance of the *Horæ*" (compare v. 394, 395). Classical writers often mention them along with the Graces.

led on; the metaphor of a dance; cf. Milton's *Sonnet* "To the Nightingale," 4, "While the jolly *hours lead on* propitious May." So in Collins's *Persian Eclogues*, III. 39, 40.

268. Cf. Marvell's pretty lines on the Bermudas:

"He gave us this eternal spring,
Which here enamels every thing."

268–87. He indicates the beauty of Paradise by saying that it surpassed various spots celebrated for their charm. In describing Nature, Milton "on most occasions calls learning to his assistance" (Johnson).

268—72. According to the classical legend, Proserpine was carried off by Pluto=Dis (270), to the nether world, unknown to her mother Ceres, and became his wife. Latin poets (e.g. Ovid, *Fasti* IV. 421—62) made *Enna* in Sicily the scene of the incident, the worship of Ceres having been introduced into Rome from Sicily.

Scan *Proserpin*, and cf. the Latin accent and form in IX. 396. Line 270 is echoed in IX. 432. Marvell in his poem *Upon Appleton House* says of his pupil in her garden:

"she
Seems with the flowers a flower to be."

271. *that*, the well-known, Lat. *ille*; so in 272, 275.

272, 273. "Near the city of Antioch, on the Orontes, lay a grove sacred to Apollo, in which was a temple of the god, whence he gave oracles. It was named Daphnè, and a spring which watered it was called the Castalian spring, after that at Delphi" (Keightley).

275—79. See *Appendix*, pp. 685, 686; and cf. *P. R.* II. 356.

278. *florid*, ruddy, being the god of wine; cf. Dryden, *Alexander's Feast*, 42, "Flushed with a purple grace" (said of Bacchus).

280—85. Todd quotes Heylin: "the hill of Amara is *a day's journey high*, on the top whereof are thirty-four palaces in which *the younger sons* of the Emperor [i.e. of Abyssinia] are continually *enclosed* to avoid sedition;...though *not much distant from the Equator*, if not plainly *under it*, yet [it is] blessed with such a temperate air that *some have taken* (*but mistaken*) *it for the place of Paradise*." M. had clearly read this passage in Heylin, who seems to have been his chief authority in matters relating to the customs of foreign nations and geography.

The tradition with regard to the Abyssinian princes is used by Johnson in *Rasselas*, but he speaks of a single palace, and places it in a 'happy valley,' not on the top of a mountain.

280, 281. *Abassin*, Abyssinian; the Arabic name.

Amara; correctly *Amhara*; it is rather a range of hills than a single "mount." "Amharic" is the language of Abyssinia.

282. *Ethiop line*, the equator. *Ethiop*; the people of Abyssinia still call their land *Itiopia* and themselves *Itiopyavan*.

283. Shakespeare uses *Nilus* and *Nile*. *head*, source.

288, 289. The repetition of "erect" is important, since M. treats man's stature as a symbol of his sovereignty over the "prone" beast-creation, VII. 506—10.

M. "drew the portrait of Adam not without regard to his own person, of which he had no mean opinion" (Newton); and which he describes in the autobiographical part of his *Second Defence of the People of England* (*P. W.* I. 235, 236).

291, 292. See *Genesis* i. 26, 27.

295. *whence*; it refers to "truth, wisdom, sanctitude" (i.e. holiness), these qualities, not birth and position, conferring true authority. Cf. Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, "There is no qualification for government, but virtue and wisdom, actual or presumptive" (Payne's ed., p. 58).

295—99. This relation of woman to man—"not equal"—runs throughout the scenes in which Adam and Eve are introduced. Johnson says, "Both before and after the fall, the superiority of Adam is diligently sustained" (*Life* of Milton). Such lines as these and 635–38 express Milton's personal conception of woman's status and capacities; and how much it differed from modern views may be illustrated by the single fact that his treatise *On Education* makes no reference to the education of women. There is only a touch of exaggeration in Johnson's remark that Milton's works reveal "something like a Turkish contempt of females as subordinate and inferior beings"; the contrast, in fact, between Puritan austerity and the exaggerated chivalry of the Cavaliers. See also IX. 823, note.

God in him; modified by Bentley to "God *and* him."

300. *front*, forehead (Lat. *frons*); often in Shakespeare.

301. *hyacinthine*; a classical epithet. Homer speaks of hair (κόμας) 'like to a hyacinth' (ὑακινθίνῳ ἄνθει ὁμοίας), *Odyssey* VI. 231. A dark colour, perhaps deep brown, seems implied. Milton's own hair was auburn; the Bodleian Library has a lock of it, considered genuine.

303—306. See 1 *Cor.* xi. 14 and 15 ("if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her: for her hair is given her for a covering"—in the margin,

veil). Some think that M. was condemning as effeminate (cf. "but not beneath" etc.) the Cavalier fashion for men to wear the hair long.

wanton, unrestrained; cf. 629 and *Arcades*, 46, 47.

307, 308. *implied subjection*; M. infers this from 1 *Cor.* xi. 8—15.

310, 311. *coy*, modest. The slow rhythm suggests "delay." This line is the obvious original of Collins's line "Reluctant pride, and amorous faint consent" (*Verses written on a Paper, etc.*).

313. *dishonest*, unchaste; cf. "honest" in the *Prayer-Book*.

314. *honour dishonourable*. Cf. Tennyson's famous line, "His *honour* rooted in *dishonour* stood" (*Lancelot and Elaine*). M. often uses this classical figure of speech called *oxymoron* by which two words connoting opposite ideas are closely associated. Cf. 1. 63, 11. 252. See 1 *Cor.* xii. 23, 24.

323, 324. A famous example of an idiom often used by Elizabethan, as it had been by Greek, writers. It combines the comparative and superlative constructions—thus: 'Eve fair-*er than* all her daughters' + 'Eve fair-*est of* all women.' So M. writes in *Areopagitica*, "this very opinion...is the worst and newest opinion of all others" (*P. W.* 11. 98); and Shakespeare in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, v. 250, "This is the greatest error of all the rest." Examples in Bacon occur in *The Advancement of Learning*, 1. 4. 8, and 5. 11; and Sir Thomas Browne has it in a curiously similar context; cf. the *Vulgar Errors*, 1. 1, where he refers to Adam as (in the opinion of some) "the wisest of all men since." Its independent existence in Greek and English proves that the idiom, though illogical, is natural—due perhaps to over-emphasis. It is just "[illegible] of combined construction into which people slip in conversation.

329. *recommend*, make pleasant.

332. *compliant*; probably in the rare sense 'pliant, easily bent,' due to the false derivation from Fr. *plier*, Lat. *plicare*; the true etymological connection being with Ital. *complire*, Lat. *complere*.

333. *recline*=Lat. *reclinis*, 'reclining.'

334. *damasked*, variegated.

337. *purpose*, conversation.

340—47. Contrast x. 710—14 (note).

343. *ramped*, sprang.

344. *ounce*, a lynx (*felis uncia*); from Persian *yuz*, 'a panther.'

347. Note that the serpent is the most fully described (Newton).

348, 349. *insinuating*, winding himself into folds (Lat. *sinus*). *Gordian twine*, intricate tangle. *his braided train*, his twisted, interlaced tail; or perhaps the whole length of his body.

"That intricate form into which he put himself was a sort of symbol or type of his fraud, though not then regarded" (Richardson).

352. *bedward ruminating*; chewing the cud (Lat. *ruminantes*) before they go to bed (Hume).

354. *the Ocean Isles*, i.e. in the Atlantic, in which, according to the classical fancy, the sun set; cf. *Comus*, 95—97. In VIII. 631, 632, M. seems to identify them with the Cape de Verde islands.

ascending scale; to be taken, I think, not literally as a reference to an astronomical fact or theory, but merely as a metaphor for the alternations of day and night.

355. Cf. Shakespeare, *Sonnet* 132, "Nor that full star that ushers in the even."

357. *failed*, that had failed him. The pause, indicating Satan's "dumb admiration," has enabled the poet to "enlarge (288—355) his description" (Newton).

360. *mould*; in M. a constant word for 'material, substance.'

361, 362. "A little lower than the angels," *Psalm* viii. 5.

368. *ye*; often used in Elizabethan E. for the objective *you*.

370. *for so happy*, considering how happy they are: their security is not in proportion to their happiness. Cf. *for* in 372.

374. *forlorn*, defenceless, "ill secured" (370).

381—83. An allusion to *Isaiah* xiv. 9.

387. *for him*, instead of him; or perhaps 'because of.'

389—91. 'Public reason—viz. honour and empire—compels.'

public reason; so in *S. A.* 865—70 Dalila excuses her treachery to Samson on the ground that "the public good" of her country required it.

393, 394. *necessity*. Perhaps an allusion to Charles's plea for ship-money (Newton). Cromwell pleaded the same excuse for the execution of Charles. Dryden puts the plea ironically in the mouth of the "Panther" (III. 835—38). In *On Education* M. sneers at those to whom "tyrannous aphorisms appear...the highest points of wisdom" (*P. W.* III. 466).

398. *end*, purpose, aim, viz. "to view"; cf. "end" in 442.

402. *a lion*. Cf. 1 *Peter* v. 8. See I. 428, note.

404. *purlieu*, the outskirt of a forest.

405. *couches*; some modern texts misprint *crouches*.

408. M. always uses the older form *gripe*, not *grip*; cf. VI. 543.

408—10. 'When Adam, by beginning to address Eve, made Satan turn.' Observe how naturally Satan gains (419—32) the information he requires (Newton); the device is said to come from the Talmud.

411. There is, I think, an almost quibbling use of *sole*=(1) 'only,' (2) 'unique' (implying 'chief'). Eve is the only sharer in Adam's joys —and herself the chief element of them.

419. See *Acts* xvii. 25.

431. *possess*, occupy; cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III. 2. 27.

433. *one*; emphatic by position; '*only* one.' *easy*, to keep (but also to break); an unconscious irony.

441—43. *flesh of thy flesh*; cf. *Genesis* ii. 23. *head*; "the head of the woman is the man," 1 *Cor.* xi. 3.

447. *odds*, superiority; often used so by Shakespeare; cf. *Richard II.* III. 4. 89; *Titus Andronicus*, V. 2. 19.

449, 450. In VIII. 253—55 Adam likens his creation to awaking. So death is often likened to sleep.

451. *on flowers*; so the First Ed.; the Second Ed. has *of flowers*.

453—65. M. had in mind Ovid's story of Narcissus, *Metamorphoses* III. 407 *et seq.*

470. *stays*, i.e. for—awaits.

475. Cf. XI. 159. The name *Eve* is thought to mean 'life.'

478. *platane*, plane-tree (Lat. *platanus*).

483—85. "And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman," *Gen.* ii. 23.

486. *individual*, in the literal sense 'not to be divided'=inseparable; cf. V. 610. Lat. *individuus*.

487, 488. So Horace calls Mæcenas *meæ partem animæ*, and Vergil *animæ dimidium meæ* (*Odes* II. 17. 5; I. 3. 8).

493. *unreproved*, not to be reproved, blameless; cf. 987.

500. *impregns*, impregnates; O. Fr. *empreigner*, Lat. *imprægnare*. The word occurs in More's *Song of the Soul* (Cambridge ed., 1647, p. 205).

503. *envy*; cf. IX. 264.

506. *imparadised*; used by other writers of the 17th century. Cf. Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Triumph after Death*, 44, "in his burning throne he sits emparadis'd"; and Phineas Fletcher, *The Purple Island*, I. 15. Dante has it in the *Paradiso*, XXVIII. 3.

511. *pines*; probably transitive='makes me pine.' Cf. XII. 77, and *P. R.* I. 325, "pined with hunger."

526. *equal with gods*. See III. 206, note.

530. *a chance but*, it is a chance, just a possibility, *that* chance may lead, etc.: the grim sort of quibble in which bitterness (here jealousy) finds vent.

539. *in utmost longitude*, in the farthest west. See III. 574—76.

540—43. The rays of the setting sun fell on the *inner* side of the towering rock which formed the gate of Paradise on the east (XII. 638).

549. *Gabriel*, 'man of God'; one of the seven great Spirits; see

III. 648, 649, note. Following, no doubt, some tradition, M. makes him in *P. L.* one of the chief warriors of the Heavenly host, though inferior to Michael (VI. 44—46). In the Bible Gabriel is always a peaceful intermediary between Heaven and Earth and the bearer of tidings to man (cf. *Daniel* viii., ix., *Luke* i.), and that is the ordinary conception of his office; see the sketch of *Adam unparadiz'd* in the *Introduction*, and cf. Fairfax, *Tasso*, I. 11:

"Out of the Hierarchies of angels sheen
The gentle Gabriel call'd he [the Almighty] from the rest,
'Twixt God and souls of men that righteous been
Ambassador is he, for ever blest;
The just commands of Heaven's Eternal King,
'Twixt skies and earth, he up and down doth bring."

That aspect of Gabriel is presented in *P. R.* I. 129, IV. 504.

551—54. Cf. a similar scene in II. 528—32 (note).

553. *armoury*, weapons; in apposition to "shields," etc.

555. *the even*; that part of the hemisphere where it was then evening (Todd).

557. *thwarts*, crosses.

560. *he thus began.* This abruptness expresses his haste (Newton).

561. When M. speaks of the offices assigned to the Heavenly beings he seems to have in his mind the Temple-service of the Jews and the distribution of the Levites "by lot," 1 *Chronicles* xxiii.—xxv. Note also the "courses" of service in 1 *Chronicles* xxvii., and cf. *P. L.* v. 655.

565, 566. Cf. Satan's words in III. 667—76.

567. *God's latest image*; the first being Christ; cf. III. 63.

described; Uriel had directed Satan's course, III. 722—35. *Descried*, which some modern texts print, gives a more natural sense, but it has no authority apart from the parallel passage in IX. 60—62.

568. *aery gait*, course through the air.

569—73. Cf. 124—30. *in*=on; a common Elizabethan use; cf. the Lord's Prayer, "*in* earth, as it is in heaven."

580. *vigilance*, guards: abstract for concrete. Cf. II. 130 ("watch").

590—92. "While Uriel and Gabriel have been conversing, the Sun has fallen to the horizon, so that the sunbeam on which Uriel returns inclines *from* Paradise to the Sun" (Masson).

592. *beneath the Azores*, i.e. in the extreme west.

592—97. He will not decide whether the sun had revolved to the west or the Earth to the east, i.e. whether the Ptolemaic astronomy (according to which the Earth was a stationary body) or the Copernican is right. Cf. III. 574—76, note. For the general purposes of his poem

M. accepts the old Ptolemaic system, but he lets the reader see that he knows the Copernican. See the notes on VIII. 130—40.

prime orb; surely the sun, "the *great* luminary" (cf. *prime* = chief), with "lucent *orb*," III. 576, 589, the "*diurnal* star," X. 1069; not, as some think, the *Primum Mobile*.

593. *incredible how swift*; an absolute construction like III. 76.

594. *volúbil*; in form, accent and sense = Lat. *volúbilis*, 'rolling.' The Latin accentuation of words derived from Latin was very marked in Elizabethan E.; it has steadily declined, the Teutonic tendency in E. being to throw the accent forward, e.g. *vóluble*; *áspect*, not *aspéct* = Lat. *aspéctus* (see 541, III. 266); *édict*, not *edíct* (*S. A.* 301).

598, 599. Cf. "the grey-hooded Even," *Comus*, 188. *livery*, dress. Thyer notes that Milton is very fond of describing twilight, perhaps because of his eyesight.

603. *she*; see V. 41. *descant*, song with variations. Gray borrowed Milton's phrase, in that Sonnet which Wordsworth took as a type of the Augustan style of poetic diction: "The Birds in vain their amorous Descant join." Cf. Vergil, *Georg.* IV. 511—15.

604. So in *Comus*, 557—60, when "The Lady" sang, "even Silence" was enchanted.

605. *living sapphires*; cf. II. 1050.

608. *apparent queen*, revealed a queen—manifestly a queen.

614. Cf. *Richard III.* IV. 1. 84, "the golden dew of sleep," and *Julius Cæsar*, II. 1. 230, "Enjoy the honey-heavy dew of slumber."

620. *regard*, watch (cf. III. 534); in 877 = 'look' (Fr. *regard*).

628. *manuring*, cultivation.

632. *ask*, require; a common Elizabethan use; cf. *The Taming of the Shrew*, II. 115, "Signior Baptista, my business asketh haste."

635. *author*, i.e. the source of her being (see book VIII.).

640. *seasons*, times of the day, not year (see X. 678, 679).

641—56. A striking example of the poetic artifice called *epanadiplosis* or 'repetition'; cf. VII. 26, note. The passage illustrates well Milton's love of Nature; see IX. 445—54, note.

642. *charm*, song; used sometimes in the wider sense of harmonious notes, music; cf. *The Holy War* ("Temple" ed., p. 293): "The men of Mansoul also were greatly concerned at this melodious charm of the trumpets."

657, 658. Pope probably recollected this when he wrote the *Essay on Man*, I. 131, 132:

"Ask for what end the heavenly bodies shine,
Earth for whose use? Pride answers, 'Tis for mine.'"

659. *our general ancestor*; cf. "our general mother" (Eve), 492.

660. *accomplished*; a complimentary address; cf. *Twelfth Night*, III. 1. 95, "Most excellent accomplished lady!"

661. *those*. Newton substituted *these*, perhaps rightly; cf. 657, 674.

665. *Darkness*, i.e. the "original darkness" (II. 984) of Chaos.

667—73. A reference to current astrology.

673. Cf. what is said of the sun's power in III. 606—12.

674. Cf. *Julius Cæsar*, IV. 3. 226, "The *deep of night* is crept upon our talk"; and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, IV. 4. 40.

675. *none*; placed last for emphasis; cf. 704, XI. 612.

684—88. 'Often, while they keep watch or make the nightly rounds, their songs, joined in harmonious measures ("number") with the notes of instruments skilfully touched, divide the night.'

688. *divide*, i.e. into watches. *divide the night*; literally = the Latin phrase *dividere noctem* used of Roman soldiers marking the watches of the night by sounding on a trumpet the signal for relieving guard. Cf. Silius Italicus VII. 154, 155, *mediam somni cum buccina noctem | divideret*. So Lucan uses *dividere horas*, II. 689. Tennyson gives a fresh turn to the phrase; cf. *A Dream of Fair Women*, "Saw God *divide the night* with flying flame."

This part of *Paradise Lost* inspired, mainly, the graceful Miltonic passage in Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope*, II., early ("Till Hymen brought...").

697—703. Cf. the description of the flowers with which the bier of Lycidas is to be decked, *Lyc.* 139—51. The "bower" in Tennyson's *Œnone* owes something to these lines; cf. too the "moonlit sward" in his *Arabian Nights*.

703. *emblem*, inlaid work; Gk. ἔμβλημα, 'a thing put on, an ornament.'

706. *feigned*, i.e. by poets.

707, 708. *Sylvanus*, a Latin divinity of the fields and woods (Lat. *silva*, wood), much the same as *Faunus*, the god of fields and shepherds, or the Greek *Pan*, god of flocks and pastoral life. The three deities were often identified.

711. *the hymenæan*, the marriage-song; from *Hymen*, the classical marriage-god.

712. *genial* = Lat. *genialis* in the sense 'nuptial'; cf. *lectus genialis*.

713—19. To benefit mankind, Prometheus ('fore-thought') stole the fire of Zeus (Jove); Zeus in revenge caused Hephæstus (Vulcan) to make a woman out of earth who should bring misery on mankind. She was called *Pandora* or *All-gifted* (Gk. πάντα, 'all' + δῶρα, 'gifts') because each of the gods endowed her with some power fatal to

mankind. Hermes, the messenger of the gods, conducted her to Epimetheus ('after-thought'), "the unwiser son"; and he, forgetting the advice of his brother, Prometheus, not to accept anything from Zeus, married her. Pandora brought with her from heaven a box containing all human ills and let them loose upon mankind. Thus Zeus was revenged upon Prometheus, the benefactor of mankind. Another version of the legend said that the box contained blessings, all which, save hope, escaped and abandoned the world when Pandora opened the lid.

M. had made a precisely similar application of the story in his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, 3, calling Eve "a consummate and most *adorned Pandora*," and Adam "our true Epimetheus" (*P. W.* III. 224).

716—19. The construction is—'when, brought by Hermes to the unwiser son, she ensnared mankind, so as to bring vengeance (i.e. of Jove) on him who etc.' *event*, issue, result, Lat. *eventus*. *unwiser*, i.e. less wise than Prometheus. Some take it as a Latinism='not so wise as he should have been' (*imprudentior*).

717. *Japhet*=Gk. Ἰαπετός, one of the Titans, father of Prometheus and Epimetheus. Apparently M. identifies him with the Japhet of Scripture. Cf. *S. A.* 715, 716, where, as in *Isaiah* lxvi. 19, *Javan* stands for the Greek race—*Javan* being the son of the Scriptural Japhet, *Genesis* x. 2. See I. 508.

719. *stole*; so the original texts; we find it in Shakespeare; cf. *Macbeth*, II. 3. 73, *Julius Cæsar*, II. 1. 238.

authentic, original, genuine; cf. III. 656.

720. *stood*. In *The Christian Doctrine*, II. 4, M. says, "No particular posture of the body in prayer was enjoined, even under the law" (*P. W.* v. 34). He makes Adam and Eve sometimes stand (XI. 1, 2), sometimes kneel (XI. 150), when they pray.

722. The use of *both* with more than two things is quite Elizabethan; cf. *Venus and Adonis*, 747, "Both favour, savour, hue and qualities."

724—35. The words of adoration offered by Adam and Eve. M. may have had in mind *Psalm* lxxiv. 16, 17.

733. *fill the Earth*="*replenish* the earth," *Genesis* i. 28.

735. "For so he giveth his beloved sleep," *Psalm* cxxvii. 2. Homer speaks of the "gift of sleep," ὕπνου δῶρον, *Iliad* IX. 713, and Vergil has a similar thought, *Æneid* II. 269.

736, 737. M. often shows his dislike of ceremonies and forms in worship; cf. XII. 534, 535.

741—62. Various texts of Scripture dealing with marriage are referred to, e.g. *Gen.* i. 28; 1 *Tim.* iv. 1—3; *Ephes.* v. 32; *Heb.* xiii. 4.

744—47. The allusion is to monachism and the celibacy of priests.

751. *sole propriety*, the one thing held by its owners (Adam and Eve) as their exclusive possession. Lat. *proprius*, 'one's own.'

756. *charities*, feelings of love, affections (Lat. *caritates*).

758—60. Milton may have in mind the charge brought against him of belittling marriage in his Divorce-tracts.

763. According to legend, "winged Cupid" (*A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, I. 1. 235), the god of love, had two sorts of arrows, one tipped with gold to inspire love, the other with lead to repel love (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I. 468—71). Orsini in *Twelfth Night*, I. 1. 35, speaks of love's "rich golden shaft." The allusion is common in Elizabethan poets.

764. *constant lamp*; cf. XI. 590. The antithesis to "constant" is "casual" in 767. *purple*, lustrous. The imagery of the couplet is classical; cf. 708—13.

767. *court-amours*. Probably M. is glancing particularly at the dissolute court of Charles II. Cf. a similar sarcasm in I. 497; also in *P. R.* II. 183.

768. *mixed dance*. The Puritans greatly disliked the practice of men and women dancing together. In *Of Reformation in England*, II., M. unites "gaming, wassailing, and *mixed dancing*" in one condemnation, *P. W.* II. 402.

mask (or masque), a private form of entertainment, the forerunner of the opera; so called because originally the performers wore *masks* or vizards. The mask was much patronised by the court (especially under the Stuarts) and great nobles from Elizabeth's reign up to the outbreak of the Civil War; after the Restoration mask-performances were very rare, so that the allusion here had not very much point in 1667. M. was thinking of the past generation to which really he belonged. He himself wrote a mask in *Comus*, 1634; but the Milton of *Paradise Lost*, 1667, was a very different person. In the Preface to *Eikonoklastes* he had ridiculed the "conceited portraiture...drawn out of the full measure of a masking scene," of Charles I. which was prefixed to *Eikon Basilike*; and in his pamphlet on *A Free Commonwealth* (1660) he had condemned "masks and revels" as an appanage of court-life (*P. W.* I. 312, II. 116). See the account of the mask appended to *Comus*.

769. *serenate*, serenade. *starved*, perishing with cold; similarly used in II. 600. Cf. Horace's picture of a lover shivering by night outside the house of his "proud fair" Lydia or Lyce (*Odes* I. 25 and III. 10).

773. *repaired*, made good the loss of, i.e. with fresh roses.

775. *know to know no more*, are wise enough to seek no further knowledge.

776, 777. "As the earth is a globe, her shadow, the sun being so much larger than she is, must form a cone, which moves as the sun moves, and on the opposite side. Night and day then in Paradise consisting each of twelve hours, the earth's cone would, at midnight, be in the meridian, and the half-way uphill to it [the meridian] would be therefore nine o'clock, the commencement of the second watch" (Keightley).

sublunar vault, the expanse of heaven below the moon. The epithet helps to fix how far up the heaven the Earth's shadow had climbed: by nine o'clock it had not got as far as the moon.

778—80. M. always assigns to the Cherubim the duty of sentinels, for the reason explained later (p. 681).

778. *port*, gate (*porta*); cf. *Coriolanus*, v. 6. 6.

782. *Uzziel*, 'strength of God.' The name occurs in the Bible (e.g. in *Exod.* vi. 18), but not as that of an angel. *coast*, skirt.

784. *as flame*; an apt simile, since the Cherubim are literally lustrous beings—"*radiant* files" (797).

785. M. has borrowed the Greek phrases *ἐπ' ἀσπίδα*, 'on the shield side, i.e. to the left,' and *ἐπὶ δόρυ*, 'to the spear side, i.e. to the right.' We find *παρ' ἀσπίδα* and *παρὰ δόρυ* used thus. The military terms suit the context and lend dignity.

786. *from these*, i.e. from the band of Cherubim which had wheeled "to the spear" and were to be under the command of Gabriel himself.

788. *Ithuriel*, 'the discovery of God.' *Zephon*, 'a looking out.' The names suit the duty which Gabriel assigns to these two Cherubim.

791. *secure of*, unsuspicious of, not fearing.

792, 793. i.e. there arrived *one who* (Lat. *qui*) tells (namely, Uriel).

797. *files*, lines; cf. I. 567, "the armed files."

798. *these*, Ithuriel and Zephon.

799—809. This episode is made the occasion of a philosophical explanation of dreams in v. 100—21.

800. Pope has an effective allusion to this line in the famous satire on 'Sporus' (Lord Hervey), *Epistle to Arbuthnot*. See also *S. A.* 857, 858, *P. R.* IV. 407—409.

802. Cf. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, v. 5. 54, 55, "ere she *sleep*... Raise up the *organs of her fantasy*" (=imagination).

803. *list*; a past tense, as in II. 656.

804. *or if*. M. varies the construction: 'trying *to reach*...trying *if he might*' etc.

811. *lightly*, i.e. with *only* a light touch, *for* etc.

812. *temper*, a thing tempered, i.e. a weapon: abstract for concrete.

814. "Tennyson used to say that the two grandest of all Similes were those of the Ships hanging in the Air [II. 636—43], and 'the Gunpowder one,' which he used slowly and grimly to enact, in the Days that are no more" (Edward Fitzgerald, *Letter*, p. 156 of *Life* by A. C. Benson).

815. Nitre or saltpetre is an ingredient of gunpowder; cf. VI. 512.

816. *tun*, barrel; Low Lat. *tunna*, a cask, Fr. *tonneau*.

817. *against*, in preparation for. Various battle-touches in *P. L.* (especially in bk. VI.) seem like a reminiscence of the Civil War. Cf. Milton's *Sonnet* "When the Assault."

829. *there*, i.e. in the higher places of Heaven, where the inferior angels would not "sit."

830. Cf. *S. A.* 1081, 1082:

"thou know'st me now,
If thou at all art known."

argues, proves, shows (Lat. *arguere*); cf. 931.

835, 836. Apparently M. uses *think* with different constructions, thus: 'Do not think thy shape the same, or suppose thy undiminished brightness to be known as it was in Heaven,' i.e. 'do not suppose thy brightness to be undiminished and recognised.' Some interpret: 'Do not think thy shape the same or thy brightness undiminished, so as to be known.'

840. *obscure*; in the literal sense 'dark, gloomy' (Lat. *obscurus*).

843. *these*; Zephon points to Adam and Eve.

845—47. Remembered by Dryden; cf. *The Hind and the Panther*, III. 1040, 1041:

"For vice, though frontless and of hardened face,
Is daunted at the sight of awful grace."

There are parallels to this scene in *Paradise Regained*, where Satan, not insensible to goodness, is abashed in the presence of the Saviour (e.g. in III. 145—49).

847—49. A reminiscence of Persius III. 38, *virtutem vident, intabescantque relicta*.

848. *shape* = Lat. *forma* in its philosophical sense 'outward manifestation of'; cf. *forma honesti* = 'shape of virtue,' Cicero, *De Officiis* I. 5. 15. So M. in his prose-works; cf. *The Reason of Church Government*, I. 1, "the very visible *shape* and image *of virtue*"; and again, I. 2, "the lovely *shapes of virtues* and graces," *P. W.* II. 442, 446.

856. Cf. *S. A.* 834, "All wickedness is weakness."

862. *those half-rounding guards*, i.e. the Cherubim under Uzziel and the others under Gabriel. Each band had made half the circuit of Paradise, and now they met at its western extremity (cf. 784).

869. *port*, bearing. "Their port was more than human," *Comus*, 297.

870, 871. Gabriel, belonging to one of the highest of the Heavenly Orders, has known Satan (an archangel) in the past, and so recognises him here; Zephon, an inferior angel, did not (830, 831).

872. *contést*. M. always accents the noun, as we do the verb, *contést*; cf. XI. 800, "In sharp *contést* of battle found no aid."

886. *the esteem of wise*, the reputation of being wise.

891—93. *whatever*, any; cf. 587. *to change...with*, to exchange for; compare the double use of Lat. *mutare*.

894. *dole*; Lat. *dolor*, 'pain.' *which...I sought*, i.e. to do, viz. 'to exchange torment for ease' etc.

896. *object*, urge as an objection to my breaking from Hell.

899. *durance*, prison, strictly 'imprisonment.'

thus much, i.e. thus much in reply to your question. The style of the speech reflects Satan's "contemptuous" bearing (885).

906. *returns*; probably the subject is "Satan," *returns him* being the reflexive use so common in Elizabethan E. with many verbs now intransitive; cf. 1 *Henry VI.* III. 3. 56. Some editors take *folly* as the subject, and *return* = 'bring back.'

911. *however*, howsoever, by any means.

925. 'I do not come because I have less power to endure.'

926, 927. Either (1) 'I withstood, resisted, thy fiercest attack'—cf. phrases like 'do thy worst'; or (2) 'I proved myself ("stood") thy fiercest foe.' The first way, which makes *stood* transitive, is preferable; for the noun-use of *thy fiercest*, cf. II. 278, XI. 497.

927, 928. Book VI. describes how on the third day of the great battle in Heaven the Messiah came forth to end the contest, and, hurling "ten thousand thunders," smote the rebels down into Hell.

vollied; cf. Campbell, "From rank to rank your volleyed thunder flew" (said of guns).

930, 931. i.e. show thy ignorance of what is the duty of a leader after disaster; cf. "argue" in 949.

938. *fame* = Lat. *fama* in the literal sense 'report'; cf. I. 651.

939. *afflicted*, struck down (*afflictus*); cf. I. 186.

940. An allusion to the Rabbinical view, commonly adopted by mediæval writers, that the angels who fell with Satan were the same as the spirits or "dæmons" who inhabited the "elements" of earth and air. See II. 274, 275, note; and for the ancient division of the air into three "regions," see *Appendix*, pp. 674—76.

941. *put to try*, made, forced, to try. Cf. *Cymbeline*, II. 3. 110, "You put me to forget a lady's manners."

942. *gay*, fine; perhaps a retort to "obscure and foul" in 840.

943—45. Here Satan is very like the Prometheus of Æschylus; cf. *Prometheus Vinctus* 937, 938 (Todd).

949. Gabriel is replying to Satan's words in 930—33.

953—56. In these lines Gabriel speaks to the host of Satan's followers, as though they were present; *your* refers to them—not, of course, to Satan, whom Gabriel addresses as *thou*. In Shakespeare *thou* is often a contemptuous form of address.

958. *patron*, champion; see III. 219, note.

962. *areed*, advise.

965—67. *drag*; a vivid present. *chained*; see I. 48, III. 82. *seal*; cf. *Rev.* xx. 3, "And [he] cast him [Satan] into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him." *facile*, easily passed.

971. *limitary* = Lat. *limitaris*, 'guarding the frontier' (Lat. *limes*). Satan refers sarcastically to "hallowed *limits*" in Gabriel's speech (964).

973—76. Alluding to the throne-chariot of the Deity conceived as formed of the wings of the Cherubim. Cf. VI. 771. Satan called Gabriel a cherub (971), though properly he was an archangel.

the road of Heaven. Cf. VII. 576—78, and the description of "the floor of heaven" in *The Merchant of Venice*, V. 58, 59.

977—79. i.e. the close array of angels spread itself out in the shape of a crescent moon. Cf. Fairfax, *Tasso*, XX. 22, "Like the new moon, his host two horns did spread." *phalanx*, battalion (Gk. φάλαγξ).

980. *with ported spears*, i.e. "with their spears held in their hands across their breasts and slanting beyond the left shoulder, ready to be brought down to the 'charge' if necessary. The Angels have not the points of their spears turned to Satan [as the phrase used to be explained by editors]; they have them only grasped in the position preparatory to turning them against him" (Masson). "Port" is really a military term. Anyone who has ever executed, or seen executed, the command "Arms port" (formerly "Port arms"), will be able to picture to himself the band of Cherubim with slanting spears thick as the slanting stalks of corn—a very appropriate simile, used by other poets; Newton compares *Iliad* II. 147. See VII. 321, 322.

981—83. *Ceres*, corn; strictly the goddess of agriculture. The *beard* is the prickles on the ears of corn. *careful*, anxious.

984. *hopeful*, from which he had hoped so much; or 'which had made him so hopeful' (the epithet being transferred). M. is thinking of Vergil's *expectata seges*, *Georg.* I. 226.

985. *alarmed*, prepared, on his guard.

986. *dilated*, expanded. Spirits (he says in I. 428, 429) can distend or contract their shapes as they please.

987. *Atlas*, the mountain in Libya on which the sky was supposed by the Greeks to rest (II. 306). *unremoved*, not to be removed; cf. 493.

988, 989. *his stature reached the sky*. Editors compare Homer's goddess of Discord and Vergil's Fame; and refer to the book of *Wisdom* xviii. 16. *crest*, i.e. of his helmet. Probably M. remembered *Henry V.* II. *Prol.* 8. See also VI. 306, 307.

990. Cf. the picture of Death in II. 672, 673. The intentional vagueness of such descriptions is so effective because it stirs but does not satisfy the imagination, rousing a sense of the mysterious and indescribable.

992. *cope*, "canopy" (III. 556), roof; akin to *cape*, *cap*. Cf. *Pericles*, IV. 6. 132, "the cheapest country under the cope," i.e. firmament.

993. *all the elements*, the whole fabric of this Universe.

994. *wrack*, destruction; the old form of *wreck*.

996—1004. The general idea of the "golden scales" of the Almighty is from Homer, *Iliad* VIII. 69—72: "then did the Father [i.e. Zeus] balance his *golden scales* (χρύσεια τάλαντα) and put therein two fates of death...one for horse-taming Trojans, one for mail-clad Achaians; and he took the scale-yard by the midst and lifted it, and the Achaians' day of destiny sank down" (Leaf). The idea is repeated in *Il.* XXII. 209—12, with reference to the contest between Achilles and Hector, and imitated by Vergil, *Æn.* XII. 725—27, with reference to Æneas and Turnus.

M. does not borrow without adding or varying, and we may note the fresh turns which he has given to Homer's notion: (1) he identifies the Scales with the sign of the Zodiac called *Libra* = 'the Balance'—a poetic fancy which gives at once a certain reality to the fiction of the Scales and a new association and interest to Libra itself; (2) he represents the Scales as those with which the Almighty measured out the Universe and its elements—and this, by adding to the importance of the Scales, heightens our sense of the greatness of Satan whose fate is weighed in them, and increases the grandeur of the whole scene.

M. had referred to the Scales—*Fatorum lances*—in his Latin poem *Naturam non Pati Senium*, 34, 35. Pope employs them with fine mock-heroic effect in *The Rape of the Lock*, 711—14.

998. *Astræa*; the constellation Virgo. *the...sign*, i.e. of the Zodiac.

999—1001. Cf. *Isaiah* xl. 12, "Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span,...and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance?" also *Job* xxviii. 25, xxxvii. 16.

pendulous, hanging (Lat. *pendulus*), i.e. as the central body—"self-balanced"—of the Universe; cf. "hung" in VII. 242 and the *Nativity Ode*, 122. This is what Bacon means by "the pensileness of the earth"

(*The Advancement of Learning*, I. 6. 10). In II. 1052, the idea is different, though the wording is similar. *ponders*, weighs.

1002, 1003. Again M. varies the classical idea: (1) he does not weigh Satan against Gabriel, as Homer weighed the Greeks against the Trojans, Hector against Achilles, or Vergil Turnus against Æneas: only Satan himself is weighed. The one weight represents the *consequence* (="sequel") to Satan of fighting, the other the *consequence* of departing: the scale containing the weight that symbolises fighting shows, by its ascent, that Satan's chance of success is light—weighed and found wanting (*Daniel* v. 27); i.e. that the result of departing will be better for him. (2) In Homer and Vergil the *descent* of the scale, since it is weighted with death, is the evil sign. The English use of the image is the reverse—*ascent* typifying worthlessness and its consequences.

1004. *beam*, the cross-piece from which the scales of a balance are suspended. To 'kick (or 'strike') the beam' means that one scale immediately ascends as far as it can, being greatly outweighed by the other: hence the figurative application of the phrase to things 'of little weight.' Cf. *The Hind and the Panther*, II. 622—24:

> "If such a one you find, let truth prevail;
> Till when, your weights will in the balance fail;
> A Church unprincipled kicks up the scale."

1008. *since thine*, i.e. *can do*; referring to "strength."

1010. "To tread them down like the mire of the streets," *Isaiah* x. 6.

1014. *nor more*, i.e. nor *said* more. This omission of verbs of saying (cf. v. 67) is common in Vergil, whose influence on M. was so great. Addison thought that in regard to style Milton was affected more by Vergil than by Homer.

1015. *fled the shades of night.* The action of the next book begins at daybreak. Books V.—VIII. are filled mainly with the account of events which preceded the creation of man. Satan, though spoken of, does not appear again till IX. 53.

BOOK V.

1. *now morn.* "This is the morning of the day after Satan's coming to the earth" (Todd).

rosy steps. Contrast *Lycidas*, 186, 187:

> "Thus sang the uncouth swain to the oaks and rills,
> While the still Morn went out with sandals gray."

So in VII. 373, 374, and *P. R.* IV. 426, 427. Some scholars say that the Homeric epithet for the Dawn, *ῥοδοδάκτυλος*, refers to her feet, not hands; Milton, however, followed the ordinary interpretation (VI. 3).

"Gray" and "rosy" (VI. 3) are, of course, traditional epithets for the morning in its early and later stages. *clime*, region.

2. *sowed*; the metaphor of scattering corn, to which the dew-drops ("orient pearl") bear some resemblance. Spenser speaks of the sky "All sowd with glistring stars," *An Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*. Cf. VII. 358. Shakespeare often likens moisture (746, 747), especially tears, to pearl; cf. *Lucrece*, 1213, 1553. *orient*, lustrous.

3—5. i.e. Adam's sleep was not the heavy drowsiness that clouds the brain with its vapours after intemperate eating or drinking. Cf. IX. 1046—51; *Macbeth*, I. 7. 63—68; Pope, *Satires*, II. 73, 74 (obvious Miltonic reminiscences); and Thomson, *Spring*, 245, 246.

5. *temperate vapours bland*; Milton's favourite word-order; cf. VI. 249, and see the note on I. 733, where an illustration might be added from Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope*, "Of cultured soul, and sapient eye serene" (an echo of Gray's *Elegy*, 53).

bland, soothing. *which*, i.e. "sleep." *the only sound*, the single sound, the sound alone. Todd quotes the phrase in *The Faerie Queene*, V. II. 30. This use of *only* is Spenserian; cf. "the only breath" = 'only the breath, the mere breath,' *F. Q.* I. 7. 13.

6. *fuming*, i.e. with the steam that rises in early morning; see 185, 186. For this literal use of *fume* cf. VII. 600.

Aurora's fan = the "leaves." The wind which ushers in the dawn (cf. *S. A.* 10, 11) stirs the leaves as a fan, and their rustling helps to awake Adam.

16. i.e. mild as the west wind ("that breathes the spring," *L'Allegro*, 18) passing over a bank of flowers. Flora, the goddess of flowers, symbolises the flower-world, as in *P. R.* II. 365. Her association with Zephyrus is a poetic convention; cf. Garth's *Dispensary*, 1699:

> "Where Flora treads, her Zephyr garlands flings,
> And scatters odours from his purple wings."

17—25. Keightley cites the *Song of Solomon* ii. 10—13. Cf. too the lines "Wake now, my love, awake! etc." in Spenser's *Epithalamion*; the *Song of Solomon* is referred to directly in IX. 442, 443.

21. *prime*, daybreak, the early part of the day.

22. *tended*; so the First Ed.; but in many texts (as Dr Bradshaw notes) it has been corrupted into *tender*. Compare, however, passages like IV. 438, "To prune these growing plants, and tend these flowers," and IX. 206. *blows*, i.e. blooms.

23. *balmy reed*, i.e. balm (=*balsam*, etymologically); cf. "corny reed"=corn, VII. 321. *drops*; myrrh and balm are aromatic resins, of much the same nature, produced by the balsam-tree (βαλσαμόδενδρον) and other trees of the same genus. Cf. IV. 248, and *Othello*, V. 2. 348—50:

> "one whose subdued eyes,
> Albeit unused to the melting mood,
> *Drop* tears as fast as the Arabian trees
> Their medicinal gum";

lines which Marvell remembered in the Nymph's lament over her dying fawn:

> "See how it weeps! the tears do come
> Sad, slowly, dropping like a gum.
> So weeps the wounded balsam; so
> The holy frankincense doth flow;
> The brotherless Heliades
> Melt in such amber tears as these."

The perfume myrrh is to be distinguished from the resin; it is thought to have been distilled from a kind of rock-roses.

30, 31. *I...have dreamed.* Explained by IV. 799 *et seq.* "The author...shews a wonderful art throughout his whole poem in preparing the reader for the several occurrences that arise in it" (Addison). The abruptness of the sentences expresses Eve's confusion on just awakening, and her agitation of mind.

35—93. Belinda's vision in the first canto of *The Rape of the Lock* is an amusing but by no means "respectful perversion" of Eve's dream.

39—41. i.e. the nightingale; the poet's favourite bird, as many allusions show. Cf. his first *Sonnet*, *Comus*, 234 ("the love-lorn Nightingale"), *Il Penseroso*, 61—64, VII. 435, 436, and the fifth *Elegy*, 25—28. No doubt, the garden of his father's house at Horton (cf. *Il Pen.* 49, 50) was a haunt of the bird.

his; poetic tradition (due to the classical story of Philomela) would say *her*, but the male bird is the songster. Elsewhere, however, Milton follows the poetic convention; cf. IV. 602, 603. Thomson, *Spring*, speaks of the "love-taught song" of birds, remembering perhaps Spenser, *Epithalamion*, 88 ("love-learned song").

43, 44. Contrast IV. 657 *et seq.*, where Eve asks wherefore, for whom, do the stars shine all night, to which Adam replies that there are "millions of spiritual creatures" on earth, unseen by men, and that they behold and praise God's works by night as by day.

50—92. A foretaste of the much fuller passage in IX. 494—833.

54—57. It is implied that the figure which appeared was that of Satan; cf. III. 636—44 where, to deceive Uriel, he puts on the form of a Cherub, winged and with flowing locks—as here.

56, 57. Almost a paraphrase of *Æneid* I. 403:

Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem
Spiravere.

ambrosia, fragrance. The adjective is used in a similar context by Tennyson, in the description of Aphrodite (*Œnone*).

60. *god*, i.e. angelic being; so in 70 and 117. In *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 5, M. explains why he applies the word 'god' to angels (*P. W.* IV. 106).

61. i.e. is it envy (cf. Satan's words in IX. 729, 730) or some reservation, restraint, that keeps you from being tasted?

66. *vouched*, made good with, confirmed by; cf. *Henry V.* V. I. 77.

67. *he thus*, i.e. spake; cf. IV. 1014.

71—73. See 318—20, note.

76. The resemblance to Euripides, *Alcestis* 182, has been remarked. There is a striking allusion to the *Alcestis* in Milton's *Sonnet* "On his Deceased Wife." Euripides was his favourite—after Homer—among the Greek poets. A copy of Euripides with MS. notes by Milton is extant, and one of his textual emendations—ἡδέως for ἡδέων in the *Bacchæ* 188—is universally adopted. In his edition of the *Bacchæ* (Cambridge Press) Dr Sandys points out several Euripidean reminiscences in *Comus*. He notes too what seems to have escaped Milton's editors, viz. the fact that the year in which M. bought the copy of Euripides above referred to, and may reasonably be supposed to have devoted some special attention to the works of the Greek poet, was the year which saw the production at Ludlow, and probably the composition, of *Comus*. The direct allusions to Euripides in Milton's prose-works are very numerous. See the *Appendix* to *Sonnets* VIII. and XXIII., with the *Notes* on those *Sonnets*.

77, 78. Cf. IX. 705—709. The allusion is to *Genesis* iii. 5.

79. *in the Air*. Satan speaks as "prince of air" (XII. 454). In *P. R.* I. 39—46 he addresses his followers as "ancient powers of air," and in *P. R.* II. 117, "the middle region of thick air" is their council-chamber. The idea can be traced to *Ephesians* ii. 2. Lines 78, 79 are the appropriate motto of Wordsworth's poem, "Devotional Incitements."

84—86. Cf. the scene of the Temptation in IX. 739—41. In XI. 517—19, Michael warns Adam against "ungoverned appetite," that having been the main cause of Eve's sin.

91. i.e. I *found* that he was gone; the sense connects *wondering* (89)

with *I* (91). In the First and Second Eds. the punctuation is peculiar: there is a colon after *various* and a semicolon after *exaltation*. Perhaps by isolating the clause thus Milton intended an abruptness of speech corresponding with the surprise which Eve felt when she found herself alone.

94. *sad*, seriously.

98. *uncouth*, strange.

102—105. For Milton "Fancy" is the loftiest form of imagination; cf. VIII. 461, where he terms it "internal sight," i.e. the highest power of conceiving mentally that which is not present to the eye. We must remember what "Fancy" means to him when we read his line on Shakespeare in *L'Allegro*, "Or sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child" (133). "Fancy" is the normal 18th century word for 'imagination.' Cf. for instance, Collins's poems *passim* (e.g. the lines to Sir Thomas Hanmer on his edition of Shakespeare).

Johnson considered Adam's discourse on dreams to be too philosophical for a new-created being. But "to find sentiments for the state of innocence was very difficult; and something of anticipation perhaps is now and then discovered."

104. *represent*, i.e. present, give representations of.

106, 107. *frames*, i.e. frames into what we affirm etc.

115. *our last evening's talk*; related in IV. 411—39, where Adam reminds Eve of the prohibition not to taste of the tree of knowledge.

118. *so*, i.e. as in your case: evil, he says, if unapproved (by Reason) in the way Eve has described, leaves no blame. Keightley explains *so*='provided that it be.' Todd prints *unreprov'd*.

129. "A manner of speaking that occurs in *Jeremiah* xx. 7: 'thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived'" (Newton).

133. *each...their*. A frequent idiom in M.; cf. VII. 453, XI. 889. In Elizabethan E. *each* could be used as a plural word; cf. *Coriolanus*, III. 2. 44.

crystal; a constant epithet of tears; cf. Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, 956, 957:

> "She vail'd her eyelids, who, like *sluices*, stopt
> The *crystal* tide."

137. *arborous roof*. Cf. the beautiful description of their bower in IV. 690—708.

139. *day-spring*, dawn, daybreak; so in VI. 521, and *S. A.* 11. Cf. *Luke* i. 78, "the day-spring from on high" (margin *sunrising*), and *Job* xxxviii. 12 in the Authorised Version and also in Coverdale's version (1535), "Haste thou shewed the daye springe his place?"

141, 142. *shot*. Cf. IV. 539—43, *Comus*, 98, 99.

144, 145. Cf. IX. 197—99. *lowly they bowed*; contrast XI. 1, 2. *orisons*, prayers.

147. *nor...wanted they*, nor did they lack; cf. 514.

149. We must observe the strong emphasis on "unmeditated," and the repetition of "various" in 146—unmistakeable hints at the poet's "preference of extemporary prayer over set forms" (Keightley). In *Eikonoklastes*, 25, he sneers at the use of a "service-book." His poems are full of these covert attacks on the Church (IV. 193, note).

150. *numerous*, melodious.

151. It is worth while to remember that the lute, now obsolete, was in Milton's time a very popular instrument. Cf. the frequent allusions to it in Shakespeare. "To hear the lute well touched" is one of the pleasures that M. promises himself in the *Sonnet* to Henry Lawrence, and without doubt he had often delighted in the skill of his friend Henry Lawes, a famed lutenist.

153—208. The hymn is obviously based upon *Psalm* cxlviii. and the *Canticle*, "O all ye Works of the Lord." Thomson's poem, *A Hymn* ("These, as they change"), is inspired by the same sources and by the present passage. Thomson's admiration of Milton finds vent in frequent imitations and in the very Miltonic lines, addressed to "Britannia," in *Summer*:

> "Is not wild Shakespeare thine and nature's boast?
> Is not each great, each amiable muse
> Of classic ages in thy Milton met?
> A genius universal as his theme,
> Astonishing as chaos, as the bloom
> Of blowing Eden fair, as heaven sublime."

154. *frame*, fabric, structure; cf. II. 924, VIII. 15. Bacon uses "the frame of things" and "the universal frame of nature" as synonyms for 'the Universe' (*The Advancement of Learning*, I. 8. 1, II. 7. 7).

160. See 716, note, and contrast VI. 715.

162. *symphonies*, harmonies; see XI. 595, note.

day without night; "that is, without such night as ours, for the darkness there [i.e. in Heaven] is no more than 'grateful twilight'" (Newton). See 645.

163. *circle*. Cf. *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 9, "They (the angels) are represented (in Scripture) as standing dispersed around the throne of God in the capacity of ministering agents." Cf. 655—57.

165. Cf. II. 324, note.

166. He refers to the planet Venus, which, when west of the sun,

rises and sets before him, and is called the Morning-star, Lucifer—cf. the Gk. titles Ἑωσφόρος ('dawn-bringer') and Φωσφόρος ('light-bringer'); when the planet is east of the sun, it rises and sets after him, and is called the Evening-star, Hesperus (IV. 605). Cf. Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, CXXI.:

"Sweet Hesper-Phosphor, double name,
For what is one, the first, the last."

fairest of stars; cf. *Iliad* XXII. 318, Ἔσπερος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἵσταται ἀστήρ, and the *Glosse* to *The Shepheards Calender*, *December*, "he seemeth to be one of the brightest of starres, and also first ryseth, and setteth last."

171. Newton notes that Ovid (*Metamorphoses* IV. 228) calls the sun *mundi oculus*, and Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* II. 4) *mundi animus*. With Elizabethan writers "eye of heaven" is a favourite periphrasis; cf. Marlowe, 2 *Tamburlaine*, IV. 3. 88, "A greater lamp than that bright eye of heaven," and Shakespeare's *Sonnets* 18, 33. See note on *Il Penseroso*, 141 ("Day's garish eye").

175. The general sense is that the moon, together with the fixed stars and the planets, is to resound his praise.

176. *the fixed stars*; cf. III. 481, note. "They are fixed in their orb, but their orb flies, that is, moves round with the utmost rapidity" (Newton). *orb*='sphere'; M. treats the terms as interchangeable.

177. *ye five*, i.e. the planets; "wandering fire" is partly a translation of the Gk. πλανήτης, 'a wanderer,' from πλανᾶσθαι, 'to wander'—whence *planet*. Cf. Drummond of Hawthornden, *Forth Feasting* (1617), where he is celebrating James I.'s thirst for knowledge:

"Thou sought'st to know this All's eternal source,
Of everturning heavens the restless course,
Their fixed eyes [cf. 176], their lights which wand'ring run,
Whence moon her silver hath, his gold the sun."

Drummond (1585—1649) has not a little in common with Milton, and the fact that his poems were issued in 1656 with a Preface by Milton's nephew Edward Phillips is suggestive. In his *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675) Phillips deplores that they are "utterly disregarded and laid aside at present," in spite of their "smooth and delightful" style. Drummond's lament for Prince Henry (1613) and his *Pastoral Elegy* (1637) may be compared with *Lycidas*. He is fond, too, of geographical names, especially river-names like "Hydaspes" (III. 436). And his "constant preoccupation with the starry heavens and the Ptolemaic universe" makes another link with *Paradise Lost*.

five. He has already mentioned the Sun, Moon (then reckoned planets) and Venus (166—70): hence only four planets remain—

Mercury, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. Possibly M. by a mere error said *five* instead of *four* (which Bentley read); but I think that he intended to include Venus again. In 166—70 he addressed the planet emphatically under its special aspect as the Morning-star, giving this particular manifestation of it an individuality apart from that of Venus considered generally as one of the seven planets. The Earth can scarcely be taken as making up the five, since not (as Masson notes) till VIII. 128—30 does Adam learn that it may possibly be a planet.

178. The metaphor in "dance" is Milton's favourite means of suggesting the motions of stellar bodies; cf. III. 579, 580, and IX. 103. Shakespeare also applies "dance" (the vb.) to the heavenly bodies—apparently to suggest their quivering light; cf. *Much Ado About Nothing*, II. 1. 349. Cf. too Shelley, "I sang of the dancing stars," *Hymn of Apollo.*

not without; Lat. *non sine.* M. is fond of this classical turn of phrase (*meiosis*); cf. v. 178. He has it in his prose; cf. the fine passage (with its Horatian reminiscence) in the *Areopagitica*: "I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered Virtue...that...slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat" (*P. W.* II. 68).

song, i.e. "the music of the spheres"; cf. 625—27. Perhaps the most elaborate account of this idea in the classics is that given in the Myth of Er, bk. x. of the *Republic* (617, 618). Plato there says that on each of the spheres—he recognises eight—"stands a siren, who travels round with the circle (i.e. revolution), uttering one note in one tone; and from all the eight notes there results a single harmony." See *Arcades*, 61—73, where M. has adapted Plato's words (which are quoted at length in my note there), and recalled Lorenzo's speech in *The Merchant of Venice*, v. 60—65; *Comus*, 241, 1021; *Twelfth Night*, III. 1. 121, *Antony and Cleopatra*, v. 2. 84; *As You Like It*, II. 7. 6.

According to tradition, Pythagoras was the only man who ever heard this music; cf. Milton's treatise *De Spherarum Concentu*: "*solus inter mortales concentum audisse fertur Pythagoras.*" Plato explains that the music is inaudible because continuous; we should hear it if there were a break. M. (cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, v. 64, 65) offers elsewhere a purely moral view—that sin has deadened the human senses, once so keen. Cf. *Arcades*, 72, 73:

> "After the heavenly tune, which none can hear
> Of human mould with gross unpurged ear."

Here, before the Fall, Adam and Eve possess the power which through their sin humanity lost. Somewhat similar is the Ode *At a Solemn Music* (19—24).

180. *Elements*; see II. 274, 275, note. Among many illustrations in Shakespeare of this belief cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. 2. 292, 293, *Julius Cæsar*, V. 5. 73, *Twelfth Night*, II. 3. 9, 10.

181—83. *that in quaternion run.* "That in a fourfold mixture and combination run a perpetual circle, one element continually changing into another" (Newton). He shows that here and later, 415—18, Milton is thinking of a passage in Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*, II. 33.

Lines 180—83 should be compared with II. 910—16.

189. *uncoloured*, i.e. having a single colour, unvariegated.

191. *advance*, raise aloft; see 588.

193, 194. Cf. Thomson, *A Hymn*, "Ye forests bend, ye harvests wave, to Him."

198. Cf. *Cymbeline*, II. 3. 21, "Hark, hark! the lark at heaven's gate sings," and *Sonnet* 29:

"Like to the lark at break of day arising
From sullen earth, sings hymns at heaven's gate."

But Shakespeare 'conveyed' the idea from a song in Lyly's play, *Campaspe*, where the lark "at heaven's gate claps her wings."

202—204. *witness*, bear witness. *I...my song.* Bentley read *we... our song*, and some other editors find the singular inappropriate, since Eve joined in the hymn. Pearce thought that M. was following the practice of Greek dramatists with whom "sometimes the plural, and sometimes the singular number is used" in the choruses (cf. the choruses of *S. A.*). Perhaps, after all, M. only means that each of the worshippers speaks for himself.

205. *to give us only good.* Editors think that M. had in mind "that celebrated prayer in Plato": "O Jupiter, give us good things, whether we pray for them or not, and remove from us all evil things, even though we pray for them." Xenophon in his *Memorabilia* says "that Socrates was wont to pray to the gods only to give good things, as they knew best what things were so." Cf. the *Collect* for the 8th Sunday after Trinity. (Newton's note.)

212—15. Cf. IV. 625—29, IX. 209—12. *pampered*, too luxuriant. Newton aptly observed that *pamper* used to be connected with Lat. *pampinus*, a 'vine-leaf,' and M. may have accepted the etymology. Really *pamper* is of Old Low Germ. origin, being a nasalised form of the word which we get in *pap*; Skeat mentions a Low Germ. vb. *slampampen*, 'to live daintily.'

215—19. Alluding to the pretty classical fancy of the vine being wedded to (because trained to grow up) the elm; cf. Horace, *Od.* IV. 5. 30, *Epod.* II. 9, 10, Vergil, *Georg.* II. 367. M. in the *Epitaphium*

Damonis, 65, speaks of the *innuba uva*, and in *Of Reformation in England*, I., writes: "I am not of opinion to think the Church a vine in this respect, because, as they take it, she cannot subsist without clasping about the elm of worldly strength and felicity," *P. W.* II. 380. Cf. Fairfax's *Tasso*, III. 76, "The married elm fell with his fruitful vine"; and XX. 99.

221—23. There is the same allusion in IV. 167—71 (a passage which Tennyson "hated") to the story of Tobias and his victory over Asmodëus (one of the evil angels) as told in the Apocryphal *Book of Tobit*. Cf. *The Hind and the Panther*, III. 750—54:

> "Still thank yourselves, you cry; your noble race
> We banish not, but they forsake the place:
> Our doors are open. True, but ere they come,
> You toss your censing Test and fume the room;
> As if 'twere Toby's rival to expel,
> And fright the fiend who could not bear the smell."

the sociable Spirit. Cf. VII. 41, "Raphael, The affable archangel," and XI. 234, where Adam says that Michael is not "sociably mild, as Raphael." The name means 'divine healer,' or 'health of God.' Raphael and Michael (who in bks. VI. and XI. is entrusted with high duties by the Almighty) are archangels, and therefore intermediaries between Heaven and earth. Addison considered that "the angels are as much diversified in Milton, and distinguished by their proper parts, as the gods are in Homer or Virgil." See XI. 234, 235, note.

230. *what*, i.e. whatsoever, as often in M.

238. *secure*; it implies a false feeling of security.

248. *after his charge received*; M. uses this Latin idiom often; see I. 573.

249. *Ardours*, i.e. Seraphim. "The poet, I suppose, only made use of this term to diversify his language a little, as he is forced to mention the word *Seraph* and *Seraphim* in so many places" (Thyer).

254. *self-opened*; suggested, perhaps, by *Ezekiel* i.; see VI. 749—59 for an undoubted use of the Vision.

257, 258. i.e. no cloud or star being interposed to obstruct his sight; an absolute construction. *however small*; qualifying *star*; but some connect it with *Earth* in 260.

259. *not unconform to*, like to.

261—63. Cf. the well-known passage in I. 287—91. A similar but indirect reference to Galileo occurs in III. 588—90. Galileo died in 1642; "glass of Galileo" is only a general term for the instrument associated with his name. Cf. Pope, *The Rape of the Lock*, V. 137, 138:

"This Partridge soon shall view in cloudless skies,
When next he looks thro' Galilæo's eyes";

"this" being Belinda's lock, translated to the skies.

264—66. He has just said that the earth, as it appeared from afar to the angel, resembled the regions in the moon as they appear to an astronomer; now he compares it to the dim speck in the distance which the pilot perceives when first he comes within sight of an island. Strictly, Delos (see x. 296, note) was, and Samos was not, one of the circular group of islands in the Ægæan called Cyclades (from κύκλος, 'a circle').

The lines as they stand in the First Ed. have no commas. Some editors place a comma before *kens*, making *cloudy spot* the accusative and taking *Delos...appearing* as an absolute construction. It seems to me preferable to make *Delos or Samos* the object after *kens*—with *cloudy spot* in apposition.

269, 270. The metaphor is that of separating grain from the chaff; cf. *Isaiah* xxx. 24, "clean provender, which hath been winnowed with the shovel and with the fan." *Fan* is from Lat. *vannus*, whence also *van*='a wing' (II. 927). M. may have recollected Fairfax, *Tasso*, XVIII. 49, "with nimble fan the yielding air she rent." *winnows*, parts, cleaves; cf. Thomson, *Spring*:

"their self-taught wings
Winnow the waving element"

(i.e. the air). There is a similar use of the word in Tennyson's early poem *The Kraken*. For *buxom*='yielding,' see the note on II. 842.

271—74. Cf. Fairfax, *Tasso*, XVII. 35, 36:

"As when the new-born Phœnix doth begin
To fly to Ethiope-ward, at the fair bent
Of her rich wings, strange plumes and feathers thin,
Her crowns and chains, with native gold besprent,
The world amazed stands; and with her fly
An host of wond'ring birds, that sing, and cry:
So past Armida, look't on, gaz'd on so."

A similar passage occurs in Dryden's lines to the Duchess of York in the Preface to *Annus Mirabilis*.

Most accounts describe the Phœnix as a solitary bird, living "in the Arabian woods" (*S. A.* 1700) for 500 years (so say Herodotus and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV. 395); at the end of that time (but Pliny who also tells the story—*Nat. Hist.* X. 2—gives the period as exactly 509 years), "when hee (the bird) groweth old, and begins to decay, he builds himselfe a nest with the twigs and branches of the Canell

or Cinamon, and Frankincense trees: and when hee hath filled it with all sort of sweet aromaticall spices, yieldeth up his life thereupon ...of his bones and marrow there breedeth at first as it were a little worme: which afterwards proveth to be a pretie bird" (Philemon Holland's *Pliny*, 1601, vol. I. p. 271). And the first thing that this "pretie bird" does is to collect the 'reliques' of its former body (the aforesaid "bones and marrow"), and carry them away to the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis in Lower Egypt. M. however says at Thebes, meaning the famous city of that name in Upper Egypt, which he calls "Egyptian" to distinguish it from the Bœotian town. According to the quaint rabbinical tradition, the Phœnix was immortal because alone of the birds it abstained from eating, with Eve, the forbidden fruit, which brought death. See *S. A.* 1699—1707.

271. *towering*; cf. XI. 185, note.

272. *gazed by all*, i.e. gazed on; it is often a transitive verb in M.; cf. VIII. 258. What attracted the attention of the other birds was the plumage of the Phœnix—his body *cæruleum fulgens* (as M. writes in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 188), his tail white, his neck and head golden. Cf. Spenser, *Visions of Petrarch*:

> "I saw a Phœnix in the wood alone,
> With purple wings, and crest of golden hewe;
> Strange bird he was, whereby I thought anone,
> That of some heavenly wight I had the vewe."

The splendour of Raphael's wings (also cerulean) caused him to be mistaken for a Phœnix.

sole bird. Only one Phœnix lived at a time; *unica semper avis*, says Ovid, *Amores* II. 6. 54, and M. imitates him in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 187 (*Phœnix, divina avis, unica terris*). Cf. Lyly's *Euphues*, "as there is but one Phœnix in the world, so there is but one tree in Arabia, wherein she buyldeth."

276, 277. i.e. "he seemed again, what he really was, 'a seraph winged'; whereas in his flight he appeared, what he was not, a Phœnix" (Newton).

277—85. A favourite passage with Tennyson.

277, 278. Suggested, obviously, by *Isaiah* vi. 2: "Above it stood the seraphims: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly." M. has varied this account in certain details, borrowing something from the description of the Cherubim in *Ezekiel* i. and x. *lineaments*, his limbs generally; not merely the features of his face. So in VII. 477.

280. *with regal ornament*. This seems to show that the colour of the first pair was purple; cf. XI. 241—44. So Gray (*Hymn to*

Adversity) speaks of "purple tyrants," i.e. 'born to the purple,' as the phrase is. Cf. too Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, 320, 321:

"A vile conceit in pompous words expressed
Is like a clown in regal purple dressed."

The contrast between the first and second pairs of wings, i.e. between purple and gold, is a favourite with M.; see IV. 596, 763, 764, VII. 479, IX. 429.

283. i.e. colours brilliant as the lustrous hues of heaven; the reference to gold suggests that the rich hues of sunset are meant.

Pope arrayed the Sylphs in *The Rape of the Lock* (II. 213) in robes "Dipt in the richest tincture of the skies"; and Wordsworth speaks of clouds "Grain-tinctured, drenched in empyrean light" (*The Prelude*, IV. 328).

283—85. *the third* etc. What hue is here intended? Dr Masson says violet—Dr Bradshaw, purple. Perhaps light blue—in fact, the colour technically called 'sky-blue.' This would suit the sense of *grain*, and it adds to the variety of the whole picture.

mail, coat of mail, armour. *sky-tinctured*; cf. *Comus*, 83, "These my sky-robes, spun out of Iris' woof" (i.e. out of the rainbow). For *tinctured*='dyed,' cf. "vermeil-tinctured," *Comus*, 752. The "sky-worn Robes" of Pity represent one of the many Miltonisms in Collins (*Ode to Pity*, stanza 2).

285—87. *Maia's son*, Hermes (or Mercury), son of Zeus and Maia—the winged messenger of the gods. Probably M. is thinking of *Æneid* IV. 222 *et seq.*, where Mercury is sent by Jupiter to bid Æneas leave Carthage; perhaps also of *Hamlet*, III. 4. 58, 59. The point of the simile lies in the fact that Mercury was typical of grace and beauty. So in the *Masque of Oberon* Jonson makes a character say that *Oberon* ("Beauty dwells but in *his* face") surpasses even Mercury, whereon Jonson's footnote comments, "Mercury...was called the giver of grace, χαριδότης, φαιδρὸς καὶ λευκός."

Some of Milton's readers would bethink them of the Jacobean Masque-stage, on which the god was a favourite character. These lines (285—87) would exactly describe the opening scene of Carew's famous *Cœlum Britannicum* (known almost certainly to M.), and I doubt not that the heavenly herald "shook his plumes" in Jonson's *Penates*.' For a similar episode, equally suggestive of the Masque-literature, which had evidently affected M. strongly, cf. the descent of Peace in the *Nativity Ode*, 45—52.

288. *state*, stately bearing, majesty; a common Shakespearian sense of a word then used with great variety of signification.

292, 293. The plants are often mentioned together—no doubt, from their association in Scripture. Cf. IX. 629, *Comus*, 991 ("Nard

and cassia's balmy smells"). So in Fairfax, *Tasso*, xv. 53, "The winds breathed spikenard, myrrh, and balm around." The cassia spoken of in the Bible was a spice of the nature of cinnamon; cf. Cotgrave, "*Casse aromatique*: the aromaticall wood, barke, or bastard cinnamon." Cassia is now used of an extract of laurel-bark. The nard or spikenard (i.e. spiked nard, *nardus spicatus*) of Scripture (*Mark* xiv. 3, *John* xii. 3) was a fragrant Indian root. The epithet 'Ινδικός is often applied to it. The word comes from the Sanskrit *nal*, 'to smell.' Probably the Jews got the perfume and its name through the Persians.

295—97. In the First Ed. the lines read:

"and plaid at will
Her Virgin Fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
Wilde above rule or art; enormous bliss."

With this punctuation, *enormous bliss* is in apposition to the previous sentence; and *pouring* is intransitive. It appears to me a defensible text; but editors place a comma after *art*, and make *bliss* the object after *pouring*. *more sweet*, more sweetly (i.e. than now). *enormous*, out of all rule (Lat. *norma*, 'rule').

299. "And the Lord appeared unto him [Abraham] in the plains of Mamre: and he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day," *Genesis* xviii. 1. The whole chapter is in Milton's thoughts here where he describes Adam's entertainment of Raphael.

302. *needs*; so the Second Ed.; the First has *need*.

306. *milky*. So in *S. A.* 550, "clear milky juice" is a periphrasis for fresh water. Perhaps in each case *milky* = 'sweet as milk.' Drayton (*Polyolbion*, xiii. 171) speaks of "milch dew," where he seems to mean 'sweet' or 'fragrant.'

318—20. Here, as in 71—73, M. remembers *Comus*, 706 *et seq.* where the magician argues that we should enjoy Nature's gifts and 'disburden' her of them:

"Who would be quite surcharged with her own weight,
And strangled with her waste fertility."

321, 322. *inspired*, i.e. filled with "the breath of life" (*Gen.* ii. 7). The name *Adam* is said to signify 'red earth.'

324, 325. i.e. she has only stored (cf. 314) or put away such things as are best kept awhile; for the rest, the trees and plants supply their daily wants. In 322 *store* is used in two senses, viz. 'storing,' and 'abundance.'

327. *gourd*, i.e. melons of various sorts.

328. *as* = 'that' is common in Elizabethan E.

331—49. "The housewifery of our first parent" (Addison).

333. *choice to choose*. "This sort of jingle is very usual in Milton,

as to *move motion*, VIII. 130....And it is not unusual in the best classick authors, as in...*Æneid* XII. 680" (Newton). Verbal repetition of the sort is thoroughly Elizabethan. Mr Bond in his introductory Essay to Lyly's *Works* (I. 120—24) notes that it is one of the characteristic features of style in *Euphues*; imitated, doubtless, from the classics. It explains and confirms the Folio's reading in *Macbeth*, v. 3. 44, where emendations like *load* or *grief* for *stuff*, or *fraught* for *stuff'd*, really proceed from ignorance of Elizabethan usage.

334—36. The punctuation of the First and Second Eds. (which I have retained) seems to show that the sense is—'tastes which are inelegant *if* not well joined.' Some take *inelegant* adverbially—'not to mix inelegantly tastes which are not well joined.' Either way, cf. IX. 1017, 1018. *bring*, i.e. *to* bring—dependent on *contrived*: one taste is to induce another. *kindliest*, most natural; cf. "the kindly fruits of the earth" (*The Litany*).

338. *Earth, all-bearing mother*; παμμῆτορ γῆ; *Omniparens.*

338—41. He supposes the garden of Eden to produce the fruits for which in after-times different parts of the world were famous; and, as usual, he selects places round the names of which cluster literary (especially classical) associations.

339. *middle shore*, i.e. between the East and West Indies; the countries on the seaboard of the Mediterranean are meant.

340. *Pontus*, in the N.E. region of Asia Minor, on the coast of the Euxine or Black Sea, was noted for its fruit and nut trees. From the town of Cerasus the cherry is said to have been introduced into Europe by Lucullus, together with its name (Gk. *κέρασος*). In Philemon Holland's *Pliny* (1601) we find: "Filberds and Hazels...also are a kind of nút. They came out of Pontus into Natolia and Greece, and therefore they be called Ponticke nuts. These Filberds are covered with a soft bearded [cf. 342] huske," vol. I. p. 446. He mentions similarly the introduction of the cherry-tree into Italy from Pontus (p. 448).

Punic coast, i.e. Africa, more particularly Carthage; it was remarkable for at least one kind of fruit, as the anecdote of Cato and the figs reminds us. Cf. Holland's *Pliny*, "touching the Affricane Figs, many men prefer [them] before all others," I. 442.

340, 341. Alcinous was the king of the Phæacians, a fabulous race whom Homer places in the island of Scheria (afterwards identified with Corcyra, now Corfu—whence Corcyra was called by Roman poets *Phæacia tellus*; but probably Scheria was quite mythical). He entertained Odysseus, and Homer describes his palace and gardens at length. M. refers in two other passages to those books (VI.—XIII.)

of the *Odyssey* in which Odysseus stays "where Alcinous reigned"; cf. the *Vacation Exercise*, 48—52 (alluding to *Od.* VIII.), and *P. L.* IX. 439—41. See also his third *Elegy*, 43, 44:

Non dea tam variis ornavit floribus hortos
Alcinoi Zephyro Chloris amata levi.

342. *rined*; some texts print *rind* (i.e. the noun); but the First and Second Eds. read *rin'd*, and M. meant it to be a participial adjective, 'having a smooth rine (i.e. rind).' I think that we may fairly hyphen the words and make a compound "smooth-rined," on the analogy of "smooth-dittied," "smooth-haired," in *Comus*, 86, 716, and "smooth-shaven" in *Il Penseroso*, 66. It seems to me best to make the adj. qualify *coat*.

345. Cf. *Comus*, 46, 47:

"Bacchus, that first from out the purple grape
Crushed the sweet poison of misused wine."

inoffensive, not intoxicating, as it became through "the later invention of fermenting the juice of the grape" (Thyer). *must*, new wine; Lat. *mustum*. Cf. *The Faerie Queene*, VII. 7. 39. *meaths*, sweet beverages.

347, 348. *nor...wants*. The construction seems to be due to a combination of the personal use of *want* (which here would be plural) and the impersonal, which is singular='there wants.' "An abundance of impersonal verbs is a mark of an early stage in a language....There are many more impersonal verbs...in Elizabethan than in modern English" (Abbott).

349. *the shrub unfumed*. "That is, not burnt and exhaling smoke as in fumigations, but with its natural scent" (note in Todd).

354—57. One of those passing touches in which M. reveals his republicanism and dislike of ostentation.

Scan *retínue*, as in *P. R.* II. 419, "What followers, what retínue canst thou gain?" So in Tennyson, *Aylmer's Field*, "The dark retínue reverencing death"; and in *Guinevere*. Cf. *revénue* in Shakespeare, e.g. in *Hamlet*, III. 2. 63. *besmeared*; editors compare Horace's *aurum vestibus illitum* (*Odes* IV. 9. 14).

360—62. See III. 736—38. Cf. Adam's meeting with Michael in XI. 249, and 296—98.

for; the clause gives the reason why Adam has addressed the angel as "Native of Heaven." Cf. *Arcades*, 26, 27:

"Stay, *gentle* Swains, *for*, though in this disguise,
I see bright honour sparkle through your eyes";

where "for I see" explains why they have been called "gentle," i.e. well-born. Cf. II. 12—14, X. 460—62.

371. *Virtue.* The word must not be pressed, as in *P. L.* Raphael is an archangel (cf. VII. 41). Heywood in his *Hierarchie* (1635) ranks Raphael among the Powers (ἐξουσίαι).

378. *Pomona*, the Roman goddess of fruit (Lat. *pomum*); she "might well be supposed to have a delightful arbour" (Newton).

381, 382. Alluding to the *judicium Paridis*. The three goddesses, Hera, Athena and Aphrodite, each claimed the golden apple inscribed with the words "to the fairest" which Eris (Strife) had thrown among the guests at the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis. The matter was referred to the shepherd Paris (afterwards the lover of Helen), who decided in favour of Aphrodite—"the fairest goddess feigned." Perhaps to many readers the story is most familiar through Tennyson's *Œnone*.

Ida, the "many-fountained" mountain (πολυπίδαξ Ἴδα, *Iliad* VIII. 47) in Mysia, Asia Minor. Spenser speaks of Paris as "The Shepheard of Ida that judged beauties Queene," in *The Shepheards Calender, August.*

384. *virtue-proof*, strong in (or 'through') virtue. Commonly in these compounds *proof* implies being strong against a thing. Thus in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. 2. 513, *shame-proof*='strong against, i.e. impenetrable to, shame'; and in *Arcades*, 89, "branching elm star-proof" means that the leaves are so dense that the star-light cannot penetrate.

385—87. "And the angel came in unto her, and said, Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women," *Luke* i. 28. Cf. *P. R.* II. 66—68. *second Eve*; so Christ is "the last Adam," 1 *Cor.* xv. 45.

388. Cf. XI. 159, "Eve, rightly called Mother of all Mankind."

393. *her*, the table's; he avoids using *its*.

394. *all autumn piled*, i.e. *had* all the produce of the autumn piled on it; the auxiliary verb can easily be understood from 392.

394, 395. i.e. the different charms of spring and autumn (as we know them) were then united in one continuous season. Cf. IV. 266—68, which anticipates the metaphor ("danced") of this passage. Drummond, *A Cypress Grove*, uses the same image: "One year is sufficient to behold all the magnificence of nature, nay, even one day and night; for more is but the same brought again. This sun, that moon, these stars, the varying dance of the Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, is that very same which the golden age did see" (*Works*, II. 256).

396. "A terrible bathos after the beautiful imagery, but shows Milton's simplicity" (Tennyson).

Addison had noted that the line is one of the few colloquialisms in *Paradise Lost*; another being x. 736.

407. We hear of "angels' food," *Psalm* lxxviii. 25. See 633.

409. *as doth*; the singular verb is required, *substance* (not *substances*) being understood from 408.

409—13. Cf. *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 7, "spirit being the more excellent substance, virtually and essentially contains within itself the inferior one (i.e. body); as the spiritual and rational faculty contains the corporeal," *P. W.* IV. 181. The drift of Milton's thought becomes clearer when we read lines 469 *et seq.*, where he dwells upon what he conceives to be the radical connection between matter and spirit.

412. *concoct*, digest.

415—18. See 180—83.

419, 420. M. regards the spots in the moon as vapours not entirely assimilated to her substance, and therefore visible against their luminous background. So in VIII. 145, 146 he compares them to clouds. A somewhat similar notion is found in Pliny's *Natural History*; cf. Philemon Holland's translation: "Now that planets are fed doubtlesse with earthly moisture, it is evident by the Moone: which so long as she appeareth by the halfe in sight, never sheweth any spots, because as yet she hath not her full power of light sufficient, to draw humour unto her. For these spots be nothing els but the dregs of the earth, caught up with other moisture among the vapors" (1601 ed., vol. II. p. 7). It seems as if the true explanation of the spots, that they are unevennesses on the surface of the moon caused by mountains and valleys, were really known to Milton; cf. I. 287—91.

425, 426. For the poetic fancy that the sun rises from and sets in the sea, cf. *Comus*, 95—97.

427, 428. The introduction of nectar (cf. 633) was doubtless due to its classical associations as the drink of the gods. There are occasions when Milton's classical touches seem a little out of harmony with the Scriptural character of his theme. Instances of this confusion of effect are very marked in *Lycidas*.

428, 429. A recollection of *Arcades*, 50, "[I] from the boughs brush off the evil dew." Everyone will recall Gray's "Brushing with hasty steps the dew away," *Elegy*, 99. The emphatic word is "mellifluous": the dews of Eden are of no common kind.

430. *pearly grain*, i.e. dew-drops; cf. 2, 746, 747. But some take it to mean manna; cf. *Exodus* xvi. 14.

433. *nice*, dainty, fastidious. It is a characteristic epithet of

the 18th century, "Augustan" school of writers; cf. Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, 285, 286:

"Thus critics of less judgment than caprice,
Curious, not knowing, not exact but nice."

434—36. i.e. the angel did actually eat—not merely appear to eat, as theologians explain in such cases. Bishop Newton remarks—"Several of the Fathers and ancient Doctors were of opinion, that the Angels did not really eat, but only seemed to do so; and they ground that opinion principally upon what the Angel Raphael says in the book of *Tobit*, xii. 19, 'All these days did I appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did see a vision.'"

We have already had an allusion to the *Book of Tobit* in lines 221—23; Keightley notes that it was evidently a favourite with M.; probably he was here glancing at the verse cited by Newton.

435. *gloss*, interpretation, viz. of passages like *Gen.* xix. 3.

438. *what redounds*, i.e. all that is redundant, not assimilated.

439—43. Cf. *Of Reformation in England*, II., "Their trade being, by...alchemy to extract heaps of gold and silver out of the drossy bullion of the people's sins," *P. W.* II. 403. The point of the present comparison is that—"as by means of the heat produced by coal, the alchemist can drive off the grosser particles and leave the pure gold remaining; so the internal heat of the angelic body drives off through the pores the innutritious particles of the food" (Keightley).

empiric, experimentising; Gk. ἐμπειρικός. Used with some notion of contempt='quack'; cf. *Of Reformation*, I., "Did he go about to pitch down his court, as an empiric does his bank, to inveigle in all the money of the country?" (*P. W.* II. 376). *drossiest*, full of impurities; cf. 'I. 704, and see *The Faerie Queene*, II. 7. 36, "Some scumd the drosse that from the metall came."

443, 444. *Eve minister'd.* The passage illustrates Milton's conception of the relation of the sexes.

444. *flowing cups*; a Shakespearian phrase; cf. *Henry V.* IV. 3. 55, "Be in their flowing cups freshly remember'd," and *Othello*, II. 3. 60. So in Lovelace's famous Song, *To Althea from Prison*:

"When flowing cups run swiftly round
With no allaying Thames;
Our careless heads with roses bound,
Our hearts with loyal flames."

445. *crowned*, brimming; a reminiscence of Homer's (*Iliad* I. 470) κρητῆρας ἐπεστέψαντο ποτοῖο (to which Vergil gave a fresh turn in his *socii cratera coronant—Georg.* II. 528). Cf. *The Faerie Queene*,

I. 3. 31, and Dryden, *Æneid*, III. 688, "My sire Anchises crowned a cup with wine" (where, however, *corona* is used literally of the chaplet of flowers).

447. *Sons of God.* The phrase (from *Gen.* vi. 2) has been taken to mean either the angels or the pious descendants of Seth. Here (and in *P. R.* II. 178, 179) M. apparently adopts the former view; but in XI. 621, 622, the other. Josephus, *Antiq.* I. iii. 1, makes "sons of God"= angelic beings.

451, 452. See XI. 531, note.

460. *framed*; it implies care, skill; cf. "wary" in 459.

467. i.e. what comparison can there be between Heaven's feasts and this? *compare*; not uncommon as a noun in Shakespeare; cf. *Venus and Adonis*, 8, "The field's chief flower sweet above compare." See VI. 705.

468. *Hierarch*, member of the Hierarchies, i.e. 'heavenly being'; used once elsewhere, XI. 220 (of Michael).

469 *et seq.* This is one of the passages in which the treatise on *The Christian Doctrine* is valuable as explaining Milton's philosophical and theological views. Chapter 7 of the first book treats "Of the Creation," and he expounds at great length his conception of the "one first matter." His views, as admirably summarised by Dr Masson, amount to this—"that all created Being, whether called soul or body, consists of but one primordial matter, a direct efflux from the very substance of the Eternal and Infinite Spirit.....that there are graduated varieties or sorts of this first material efflux from Deity, all radically one, but differentiated into an ascending series of forms, from the *inorganic* as the lowest, up to the *vegetable*, thence to the *animal*, thence to the *human*, and so to the *angelic*, or nearest in nature to the Divine original." This passage in fact gives us what Adam afterwards (509) calls "the scale of Nature."

The long discourses and explanations which Milton puts in the mouth of Raphael seem to come much more naturally from him, an archangel, than the discourses with which Beatrice enlightens Dante in the *Paradiso*, e.g. on Free Will (V.), the Atonement (VII.), the motion of the heavenly bodies, such as the *Primum Mobile* (XXVII.), the Creation (XXIX.).

471. *created all*, i.e. all things created such (namely "good") to a perfect degree, and all made of one first original matter. Cf. *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 7, "For the original matter of which we speak, is not to be looked upon as an evil or trivial thing, but as intrinsically good, and the chief productive stock of every subsequent good. It was a substance, and derivable from no other source than from the fountain

of every substance, though at first confused and formless, being afterwards adorned and digested into order by the hand of God" (*P. W.* IV. 179). Cf. VII. 233.

The influence of these lines is very marked in the *Essay on Man*, I.; cf. especially 233—46, and the great passage, "All are but parts of one stupendous whole" etc.

478. This idea (cf. 497) of body refining into spirit (i.e. of matter passing from a lower to a higher stage) is very characteristic of Milton. Cf. *Comus*, 459—63:

> "Till oft converse with heavenly habitants
> Begin to cast a beam on the outward shape,
> The unpolluted temple of the mind,
> And turns it by degrees to the soul's essence,
> Till all be made immortal."

In the same speech he passes (467—69) to the converse idea that, as the body by self-discipline may become soul, so the soul by self-indulgence may become body:

> "The soul grows clotted by contagion,
> Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose
> The divine property of her first being."

Cf. again VI. 660, 661, IX. 166. Newton thinks, very justly, that the whole idea was suggested by the Scriptural doctrine (cf. 1 *Cor.* xv.) of a natural body changed into a spiritual; perhaps also the influence of Plato is to be traced; cf. the notes on the passage in *Comus*.

482. To take the first two feet as cases of inverted rhythm gives a perfectly Miltonic effect—"spírits | ódor|ous" etc.

483. *scale*, ladder, Lat. *scala*; cf. 509, VIII. 591. Pope speaks of the continuity of Nature, "Where, one step broken, the great scale's destroyed," *Essay on Man*, I. 244. Cf. also Thomson, *Spring*:

> "who knows, how raised to higher life,
> From stage to stage, the vital scale ascends?"

sublimed, raised; the metaphor (as in I. 235) is probably from the science of chemistry, in which to *sublime* is to 'raise or elevate by heat.' Cf. Bacon, "Metals are sublimed by joining them with mercury or salts." Cf. the chemical term 'sublimate.'

487—90. This contrast between *intuition* and *discourse* (in its old sense) occurs often: *intuition*, as its derivation (Lat. *intueri*, 'to look into') implies, being the faculty of seeing into things straightway and apprehending truth without any process of reasoning: *discourse*, the lower faculty of understanding things by means of reasoning processes. M. naturally assigns the higher power to the angels; so in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 9, he says that the good angels understand by

means of "revelation." Compare the analysis of the different types of the intellectual faculty in the *Purgatorio*, XVIII., and the *Paradiso*, XXIX.; also Browne, *Religio Medici*, I. xxxiii.

493. *proper*, i.e. my own; Lat. *proprius*.

499. The underlying doctrine (taught by many of the Fathers) is that Adam, had he not sinned and thereby become "mortal" (VIII. 331), i.e. liable to death, would have been translated to Heaven.

504. *your fill*, i.e. enjoy *to* your fill. This adverbial use is Biblical; cf. *Deuteronomy* xxiii. 24, "When thou comest into thy neighbour's vineyard, then thou mayest eat grapes thy fill at thine own pleasure." M. has the expression (now colloquial) in *Sonnet* XIV. 14, "And drink thy fill of pure immortal streams." Cf. *Leviticus* xxv. 19, "And the land shall yield her fruit, and ye shall eat your fill."

509, 510. "Matter" (472) is the "centre," and "Nature" the "scale" which reaches to the utmost of our conceptions, all round. By ascending this ladder, i.e. by the study of Nature, we are led to God (Richardson).

520. "The sentences here are very short, as everything ought to be in the preceptive way. *Quicquid præcipies, esto brevis*, is the rule of Horace *de Arte Poetica*, 335" (Newton).

525—34. A discourse on free will and predestination, similar to that in III. 96—128. It is one of the subjects whereof the fallen angels dispute in II. 557—61; and of course M. treats it at great length in *The Christian Doctrine*, *P. W.* IV. 43—77.

535. Cf. *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 3, "in assigning the gift of free will, God suffered both men and angels to stand or fall at their own uncontrolled choice" (*P. W.* IV. 38).

538. i.e. on no other surety; in these cases *none*, from its peculiar position, expresses emphasis. Cf. XI. 612.

543. *from what...into what.* An antithetic turn of phrase used by M. more than once. Cf. I. 91, 92.

546—48. Cf. the allusion to "celestial voices" in IV. 680—88.

552. *single is yet so just*, i.e. since he has laid on us only *one* command, whereas he might have imposed many, we ought to feel bound to obey that command, even if it were not "just," as it is.

556, 557. *relation*, report, account; a common Elizabethan use. Cf. *The Tempest*, v. 164. Richardson noted the Horatian reminiscence (*Odes* II. 13. 29, 30) in 557:

Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur umbræ dicere.

563. We may compare the long episodical description that follows of the expulsion of the apostate angels from Heaven with Æneas' narrative

to Dido of the fall of Troy and of his subsequent fortunes. Æneas' monologue occupies two books (II., III.) of the *Æneid*; Raphael is briefer; his narrative closes at 892 of bk. VI. Such episodical narratives of what preceded the commencement of the action of the poem have been part of the machinery of the epic, since Homer made Odysseus relate his adventures to Alcinous (Newton).

Milton was bound to describe these events; and he appropriately lays the description in the mouth of one who had taken part in them. The obvious danger that besets a passage of this kind in which we are lifted from earth to Heaven is, that the poet may seem to materialise and degrade things spiritual and supernatural by delineating them under imagery and in language associated with things corporal and earthly. M. warns us of this difficulty at the outset (571—74); and hints that after all earth may be but a symbol of Heaven—an idea which under various forms has occurred to many thinkers. Dante also dwells on the impossibility of describing ("figuring") Paradise (XXIII. 61). The other "episode" in *Paradise Lost* occurs in bks. XI., XII.; see note on XI. 356—58. Newton notes that the form of the beginning (563, 564) of Raphael's narrative recalls the opening words of Æneas in *Æneid* II. 3.

Spenser's two *Hymnes—Of Heavenly Love* and *Of Heavenly Beautie* —are like an introduction to Milton's narrative of the fall of the angels and the subsequent creation of Man and the Universe. No part of Spenser presents closer parallels to *Paradise Lost*.

566. *remorse*, pity.

578. *these Heavens*, i.e. the sky above them; not the upper Heaven or Empyrean in which the Deity dwells (Masson).

579. *upon her centre poised*. See VII. 242. In each passage there is an allusion to Ovid's account of the earth hanging *ponderibus librata suis* (*Metamorphoses* I. 13). So Pope, *Temple of Fame*:

> "In air self-balanced hung the globe below,
> Where mountains rise and circling oceans flow."

when on a day. This curious phrase occurs in Cowper's *Heroism*, 11.

580—82. M. refers to the definition of 'Time as the measure of motion'; cf. Aristotle, *Physics* IV. 11. 219, *τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ὁ χρόνος, ἀριθμὸς κινήσεως κατὰ τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον*: and *Phys.* VIII. 1. 251, *εἰ δή ἐστιν ὁ χρόνος κινήσεως ἀριθμὸς ἢ κίνησίς τις*.... The same idea had occurred in Plato, *Timæus* 37 D—39 D. Cf. Milton's second epitaph on Hobson the carrier:

> "Time numbers motion, yet (without a crime
> 'Gainst old truth) motion numbered out his time."

Milton's purpose in 580—82 is to justify his introduction of the notion of Time in the word "day," 579: for that which he is

describing took place *before* the creation of the universe: whereas, says Plato, "*days* and nights and months and years *were not before the universe was created*...he (the Deity) devised the generation of them along with the fashioning of the universe," *Timæus* 37 D; and again, "Time then has come into being along with the universe"—χρόνος δ' οὖν μετ' οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν, *Timæus* 38 B. See Spenser's *Hymne of Heavenly Love*, 22—28. It would be impossible to discuss the matter: we can only note that M. dissents from Plato—both here and in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 7, where he writes: "There is no sufficient foundation for the common opinion, that motion and time (which is the measure of motion) could not, *according to the ratio of priority and subsequence*, have existed before this world was made" (*P. W.* IV. 185).

by...past and future, i.e. by the standard of—or, in relation to; cf. Aristotle's κατὰ τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον, and the extract in italics from *The Christian Doctrine*.

582—87. Editors refer to 1 *Kings* xxii. 19, *Job* i. 6.

583. *great year.* He has borrowed Plato's conception of the *Annus Magnus*. This was the vast period (estimated by Mr Adam in his pamphlet on the *Nuptial Number of Plato* to be 36,000 years) at the close of which the heavenly spheres, having completed their several revolutions, come back to the position whence they started. Cf. the passage from Censorinus (a scientific writer of Rome of the 3rd century A.D.) quoted by Mr Newman, *Politics of Aristotle*, I. 576, *Est præterea annus...quem solis lunæ vagarumque quinque stellarum orbes conficiunt, cum ad idem signum, ubi quondam simul fuerunt, una referuntur.* Cf. too Heywood's *Hierarchie* (1635), p. 147:

> "There is a yeare, that in Times large progresse
> Is *Annus Magnus* call'd:.....
> .....in this 'tis sayd,
> The Stars and Planets, howsoeuer sway'd,
> Be they or fixt, or wandring; in this yeare
> Returne to their first state, and then appeare
> In their owne Orbs, unwearied, and instated
> As fresh and new as when at first created";

and the *Religio Medici*, I. vi.: "To see ourselves again, we need not look for Plato's year; every man is not only himself...men are lived over again." Marvell (*The First Anniversary*, 17, 18), contrasting unprogressive rulers with Cromwell under an astronomical simile, says:

> "And though they all Platonic years should reign,
> In the same posture [they] would be found again."

M. conceives some such Platonic cycles to have existed "in

eternity," and the close of one of them to have been marked by the event of which he proceeds to speak. There is a glance at the same thought in 861, 862. Wordsworth in the poem on his infant daughter ("Hast thou then survived!") evidently had Milton's lines in mind, though he seems to have quoted from memory, substituting "Heaven's *eternal* year" for "great." Cf. *Hudibras*, III. 2. 907, 908.

587. *Hierarchs...orders*; see *Appendix*, pp. 680—82.

588. *advanced*, uplifted; cf. I. 536, and *King John*, II. 207, "These flags of France, that are advanced here."

589. *gonfalons*, flags, ensigns.

592—94. i.e. on the standards are portrayed scenes illustrative of zeal or love. *emblazed*; see I. 538.

594. *orbs*, circles; cf. Pope, *The Dunciad*, IV. 79, 80:

"Not closer, orb in orb, conglobed are seen
The buzzing bees about their dusky queen."

So in *The Rape of the Lock*, 283, 284:

"He spoke; the spirits from the sails descend.
Some, orb in orb, around the nymph extend."

597. *in bliss*; cf. VI. 892. *embosomed*. M. has the same allusion (*John* i. 18) in III. 169, 239, and 279. Cf. too Spenser, *An Hymne of Heavenly Love*, 134—37:

"Out of the bosome of eternall blisse,
In which he reigned with his glorious syre,
He downe descended, like a most demisse
And abject thrall, in fleshes fraile attyre."

598. *flaming mount*; see 643. Cf. *Exodus* xix.

599. Cf. III. 380, "Dark with excessive bright." Dante says of angels: "in their faces the eye was dazed, like a faculty which by excess is confounded" (*Purgatorio*, VIII. 35, 36). Cf. also the *Paradiso*, V. (end).

600. *progeny of light*. Cf. III. 3, "God is light."

603—608. Upon the peculiar theological bearing of this passage it is unnecessary to comment; we have—III. 383 (note)—already seen Milton's Arianism. Many texts of Scripture are alluded to here. Cf. *Ps.* ii. 6, 7 ("Yet have I set my King upon my holy hill of Zion.... Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee"), *Ps.* cx. 1 ("The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand"), *Ephes.* iv. 15 ("the head, even Christ"), *Gen.* xxii. 16 ("By myself have I sworn, saith the LORD"—see also *Isai.* xlv. 23), *Philip.* ii. 10, 11, *Heb.* i. 5.

"Milton was very cautious what sentiments and language he ascribed to the Almighty, and generally confined himself to the phrases and expressions of Scripture" (Newton).

605. *anointed.* 'Messiah' means 'anointed.'

610. *individual*; in the literal sense 'not to be divided'=inseparable. So Adam called Eve "an individual solace dear," IV. 486. M. uses *dividual*='separable or separate' in VII. 382, XII. 85.

613. *blessed vision*; the "beatific vision" (I. 684).

614. *utter darkness*; cf. I. 72, III. 16.

618. *solemn days*, holy or festival days, Lat. *solennis*.

620—27. Alluding again to the music of the spheres; see 178, note. He compares the rhythmic movements of the angels to the revolutions ("wheels") of the planets and fixed stars.

623. *eccentric*; used three times by M.—here and in III. 575, VIII. 83; in each case there is a reference to its astronomical sense. Applied to the heavenly bodies *eccentric* signifies 'moving in an orb that deviates from a circle,' i.e. it connotes motion which is not strictly circular. Here the "mystical dance" does not describe true circles.

624. *then...when*; his favourite form of emphasis; cf. 894, 895, IV. 838, 970. So Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, 502, 503:

"Then most our trouble still when most admired,
And still the more we give, the more required."

Similarly we find *there...where*.

627. *now*; not in the First Ed., inserted in the Second.

633. *Angels' food.* See 407, note. *rubied nectar*, i.e. Homer's νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν. *rubied*='red as rubies'; in *S. A.* 543, "dancing ruby" is said of sparkling wine. Cf. Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyám*, v.:

"But still a Ruby kindles in the Vine."

636—41. In the First Ed. the passage reads thus:

"They eat, they drink, and with refection sweet
Are fill'd, before th' all bounteous King, who showrd
With copious hand, rejoycing in thir joy."

It will be seen that the Second Ed. has three additional lines. The word *refection* (refreshment) is not used elsewhere by M.

637, 638. *communion*; we are reminded of the doctrine of the 'Communion of Saints.' Cf. the "fellowships of joy" in XI. 80, and the "sweet societies" of *Lycidas*, 179. Newton noted the allusion in 638 to *Ps.* xxxvi. 8, 9, "thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures. For with thee is the fountain of life."

642. *ambrosial*, fragrant; an epithet of night in *Iliad* II. 57.

exhaled; Keightley connects it with *clouds*, but I think that VII. 255 shows that it belongs to *night*.

643. See VI. 4—12, VII. 584—86. The "high mount of God" is what M. in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 7, calls "the highest heaven... as it were the supreme citadel and habitation of God" (*P. W.* IV. 182).

He cites the texts upon which he has based this conception—among them being 1 *Kings* viii. 27 ("behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee"), and *Isaiah* lvii. 15 ("I dwell in the high and holy place").

645. *night comes not there.* See 162, and cf. *Rev.* xxi. 25, "for there shall be no night there."

646, 647. *dews*; used, I suppose, figuratively (though some take it in the literal sense), as in *Richard III.* iv. 1. 84. Cf. iv. 614—16. See *Il Penseroso*, 146 ("the dewy-feathered sleep").

unsleeping: "Behold, he that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep," *Ps.* cxxi. 4. The same is said of Zeus, *Iliad* ii. 1—3.

652. Cf. iii. 357, 358 (note), xi. 79, *Lycidas*, 174, and the *Sonnet*, *The Religious Memory*, 14. We may remember Vergil's description (*Æneid* vi. 673—75) of the lives of the blessed in Elysium:

"In groves we live, and lie on mossy beds
By crystal streams, that murmur through the meads" (Dryden).

653, 654. *pavilions*, tents=*tabernacles* (from Lat. *tabernaculum*, a dimin. of *taberna*, 'a shed or hut'). *Tabernaculum* is used in the Vulgate of the tent that sheltered the Ark, whence it passed into the Authorised Version. Milton has the word (='tent') satirically in his prose: "They had found a good tabernacle, they sat under a spreading vine, their lot was fallen in a fair inheritance" (*P. W.* ii. 374).

655. *in their course.* Is he thinking of the Temple-service, and the division of offices among the Levites? See iv. 561, note.

657. *alternate*, sing in turns. Cf. iv. 682—84, where Adam speaks of the celestial voices he hears at night.

658, 659. *Satan*; cf. i. 82.

his former name; what this was we are not told, because, as M. says in i. 361—63, the names which the apostate angels had before their fall were "blotted out and razed," so that there might be no memorial of them. Cf. vi. 373—85.

of the first. Cf. Milton's minor treatise on divorce, *The Judgment of Martin Bucer*, "a city for learning and constancy in the true faith honourable among the first," *P. W.* iii. 279. The idiom is something like the Gk. *ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι.*

665. *impaired*, perhaps 'made unequal,' inferior, Lat. *impar*. Cf. vi. 691.

671. *his next subordinate*, Beelzebub; see ii. 299, 300, note. In the scene (vi.) in Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* in which Lucifer and Beelzebub appear, the former announcing himself to Faustus says:

"I am Lucifer,
And this is my *companion*-prince in hell";

cf. "companion dear" in 673. No doubt, M. knew Marlowe's play; cf. I. 254, 255, IV. 20—23 and 75—78 with *Dr Faustus*, III. 75—77, V. 119—21. The suggestion has been made—not unreasonably, I think—that the *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675) of Milton's nephew Edward Phillips, in which short biographies and notices of the poets are given, "especially the most eminent of all ages," reflects in some degree Milton's own opinions. It is significant therefore that Phillips calls Marlowe "a kind of a second Shakespeare," and specially mentions this tragedy: "of all that he hath written to the Stage his *Dr Faustus* hath made the greatest noise." The judgment pronounced on Shakespeare himself is plainly Miltonic, viz. that "where the polishments of Art are most wanting, as his Learning was not extraordinary, he pleaseth with a certain *wild and native* elegance"; cf. *L'Allegro*, 133, 134.

673. *sleep'st thou...?* Cf. *Iliad* II. 60—62.

674. *and rememberest*, i.e. though remembering; cf. II. 730.

684. *the chief*, i.e. *chiefs* (which Bentley read).

688, 689. *homeward...the North.* Cf. 726, 755, 756, and the *Argument* of the book. So in Tennyson, *The Last Tournament*:

"Thieves, bandits...
Make their last head like Satan in the North."

Bunyan follows the same tradition; cf. *The Holy War*: "Now upon Mount Diabolus, which was raised on the north side of the town [Mansoul], there did the tyrant [Diabolus] set up his standard" ("Temple" ed., p. 252).

According to some systems of demonology the four quarters of the world were assigned to four angels prior to the expulsion of the rebels from Heaven. Commonly Lucifer was made monarch of the north—in allusion to *Isai.* xiv. 12, 13, "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!.....For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God: I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north." But the systems varied; thus Dr Ward in his edition of Marlowe's *Faustus* notes that in the old *Faust-book* it is Beelzebub who rules in the north, *in Septentrione*, while Lucifer rules *in Oriente*; cf. the title "prince of the East" applied to him by Marlowe (*Faustus*, V. 104).

The general reference to the north as the dominion of evil spirits might be illustrated from many sources. Greene in *Friar Bacon* speaks of a demon Asmenoth as "guider of the north" (ix. 144), and "ruler of the north" (xi. 109). Cf. 1 *Henry VI.* v. 3. 6. In the *Appendix* added in 1665 to Scot's *Discourse on Devils* there are similar references —e.g. in chap. VIII., "Luridan is a Familiar Domestick Spirit of the

North, who is now become servant to Balkin, Lord and King of the *Northern* Mountains" (p. 485, Nicholson's ed.); and again in chap. IX., "These are the names...of *Olympick Angels*, governing the *North*, and ruling over every Airy Spirit that belongs unto the *Northern* Climate," p. 487. A correspondent of *Notes and Queries* gives similar references in the Old English poem "The Fall of the Angels," and *Piers Plowman*, B text, I. 118, and quotes Skelton, *Colin Clout*:

"Some say ye sit in trones
Like princes *aquilonis*."

In all folk-lore the north, as the sunless quarter, is the seat of evil. "I will bring evil from the north," *Jeremiah* iv. 6; see also I. 13, 14.

It has been suggested that M. intended the passage as a sneer at Scotland, the headquarters of Presbyterianism, to which he was bitterly hostile (see the note on *S. A.* 1461—71); but the notion seems fanciful.

689—91. "He begins his revolt with a lie. So well doth Milton preserve the character given of him in Scripture, *John* viii. 44, 'he is a liar, and the father of it'" (Newton).

702. *suggested*, i.e. by Satan, 685—91.

703. *ambiguous words*, hints of disloyalty; cf. *Æneid* II. 98, 99, *hinc spargere voces...ambiguas*. For the obedience which his followers pay to Satan, cf. I. 331—38.

708. Alluding to Satan's subsequent title *Lucifer* = 'day-star.'

710. See II. 692, VI. 156, and cf. Spenser, *An Hymne of Heavenly Love*, 83, 84:

"The brightest Angell, even the Child of Light,
Drew millions more against their God to fight."

713, 714. "And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne," *Rev.* iv. 5. When M. speaks of Heaven his language, as we have seen, is full of reminiscences of the *Revelation*.

716. Cf. the *Nativity Ode*, 119, "But when of old the Sons of Morning sung." The phrase is from *Isaiah* xiv. 12.

734. *lightening*. I should be inclined to take it as a noun, in apposition to "Son"—cf. 457, 458—did not the First Ed. print it *Light'ning*, which implies that it was meant to be a participle (*divine* = 'divinely'). Contrast VI. 642: there it is a noun, and the First Ed. has *Lightning*; so in I. 175, II. 66.

736, 737. Cf. II. 190, 191, note.

739. *illustrates*, makes illustrious. Richardson (*Dict.*) cites Hakluyt, *Voyages*, I. 352, "to the illustrating of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, the honour and commoditie of this her highnesse realme." So in Ben Jonson's fine saying: "Good men are the stars,

the planets of the ages wherein they live and illustrate the times" (*Discoveries*, LXXXVI.).

740. *event*, issue, result, Lat. *eventus*; a common Elizabethan sense. Cf. I. 624, *Much Ado About Nothing*, I. 2. 7, *Hamlet*, IV. 4. 50.

744. *an host*. So the First Ed.; we should say *a*. Cf., however, *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. 5. 87, "An host of tongues"; and 2 *Henry VI.* III. 1. 342, "To send me packing with an host of men."

745—47. "What an imagination the old man had! Milton beats everyone in the material sublime" (Tennyson).

Wordsworth uses *impearl* similarly of dew in *To the Daisy*.

748. *regencies*, dominions; the abstract (used passively) for the concrete. So we find *reign* = 'realm'; cf. I. 543, and Gray's *Elegy*, 12, "her ancient solitary reign."

750. *in their triple degrees*. Cf. Spenser, *An Hymne of Heavenly Love*, 64, 65:

> "There they in their trinall triplicities
> About him wait, and on his will depend."

753, 754. i.e. elongated from its form as a globe.

Among the Schoolmen it was a vexed question, "whether some angels fell from each of the Orders." In the *Paradiso*, XXIX., Dante only says "a part of the Angels," but in the *Convivio*, II. 6. 95—99, "he had expressly declared that some, perhaps a tenth, of each Order fell" (note in "Temple" ed.).

759. See VI. 364, note.

762—66. The main verb is *called*. The allusion is to *Isaiah* xiv. 13 (see 688, 689, note), where the "mount of the congregation" may be Zion. See VII. 131.

763. *affecting*, aiming at, seeking to obtain; cf. Lat. *affectare*. Cf. III. 206, "affecting Godhead," and 2 *Henry VI.* IV. 7. 104, "Have I affected wealth or honour? Speak."

768. *pretending...commanded*; cf. perhaps *S. A.* 212, "pretend they ne'er so wise," which may mean 'pretend *to be* wise.' M. is imitating the Lat. *simulo*; cf. Livy XXV. 8 [*Hannibal*] *ægrum simulabat*.

772. In the First Ed. there is only a comma at the end of this line and I see no occasion to change the punctuation. Satan addresses the angels by their habitual titles, and then sarcastically adds that he is not quite sure whether they ought still to claim those titles. For the same brevity of phrase, in which it is easy to trace the half-expressed train of thought in the speaker's mind, cf. 360—62, note. Keightley says, "it is evident there is a break at the end"—and marks the supposed break in his text.

782—88. See 606—608. Todd cites *Richard II.* I. 4. 33, "And had the tribute of his supple knee." See also *Hamlet*, III. 2. 66, and cf. Gray's fragment of a tragedy, *Agrippina*, 99—102:

"Rubellius lives,
And Sylla has his friends, though school'd by fear
To bow the supple knee, and court the times
With shows of fair obeisance."

The whole drift of this passage (782—88) may be contrasted with IV. 958—60, where Gabriel taunts Satan with his previous servility.

789, 790. i.e. if I may be sure that I know you aright, or if you know yourselves to be—as you are—sons of Heaven.

possessed; implying that formerly "Heaven" was equally enjoyed by all its inhabitants, but now has been usurped by the Almighty as *His* alone.

793. *jar not with*, harmonise with; a metaphor from music. Shakespeare uses the verb *jar* = 'to be discordant, out of tune' (cf. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV. 2. 67, *King Lear*, IV. 7. 16), and the noun *jar* = 'discord'; cf. *As You Like It*, II. 7. 5, "If he, compact of jars, grow musical." *consist*, are consistent with. Cf. Pope, *Essay on Man*, IV. 81, 82:

"But health consists with temperance alone,
And peace, O Virtue! peace is all thy own."

798. Scan *edict*, as in *S. A.* 301, the only other place in M. where it occurs. Shakespeare has both *edict* (*A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, I. 1. 151) and *édict* (1 *Henry IV.* IV. 3. 79), the modern accentuation.

798, 799. *who without law*, i.e. who, as it is, without the restraint of any law, avoid sin. Why, he contends, impose laws on those who need no law to make them walk aright?

799. The line is a well-known *crux*. I think that *for this* = 'for this reason, on this account' (cf. *for that*, 874), namely, that the angels are "without law." 'If,' argues Satan, 'we can do right without the restrictions of laws, surely that is a reason why we should not have a law-giving lord set over us.' The clause seems added as an afterthought, *to be* having no strict construction, but depending on some words like 'ought he' or 'is he' which the speaker has in his mind, though he does not express them. We must remember that the line is spoken, and that M. introduces into his speeches (see 772, note) just the kind of verbal irregularities, the swift turns of thought and phrase, that belong to oratory—such e.g. as we get constantly in Thucydides. They are frequent in *S. A.* where, as Coleridge happily said, the "logic of passion" often prevails over the "logic of grammar."

Some take *for this*='for this purpose': 'who can claim lordship for the purpose of introducing laws and edicts?'

Others interpret: 'who can in reason...introduce law and edict upon them?...much less *for* [i.e. because of] *this introduction* of law and edict claim the right of dominion?'

805. *Abdiel*, 'servant of God.'

807. The Seraphim typified ardour, and the idea is reflected appropriately in the passion ("flame") of Abdiel's speech.

809. Scan *blasphémous*, as in VI. 360.

819. *flatly*; cf. II. 143, "flat despair."

821. *unsucceeded*, having no successor, i.e. everlasting.

822—25. "Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?" *Romans* ix. 20, where observe the marginal reading "*disputest* with God." The thought is worked out in *S. A.* 307—14.

835—41. The main reference is to *Colos.* i. 16, 17; see 853—64. *his Word*; cf. III. 170, 383, notes.

842—45. The argument seems to be that Christ, by becoming the head of the angels, became in a measure one of them, and so ennobled their nature.

853—64. Contrast IV. 42, 43, where Satan admits (to himself) what he here denies, viz. that he and the other angels were created by God; and see IX. 146, 147. In *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 7, M. says, "That the angels were created at some particular period, we have the testimony of *Numbers* xvi. 22 and xxvii. 16"; and he instances other texts, among them being *Colos.* i. 16.

The great distinction drawn in the *Paradiso*, XXIX., between the good angels and the evil is that the former admitted their creation by the Almighty. Beatrice says to Dante (58—60): "Those whom thou seest here [in Paradise] were modest to acknowledge themselves derived from that same Excellence which made them swift to so great understanding."

857, 858. Cf. VIII. 251.

861, 862. See 583, note. *fatal course*, the course of fate. "Our author [says Newton] makes Satan a sort of fatalist....No compliment to fatalism to put it into the mouth of the Devil."

864. "Thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things," *Ps.* xlv. 4.

869. *beseeching or besieging*; another of those jingles which M. uses generally to express sarcasm or contempt—as here. Cf. I. 642. The Elizabethan writers may have adopted this literary artifice from the Italians; cf. Marlowe, 2 *Tamburlaine*, v. 3, "Hell and darkness pitch their pitchy tents," and *Faustus* (first chorus):

"We must perform
The form of Faustus' fortunes."

872. "And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters," *Rev.* xix. 6. It is, in character, essentially a Miltonic simile. Cf. his pamphlet *Animadversions*, 5: "O thou the ever-begotten Light and perfect Image of the Father!... Thou hast sent out the spirit of prayer upon thy servants over all the land to this effect, and stirred up their vows as the sound of many waters about thy throne" (*P. W.* III. 71).

Wordsworth applies the comparison to Milton himself in the first of his two Sonnets on Milton ("Thou hadst a voice whose sound was like the sea").

875. *flaming Seraph*; cf. 807, and see p. 681.

878—81. In the First Ed. there is no comma after *crew*, the construction being, 'I see thy fall determined, thy crew involved etc., *and* contagion spread' (i.e. three clauses dependent on *I see*), *spread* being a p.p. like *determined* and *involved*. Some editors place a comma after *crew* and make *spread* an infinitive—'I see thy crew, being involved etc., spread destruction' (i.e. only two clauses dependent on *I see*). "Foul contagion spread" occurs in *Lycidas*, 127.

886—88. See II. 327, 328, note. In his treatise *Of Reformation in England*, 11, M. writes: "let him advise how he can reject the pastorly rod and sheephook of Christ, and those cords of love, and not fear to fall under the iron sceptre of his anger, that will dash him to pieces like a potsherd" (*P. W.* II. 412).

890. Cf. *Numbers* xvi. 26, "Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men"—an appropriate allusion, as Moses is there dissuading the congregation of Israel from joining Korah and his followers who, like Satan and his angels, were rebels. Cf. XI. 607, 608.

devoted, doomed. Abdiel's meaning, put rather tersely, is—'I do not fly because of your advice (871) or threats, but lest the wrath etc.'

893. *his thunder*: see VI. 834—38.

899. A favourite type of verse with M. and many other English poets. Cf. II. 185, III. 231. Perhaps, when he wrote this line (899) Milton had in mind his own position at the Restoration. The personal note is strong in his poetry. Cf. VI. 29—37, note.

906, 907. *retorted*, flung back; for this, the literal use, cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III. 1. 169, *Troilus and Cressida*, III. 3. 101.

BOOK VI.

Addison evidently considered this book one of the greatest in the poem. He notes that our expectation has been raised by allusions to the struggle in books I. and II.

1, 2. *the...Angel*, Abdiel. *champain*, plains.

2—4. From Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II. 112—14:

ecce vigil nitido patefecit ab ortu
purpureas Aurora fores et plena rosarum
atria.

Homer makes the Hours keep the gates of Olympus; cf. Giles Fletcher, *Death of Elizabeth*:

"The early Howres were readie to unlocke
The doore of Morne, to let abroad the Day."

3. *with rosy hand*. Cf. Jonson, *Masque of Oberon*, "And with her rosy hand puts back the stars" (said of the morn). It is suggested by Homer's ῥοδοδάκτυλος ἠώς, whence "rosy-fingered" became in poetry a traditional epithet of the dawn; cf. Crashaw's pretty lines in *To the Morning*:

"And the same rosy-finger'd hand of thine
That shuts Night's dying eyes shall open mine."

4—12. See v. 643, 644. The notion of light and darkness "dislodging by turns," the one going out as the other comes in, had its origin in Hesiod, *Theogony* 747, 748 (Newton).

8. *vicissitude*, alternation; cf. VII. 351.

10. *obsequious*, obedient, doing its duty (cf. 783); not in the modern depreciatory sense, 'servile.'

11, 12. i.e. what is thought darkness in Heaven (where there is no night, v. 645) would seem twilight on earth.

19. *in procinct*, ready. "The Roman soldiers were said to stand *in procinctu*, when ready to give the onset" (Hume); from the noun *procinctus*, 'a being prepared for battle.' Cf. the p.p. *procinctus*, 'prepared'—literally 'girded up,' from *procingere*, 'to gird or tuck up the dress.' M. uses *succinct* in that sense, III. 643.

29—37. *Servant of God*; see v. 805. Texts glanced at are: *Mat.* xxv. 21; 1 *Tim.* vi. 12; 2 *Tim.* iv. 7, "I have fought a good fight"; *Ps.* lxix. 7, "for thy sake I have borne reproach"; and 2 *Tim.* ii. 15.

Is Milton here thinking of himself? He too had sacrificed all to

"the testimony of truth" (as he judged), and borne reproach for his allegiance to the cause of republicanism when the "revolted multitudes" went back to the old order of things and acclaimed the Restoration. There is a constant play of personal and contemporary allusion in his poems. See 462, XI. 542—46, 632—36, 808—18, and *S. A.* 697—700, 1457—72 (with the notes); and compare Dante's allusions to his treatment by Florence, and her corruptions, e.g. in the *Paradiso*, XXXI. 37—39.

34. "Evill deedes may better then bad words be bore," *The Faerie Queene*, IV. 4. 4.

42. *right reason*; cf. XII. 84. M seems to use the phrase='conscience'; cf. *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 2, "that feeling, whether we term it conscience or right reason" (*P. W.* IV. 15). Pope has it in a different sense='the reasoning faculty'; cf. the *Essay on Criticism*, 211, 212:

> "If once right reason drives that cloud away,
> Truth breaks upon us with resistless day";

where the "cloud" is the pride that obscures our judgment. It was a term of the Stoics, reproduced in the Schoolmen's phrase *recta ratio*. See Selden's *Table-Talk*, CXXI. ("Reason").

44—55. *Revelation* xii. 7—9.

44. *Michael*, 'who is like unto God?'; being an archangel he is chosen to fulfil high office. In *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 9, M. writes: "There appears to be one who presides over the rest of the good angels, to whom the name of Michael is often given...Michael, the leader of the angels, is introduced (*Rev.* xii.) in the capacity of a hostile commander waging war with the prince of the devils, the armies on both sides being drawn out in battle array" (cf. 105—107). *prince*; cf. *Dan.* xii. 1, "Michael...the great prince"; now the patron saint of Catholic aviators.

45, 46. *Gabriel*; cf. IV. 549, note. He is inferior to Michael ("next," 45) because only an angel. Heywood (*Hierarchie*, 1635) draws the same distinction.

52. *from God and bliss*; cf. III. 61, 62.

53—55. Hell has already been created. *Tartarus*; cf. II. 69, note, 858.

56—59. A reminiscence of *Exodus* xix. 16, 18.

57, 58. *to roll*, i.e. smoke began to roll flames in wreaths. Keightley takes *roll*='enroll, enwrap.' *reluctant*, struggling, forcing their way through the smoke; a Latinism; *luctantes flammæ* occurs in Silius Italicus. Newton took *reluctant* in the opposite sense, 'slow and unwilling to break forth,' but the word has its Latin notion ('struggling') in Milton, except in IV. 311.

59, 60. *the...trumpet.* Cf. XI. 73—76, where the angels are summoned by a trumpet which M. suggests may be the one afterwards heard on Mount Horeb (*Exod.* xix. 16—19):

"When God descended, and perhaps once more
To sound at general doom."

gan blow, i.e. began; Shakespeare also omits *to*; cf. *Coriolanus*, II. 2. 119, "the din of war gan pierce." Probably the omission was partly due to the old use of *gan*, the pret. of *ginnen*, as an auxiliary verb = 'did.' Thus in Spenser "gan blow" might mean '*did* blow'; and M. may have revived the idiom, as some think. But wherever he uses *gan*, 'beginning' is implied; cf. IX. 1016, X. 710, *P. R.* IV. 410.

62. *stood for*, fought for; cf. *Coriolanus*, II. 2. 45, IV. 6. 45.

63—68. Cf. the very similar scene in I. 549—62; there (as in *Of Education*) M. dwells on the influence of music.

in silence. "Homer thus marches his Grecians silent and sedate, *Iliad* III. 8" (Todd).

69. *obvious*, lying in their way—Lat. *obvius*; cf. XI. 374.

73—76. A simile that would appeal to Adam. "And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field," *Gen.* ii. 20. See VII. 493.

Milton's angels glide through the air like the classical gods (Newton).

79. *to the North.* See V. 688, 689, note. M. clearly places the conflict in some part of Heaven; but this was a point much disputed among theologians. Cf. Reginald Scot, *Discourse on Devils* (1584): "Now where this battell was fought...there is great contention. The *Thomists* say...in the empyrean heaven, where the abode is of blessed spirits.... *Augustine* and manie others saie...in the highest region of aier; others saie, in the firmament; others in paradise," p. 423.

81—85. i.e. and *at* nearer view there bristled the banded powers. *bristled*; this seems to be the main verb; it conveys the same impression as Lat. *horrere*, Gk. φρίσσειν; cf. "horrent arms," II. 513. Many editors take *bristled* as a p.p., supplying *appeared* from 79 as the main verb to go with *powers* in 85—an awkward ellipse surely. *beams*, shafts of the spears. *various*, varied, made diverse.

Heywood (*Hierarchie*, p. 341) says of the combat:

"No Lances, Swords, nor Bombards they had then,
Or other weapons now in use with men;
None of the least materiall substance made,
Spirits by such giue no offence or aid,
Onely spiritual Armes to them were lent."

Milton's description is throughout material and realistic. His battle is a Homeric fray, slightly idealised. Editors refer also to many passages

in Ariosto and Tasso and Spenser (especially) which show what models Milton had in his mind when he pictured the single combats between the warrior angels.

84. *argument*, designs, subjects; a Latinism. Cf. the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 184, *gemino cælaverat argumento* (said of an artist working designs on a goblet). Cf. too Milton's Lat. use of *argument* = 'subject-matter of a poem,' I. 24, IX. 13.

93. *hosting*, encounter. *wont*, are wont; but it may be a preterite, as in I. 764.

101, 102. *idol*, image. *flaming Cherubim*; M. always invests the Cherubim with brilliance, following *Ezekiel* (chap. i.—especially verses 13, 14). In IV. 797 they are "radiant files"; in the *Nativity Ode*, 114, "glittering ranks."

105. *interval*, the space between two armies; *τὸ μεταίχμιον*.

107, 108. *cloudy van*, i.e. the van-guard (Fr. *avant-garde*) dense as a cloud. *edge*, Lat. *acies*, the front line of a fight; cf. I. 276.

114. Newton notes that such soliloquies (or thinkings aloud) are common in epic poets, e.g. in Homer. Like speeches and dialogues they serve, somewhat artificially, to vary the narrative which, cast in one continuous form, would become monotonous. Somewhat similar is Shakespeare's use of interruptions and questions to vivify a lengthy piece of narrative, e.g. in *The Tempest*, I. 2, where Miranda breaks in on the long story in which Prospero unfolds their history, and in *Coriolanus*, I. 1, in Menenius's "fable." See XII. 270, note.

115. *reälty*, reality; the form occurs in Henry More's *Life of the Soul*, II. 12. Some editors explain *reälty* = 'loyalty,' i.e. as used in the sense of Ital. *realta*, 'loyalty,' *reale*, 'loyal.' But there is no evidence that the word ever bore this meaning, and surely the ordinary sense suffices: since what Abdiel deplores is that Satan retains the outward semblance of greatness after the inward reality has gone from him. An obvious correction is *fealty*.

116. Cf. the sentiment in IV. 856, "wicked and thence weak."

120, 121. Referring to the last scene in bk. V. (809 *et seq.*).

tried, i.e. tried, or tested, and found unsound.

124. Scan *contést*, as always in M.; cf. IV. 872, *S. A.* 461, 865.

129. *prevention*, coming before; the lit. sense of Lat. *præ-venire*.

130. *securely*, without anxiety, boldly—Lat. *secure*.

143. *there be who*, i.e. some who. Morris says: "The root *be* was conjugated in the present tense, singular and plural, as late as Milton's time." This phrase *there be* was common; cf. *Comus*, 519.

147, 148. *sect*, the party or cause which I follow. Language tends to deteriorate in sense; few English words have risen in meaning. M. may have brought in the word ironically, "in order to sneer at the Loyalists of his time, who branded all Dissenters, of whom he was one, with the approbrious name of Sectaries" (Thyer).

151. *sought for*, i.e. by Satan; it qualifies *thou*.

156. See v. 710, note. *synod*; specially used by Shakespeare of an assembly of the gods; cf. *Coriolanus*, v. 2. 74, "The glorious gods sit in hourly synod about thy particular prosperity." So M. in II. 391, XI. 67.

161. *success*, fortune; here 'ill-fortune.'

162, 163. *this pause*, i.e. let there be. Satan will pause a moment to reply to Abdiel's speech, lest the latter should boast that his arguments have been unanswered.

165, 166. M. is glancing at one of his favourite maxims, that too many men had rather purchase ease at the expense of slavery than liberty at the cost of effort. Cf. *S. A.* 268—71, and contrast II. 255—57.

167—69. *ministering...minstrelsy*. A contemptuous jingle, as in v. 869 (note); both words are from Lat. *minister*. There is a reference to *Hebrews* i. 14, "Are they not all ministering spirits?"

minstrelsy, minstrels; *servility*, slaves; *freedom*, free men. The use of the abstract for the concrete (active or passive) is common in M., as in Shakespeare, as we have seen.

174, 175. i.e. unjustly do you depreciate ("depravest") service to God's Son by calling it servitude. For *deprave*='detract, depreciate,' cf. *Much Ado About Nothing*, v. 1. 95, "flout (i.e. jeer), deprave and slander," and *Troilus and Cressida*, v. 2. 132, where *depravation*='detraction.'

181. Editors compare Horace, *Satires* II. vii. 80—82. The thought is expanded in *P. R.* II. 466—72. See note on *Sonnet* XII. 11, 12.

182. *lewdly*, basely.

183, 184. Cf. Satan's words in I. 263; see the note there.

thy kingdom, i.e. in the future.

195. *his...spear*; taller than a vessel-mast (I. 292).

195—98. These similes occur in I. 230, 231 and *S. A.* 1647, 1648. The idea that earthquakes were due to the escape of winds pent up underground comes in Dante (*Purgatorio*, XXI. 55, 56).

207. In the description that follows editors find echoes of Hesiod's account of the strife between the Titans and Zeus. M. evidently admired the *Theogony*; cf. 4—12, note, and *Lycidas*, 15, 16 (modelled on the commencement of the *Theogony*).

212, 213. *the dismal hiss of...darts*; the use of the abstract form of phrase lends a touch of vagueness which increases the horror of the scene.

215. *cope*; cf. IV. 992.

216. *battles*, armies; a common use in Milton and Shakespeare; cf. *Richard III.* v. 3. 88, "Prepare thy battle early in the morning."

219. *centre*; sometimes used alone to signify the middle point of the earth; cf. I. 686, *Comus*, 382.

222. i.e. the four elements; see II. 274, 275, note.

225. *combustion*, confusion, turmoil.

229—36. "Each legion was in number like an army, each single warriour was in strength like a legion, and, though led in fight, was as expert as a commander in chief. So that the Angels are celebrated first for their *number*, then for their *strength*, and lastly for their *expertness* in war" (Newton).

229. *numbered such*, so numerous; cf. VIII. 19.

236. *ridges*, i.e. the ranks of troops; the metaphor, perhaps, of furrows in a ploughed field. Cf. Shakespeare, *Lucrece*, 1439.

239. *moment*, the impulse that should turn the scale (cf. 245) on the side of victory; Lat. *momentum*. Cf. X. 45—47 (a close parallel), and *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 10, "the *balance* of earthly happiness or misery," where the original has *tantum vitæ momentum vel beatæ vel miseræ*.

248. *no equal*; he had been foiled temporarily by Abdiel, but the combat between them was broken off (Newton).

249. For the order of the words cf. V. 5, note.

250—53. For the sword of Michael (mentioned neither in *Revelation* nor in *Daniel*), see II. 294, 295, and XI. 247, 248, where it is called "Satan's dire dread." Cf. the sword of Æneas and King Arthur's mystic Excalibur in the *Idylls of the King*. Supernatural equipment of the hero is an epic convention.

two-handed, i.e. wielded with both hands because of its size and weight; cf. 2 *Henry VI.* II. 1. 46, "Come with thy two-hand sword."

This passage gave rise to the notion that the "two-handed engine" of *Lycidas*, 130, meant Michael's sword, where the allusion, probably, is to either "the axe laid unto the root of the trees" (*Matthew* iii. 10, *Luke* iii. 9) or the sword of justice.

255. *his...shield*; vast as the moon's orb (I. 287). *tenfold*, with ten layers; cf. "seven-times-folded shield," i.e. *septemplex*, *S. A.* 1122.

275, 276. *evil...thy offspring*. Cf. the famous allegory of Sin and Death, II. 648 *et seq.*

277. *broils*; cf. II. 837.

282. *Adversary*, Satan; see V. 658, 659, note.

285—87. i.e. even if they have fallen, yet they have risen again. 'Have you,' says Satan, 'been so successful in putting these to flight, that you should hope to deal ("transact") easily with me?'

288. *err not that*, do not foolishly think that.

289. *evil*; we might have expected *hateful* (264); but Abdiel implied (262) that the strife was part of the evil due to Satan.

291—93. Cf. 183, I. 255. *to dwell*, i.e. "we mean" to dwell.

296. Shakespeare and M. have both *parle* and *parley*.

306, 307. Cf. *Henry V.* II. *Prologue*, 8:

> "For now sits Expectation in the air
> And hides a sword, from hilts unto the point,
> With crowns imperial, crowns and coronets";

and *Troilus and Cressida*, *Prologue*, 20—22. Cf. the personification of Horror in IV. 989, and see II. 666, note. *The Faerie Queene* gave a lasting vogue to personification.

309. *within the wind*; the phrase recalls *Hamlet*, II. 2. 495.

310—15. i.e. such commotion as there would be, if, nature's concord having been broken, war should arise among the constellations, *and* two planets should combat. Cf. II. 533—38, 714—20.

311. *great things by small*; see II. 921, 922, note.

313, 314. *aspect*; in Elizabethan E. often used as an astrological term signifying the position of a planet in the sky, and its "influence," which was favourable or "malign" according to its position. Cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, I. 3. 89—92:

> "And therefore is the glorious planet Sol
> In noble eminence enthroned and sphered
> Amidst the other [i.e. planets]; whose medicinable eye
> Corrects the ill aspects of planets evil."

M. mentions the five main "aspects," X. 657—61.

When two planets are distant from each other by half the circle, i.e. are in diametrically opposite parts of the heavens, they are said, in astrological language, to be "in opposition." And it is "a malign aspect," because the rays of the two bodies collide and strive for mastery, shedding a "noxious efficacy" (X. 660) on the earth. The Elizabethans often refer to this notion; cf. *Dr Faustus*, VI. 65, "why have we not...oppositions, eclipses all at one time?" Dr Ward in his edition of *Dr Faustus*, p. 172, also refers to Marlowe's 2 *Tamburlaine*, III. 5, and to Greene's *James IV.* I. 1. See pp. 691, 692.

318. *determine*, make an end of the matter; cf. II. 330.

repeat, repetition ; cf. its substantival use as a term in music.

320—23. Cf. Spenser's description of Artegall's sword, *The Faerie Queene*, v. 1. 10. *the armoury*; "The Lord hath opened his armoury," *Jeremiah* l. 25. Cf. vii. 200, and Tennyson's lines on Milton:

"Gabriel, Abdiel,
Starr'd from Jehovah's gorgeous armories."

323—27. "Michael's sword with the down-stroke cut that of Satan in two, and then with an up-stroke (*coup de revers*) it 'shared' his side" (Keightley).

shared, cut, laid open; used by Spenser, e.g. in *The Faerie Queene*, iv. 2. 17, v. 5. 9. Cf. *shear*, *share* (a portion), plough-*share*,—all from the root *skar*, seen in Gk. κείρειν, Lat. *secare*.

327. *first knew pain*. See 362, 394, 431, 432. Only the rebellious angels are sensible of physical pain ; and the reason is given in 691—"sin hath impaired." Through sin they have made gross (cf. 661) the pure "essence" of their original forms ; and spirit has deteriorated into matter (cf. v. 478, note), rendering them vulnerable. The obedient angels are invulnerable because innocent (400—403).

Johnson's criticism, however, seems just : "The confusion of spirit and matter, which pervades the whole narration of the war of heaven, fills it with incongruity."

329. *griding*, piercing, cutting through. "*Discontinuous wound* is said in allusion to the old definition of a wound, that it separates the continuity of the parts" (Newton). In surgical language, *vulnus est solutio continui*. Bacon uses *discontinuation* in the medical sense, 'solution of continuity,' in a list of diseases (*The Advancement of Learning*, ii. 10. 5). Cf. also his Essay *Of Unity in Religion* : "as in the natural body a wound or solution of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual."

330, 331. Happily imitated in *The Rape of the Lock*, iii. 151, 152 :

"Fate urg'd the shears, and cut the Sylph in twain
(But airy substance soon unites again)."

Cf. too Wordsworth, *Laodamia*, "The Phantom parts, but parts to reunite." Todd quotes from Burton's *Anatomy* to the effect that "devils...feele paine if they be hurt that, if their bodies be cut, with admirable celerity they come together againe ; that, in their fall, their bodies were changed into a more...grosse substance [cf. 661]." M. has worked in all three ideas ; he may have owed them to the *Anatomy* (with which he was certainly acquainted—see *Introduction* to *L'Allegro*).

332. *nectarous*, divine, heavenly. Bentley with misdirected in-

genuity proposed *ichorous*, from Gk. *ἰχώρ*, Homer's name (cf. *The Dunciad*, III. 92) for the fluid that issued from the gods when wounded; cf. *Iliad* V. 340, *ἄμβροτον αἷμα θεοῖο, | ἰχώρ, οἷός πέρ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι.*

335. *was run*, i.e. Lat. *cursum est*; cf. X. 229. The whole picture of the wounded chief being rescued by his friends and borne from the field to his chariot is Homeric (e.g. *Iliad* XIV. 428—32).

339. *files*, ranks; cf. I. 567, "the armed files."

348, 349. *liquid texture*, i.e. the "essence" of which he speaks in I. 424, 425—"soft and uncompounded."

no more than can the fluid air. A favourite poetic comparison; cf. *Hamlet*, I. 1. 143—46, referring to the Ghost, at which the watchmen have struck with their halberds:

> "We do it wrong, being so majestical,
> To offer it the show of violence;
> For it is, as the air, invulnerable,
> And our vain blows malicious mockery."

Macbeth, deeming himself invulnerable, says to Macduff (v. 8. 9, 10):

> "As easy mayst thou the intrenchant air
> With thy keen sword impress as make me bleed";

where *intrenchant* = 'not to be cut' (Fr. *trencher*, 'to cut'), the whole phrase being a variation on *Hamlet*, IV. 1. 44, "the woundless air" (i.e. that cannot be wounded). There is the same idea in *The Tempest*, III. 3. 61—63. Sir Thomas Browne writes: "The ghosts are afraid of swords in Homer; yet Sibylla tells Æneas in Virgil, the thin habit of spirits was beyond the force of weapons" (*Urn Burial*, IV.).

351—53. Cf. I. 428, 429, II. 948, notes.

354—85. With regard to some of the names here and later we have seen (I. 361—75) that M. adopted the mediæval notion that the deities of heathenism, oriental and classical, were the apostate angels. He could not describe their rebellion without giving them *some* titles: this belief (based upon texts such as *Levit.* xvii. 7, 1 *Cor.* x. 20) supplied him with suitable names.

355. *the might of Gabriel*, the mighty Gabriel; exactly the Homeric use of *βίη*, as in 'the might of Hercules,' or 'the Herculean might,' for 'the mighty Hercules.' Cf. the use of the abstract in Latin, as in Horace's *mitis sapientia Læli* ('the wisdom of Lælius' = the wise Lælius), or *prisci Catonis...virtus*. Cf. Dryden, *Æn.* VI. 942, "the filial duty thus replies," i.e. the dutiful son. See 371, 372, VI. 722, VII. 175.

357. Moloch illustrates his character in his speech in II. 51—105:

his "ferocious character," says Johnson, "appears, both in the battle and the council, with exact consistency." Cf. I. 392, 393.

359, 360. Alluding to 2 *Kings* xix. 22. Scan *blasphémous*.

362. ***uncouth***, strange.

363. *Uriel*. See III. 648, 649, note. Raphael can speak of his own exploits thus because his name was not known to Adam (Bentley).

364. See note on 831—41. Some editors interpret *diamond*= 'adamant' (cf. 110, 255); the words, etymologically identical, were sometimes treated as synonymous. But we hear of "diamond quarries," V. 759, and of "diamond rocks," *Comus*, 881, where *diamond* must bear its common sense: perhaps it does here: applied to angelic beings the description would not be extravagant.

365. *Adramelech*, 'magnificence of the king'; a deity whose worship was brought to Samaria by the colonists from Sepharvaim (2 *Kings* xvii. 31). He represented an aspect of the Sun-god.

Asmadai; see IV. 168, where M. uses the form *Asmodeus*, now generally employed (and perhaps most familiar through Le Sage's work, *Le Diable Boiteux*). Editors refer to the account of Asmodeus in the *Book of Tobit* V. (see 221—23).

In the systems of demonology popular in the 16th and 17th centuries Asmodeus held very high rank, and was a type of might; cf. "potent," 366. Thus Heywood (*Hierarchie*, 1635) says that the fallen angels, like the faithful angels, were divided into nine Orders, and that Asmodeus was head of the fourth Order (p. 436). Reginald Scot (*Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584) speaks of "*Sidonay*, *alias Asmoday*, a great king, strong and mightie" (Nicholson's ed., p. 321); and in the *Faust-book* (1594), second part, we read of "Asmody a king mighty and puissant" (Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, 1858, III. 319). There can be no doubt that Milton was deeply versed in these mediæval traditions; and this particular tradition as to the might and prowess of Asmodeus lends, I think, significance to the present passage.

Compare Dante's use of non-biblical tradition, as where he places among the denizens of his Inferno "that caitiff choir of the angels, who were not rebellious, nor were faithful to God; but were for themselves" (III. 37—39). "There is" (says the note in the "Temple" edition of the *Inferno*, p. 34) "no mention of these angels in the Bible. Dante evidently followed a popular tradition, traces of which may be found in the medieval Voyage of St Brandan" (celebrated in Matthew Arnold's poem).

368. *plate*, armour made of solid pieces of metal; *mail*, a sort of chainwork.

371. *Ariel*, 'lion of God'; cf. *Isaiah* xxix. 1 (margin), where Ariel seems to be a title of Jerusalem; it is the name of one of the "chief men" whom Ezra summoned (*Ezra* viii. 16). Probably M. has used the name merely because its meaning is so descriptive of a great warrior.

Arioch, 'lion-like'; cf. *Gen.* xiv. 1, *Dan.* ii. 14 (where Nebuchadnezzar's "captain of the king's guard" is so called). That the name was applied, possibly in Rabbinical writings, to some evil spirit, seems proved by Nash's *Pierce Pennilesse*, "great Arioch, that is termed the spirit of revenge" (Keightley, *Life* of Milton, p. 472).

372. *Ramiel*, 'exaltation of God'; whence M. took the name (or whether he coined it) is not known. "Milton's proper names are often chosen for their full sounds" (Tennyson).

373. *I might relate.* A skilful way of closing this particular account.

374. *eternize*, make eternal in fame, immortalise; rather a favourite word with the Elizabethans. Cf. 2 *Henry VI.* v. 3. 29—31:

> "Now, by my faith, lords, 'twas a glorious day:
> Saint Alban's battle won by famous York
> Shall be eternized in all age to come."

So in *The Faerie Queene*, I. 10. 59, and *The Teares of the Muses*, 582.

374, 375. *elect Angels*; cf. III. 136, note. True fame is of Heaven alone (*Lycidas*, 78—84).

379, 380. See I. 361—75, V. 658, 659, notes.

387. *deformed*, hideous, Lat. *deformis*.

390. *charioter*; for the form cf. "pioner" (I. 676).

391—96. *what stood*; unlike that which "lay overturned," 390. The sense is—'such part of the army as had not been laid low, now either retreated, all along the line of the Satanic host (which scarce offered any resistance), or fled in utter disorder.' Orderly retreat and panic-stricken flight are contrasted.

399. *cubic*, four-square; not an exact use of the word, but editors compare Milton's *Reason of Church Government*, "as those smaller squares in battle unite in one great cube, the main phalanx." Masson takes *cubic* literally, arguing that as the angels are not subject to the law of gravitation they can form a cube or any other solid figure.

404. *unobnoxious*, not liable; a Latinism.

405. *though...moved.* "This circumstance is judiciously added to prepare the reader for what happens in the next fight" (Newton).

407. *inducing*, bringing on; exactly Horace's *jam nox inducere terris | umbras...parabat* (*Satires* I. 5. 9, 10).

410. *the foughten field*; an old ballad-phrase. It occurs in *Henry V.* IV. 6. 18, 19:

"As in this glorious and well-foughten field
We kept together in our chivalry!"

It is one of the old-world phrases revived by Tennyson; cf. *The Coming of Arthur*:

"Then quickly from the foughten field he sent
Ulfius and Brastias and Bedivere
His new-made knights to King Leodogran";

The Holy Grail, and *The Princess*, v. 287. He uses *foughten* also simply as a poetic variant form=*fought*:

"And ever since the lords
Have foughten like wild beasts among themselves,"
The Coming of Arthur.

413. *Cherubic...fires*, i.e. the "flaming Cherubim," 102, to whom, throughout *P. L.*, falls the duty of sentinels.

Cf. the description of the sword "which turned every way" (*Genesis* iii. 24) in XII. 592, 593, 643.

415. i.e. far removed into the dark. *dislodged*; cf. v. 669.

421. *too mean pretence*, too mean ambition: they aimed at something better than mere liberty. Shakespeare uses *pretence*='design, ambition'; cf. *Coriolanus*, I. 2. 20. So M. in II. 825. *affect*; see v. 763.

429. *of future*; cf. phrases like 'of late,' 'of old.'

447. *Nisroch*; the Assyrian deity in whose temple Sennacherib was murdered by his sons, 2 *Kings* xix. 37, *Isaiah* xxxvii. 38. Reginald Scot says (*Discourse on Devils*, p. 435), "*Nisroch* signifieth a delicate tentation"; but probably it means 'great eagle.' The word is said to be connected with *nesher* ('eagle') in *Levit.* xi. 13, and Arab. *niser*, 'vulture.' Nisroch is the vulture-god of the Assyrian sculptures.

455. i.e. against those who cannot be pained (cf. 404, 405) or suffer.

458. *remiss*; used in the literal sense of Lat. *remissus*, 'slack, relaxed, languid.'

462—64. A sentiment "suitable enough to a deity of the effeminate Assyrians" (Newton).

In the reference to "pain" there may be a personal glance; see XI. 542—46.

465. *offend*=Lat. *offendere*, 'to strike, hit.'

467, 468. *to me deserves*; i.e. in my opinion he deserves no less gratitude than we owe to Satan for our deliverance. Cf. *to* in phrases like 'to my thinking,' 'to my knowledge,' 'to my mind,' all found in Shakespeare.

470. Editors show that the notion that cannon were invented in Hell is found in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, IX. 28, *The Faerie Queene*, I. 7. 13, and Drayton's *Polyolbion*, 18.

478. *crude*, in their raw (Lat. *crudus*), unwrought state; cf. 511.

479. *spiritous*; so the original editions; there seems no need to change it to 'spirituous.' The materials, he says, "contain spirituous and fiery particles (cf. 483) which, if they be melted, will foam up out of them" (Keightley).

481. *ambient light*. Cf. VII. 89, and Shelley's *Alastor*:

> "every sight
> And sound from the vast earth and ambient air
> Sent to his heart the choicest impulses."

482. *nativity*, native state. *the deep*, the underground.

485. Cf. the picture of the "nimble gunner" in *Hen. V.* III. Prol. 32, 33.

495. i.e. to be despaired *of*, exactly Lat. *desperandus*; cf. I. 660. So *Macbeth*, V. 8. 13, "despair thy charm."

496. *cheer*, spirits; generally high spirits, joy, but not always; cf. Shakespeare, *Sonnet* 97, 13, "so dull a cheer," and Marlowe's *Faustus*, XIII. 61, "I go, sweet Faustus, but with heavy cheer." Properly *cheer* means face, from O. Fr. *chière* = Late Lat. *cara*, 'face' (= Gk. κάρα, 'head'?); and some editors think that it has that sense here.

498. *and each*, i.e. "admired" = 'wondered.'

501—506. *thy race*, Adam's. Probably M. is thinking of the Civil War. Descriptions of civil strife and its incidents must have appealed with the force of personal experience to many of his readers. The same thing is felt in reading Bunyan's *Holy War*.

502. *in future days*. "This speaking in the spirit of prophecy adds great dignity to poetry" (Newton). He compares *Æneid* IV. 625, and adds: "this, here, very properly comes from the mouth of an Angel."

507—509. The abrupt style is "admirably contrived to express the hurry of the Angels" (Newton).

512. Cf. "nitrous powder" in IV. 815.

513. *found*; surely the preterite of *find*; but it has been taken as *found* = 'to melt or cast metals.' That scarcely suits "foam"; moreover, *founded* (cf. I. 703) would be required.

514. *concocted and adusted*, baked and dried.

518, 519. *engines*, i.e. cannon. When cannon were first used, the balls were made of stone, not iron; cf. the allusion to "gunstones" in *Henry V.* I. 2. 282, with the passage from Caxton's *Chronicles* quoted by Steevens—"[he] lette make...grete gonne stones for the Dolphynne to play wyth all." It should be remembered that *gun* originally meant

a sort of catapult for throwing stones. Cf. Selden's *Table-Talk*, LXXVI.: "The Word Gun was in use in *England* for an Engine, to cast a thing from a Man, long before there was any Gun-powder found out."

incentive reed, i.e. the gunner's match. *incentive*, enkindling.

520. *pernicious...to fire*, so full of destruction as to kindle—viz. the powder. Newton takes *pernicious* = Lat. *pernix*, 'quick'; but could the word bear this meaning? M. elsewhere (cf. 849) always uses it = 'fraught with destruction' (Lat. *pernicium*).

521. See v. 139. *conscious*, i.e. that witnessed what they did; Hume aptly cites Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XIII. 15, *quorum nox conscia sola est.*

528, 529. *dawning hills*; "great Rarities," said Bentley, and read "downs and hills." Many of his proposals justified Pope's sneer at

> "Thy [i.e. of Dulness] mighty Scholiast, whose unwearied pains
> Made Horace dull, and humbled Milton's strains."

See Tennyson, *Œnone*:

> "I waited underneath the dawning hills,
> Aloft the mountain lawn was dewy-dark,
> And dewy-dark aloft the mountain pine."

535. i.e. the swiftest-winged Cherub. *Zophiel*, 'spy of God.' M. seems to have invented the name—appropriately, since the Cherub is one of the scouts sent out (529).

539. *so thick a cloud.* Cf. "cloud...of war" in the *Sonnet* to Cromwell, where editors quote Vergil's phrase *nubes belli*—*Æneid* X. 809.

541. *sad*, steadfast. *secure*, without fear.

542. Cf. Horace's *Martem tunica tectum adamantina*, *Od.* I. 6. 13.

543, 544. *gripe*; cf. IV. 408, XI. 264. *orbed*, circular; cf. 254. The shields were held either straight out from the body, or high to protect the head (Masson).

546. *barbed with fire*, i.e. arrows with fire at their points; cf. Shelley, *Adonais*, 99, "And dull the barbed fire against his frozen cheek," i.e. piercing. Cotgrave explains *flêche barbelée* by "a bearded or barbed arrow." A barb is a hook or jag on an arrow-head.

547—49. Most modern texts have a semicolon after *themselves* and a comma after *impediment*—reversing the original punctuation.

impediment; cf. Lat. *impedimenta*, 'the carriages and baggage of an army.' The good angels are not encumbered, like their enemy, with artillery.

took alarm, sprang to arms; this was a current phrase; cf. Bunyan, *The Holy War*: "Now, Diabolus and his men being expertly accustomed to night-work, took the alarm presently [at once], and were as ready to give them battle as if they had sent them word of their coming" ("Temple" ed., p. 267).

550. *move*; there is no authority for *moved*; but it is tempting, all the verbs being in the past tense.

553. Cf. *Henry V.* III. *Prologue*, 33, "the devilish cannon." *training*, dragging, Fr. *traîner*.

558—67. The irony and verbal quibbles—"discharge," "touch," etc.—are too obvious to need comment. This scene of the introduction of artillery can scarce be reckoned among the great achievements in *Paradise Lost*. Humour is not Milton's *forte*: and are there not signs in what follows of some want of care? e.g. in the involved lines 571—78, and in 579—81, where *stood* occurs three times.

Addison considered this part "the most exceptionable in the whole poem" (i.e. open to exception), on account of these quibbles.

560. *composure* = "composition" in 613, i.e. agreement, settlement.

571—78. The sense appears to be: 'We saw a row of brazen or iron pillars—at least things which but for their hollow mouths we should have supposed to be pillars (for they were very like them).'

576. *iron...mould*. M. may have recollected the description of Sir Artegall's page, "His name was Talus, made of yron mould" (*The Faerie Queene*, V. I. 12). *mould*, substance.

578. *hollow*, i.e. deceitful, as applied to "truce"; but there is a quibbling reference to the hollow barrels of the guns.

580. *stood*, i.e. a "reed" stood. Some think that M. dictated *held*, or some such verb, to which *Seraph* would be the subject. *suspense*, in suspense, Lat. *suspensi*.

581. *amused*, musing, wondering (cf. 623); the original sense—cf. Cotgrave, "to amuse, make to muse or think of, to gaze at." Fr. *amuser* is a compound of *à* and O. Fr. *muser*, 'to gaze at, *muse* over.'

582. *at once*, simultaneously. It seems best to make *all* the subject to *put*, and to mark this by placing *at once* within commas: '*all* did it, and did it simultaneously.' Some editors take *all at once* as a single adverbial phrase; but this is repetition after *sudden*, and leaves *put* without a subject.

584. *nicest*, most exact, accurate.

586. Newton compares *Othello*, III. 3. 355, 356.

587. *embowelled*, filled.

589. *glut*, i.e. the ammunition wherewith they were charged.

595—97. Cf. 656—61. M. attributes to spiritual beings the power of reducing or expanding ("dilating," I. 429) themselves at will. Cf. 351—53, and I. 789, 790.

598. *dissipation*, scattering, flight; cf. Lat. *dissipare*, 'to rout, put to flight.'

599. *serried*; cf. I. 548.

601. *indecent*, disgraceful; cf. *decent* = 'graceful, comely,' Lat. *decens*, III. 644, and *Il Penseroso*, 36.

605. *displode*, let off, fire. *tire*, rank, row; cf. *The Hind and the Panther*, III. 316—19:

"Constrained to quit his cause, no succour found,
The foe discharges every tire around,
In clouds of smoke abandoning the fight;
But his own thundering peals proclaim his flight."

So in Marvell's *The First Anniversary*, 361, 362:

"An hideous shoal of wood Leviathans,
Armed with three tire of brazen hurricanes."

609—27. The two speeches are full of obvious quibbles.

620—27. Newton notes that the speech is appropriate to the character of Belial as drawn in the first two books of the poem; that it could not come from the statesman-angel Beelzebub or the fierce warrior-angel Moloch. There Belial was described as a god of the unwarlike (I. 493—502), himself "timorous and slothful" (II. 117), and here, in the great battle, "we find him celebrated for nothing but that scoffing speech" (Addison).

622. *urged home*, i.e. thoroughly, to the full effect; frequent in Shakespeare; cf. *King Lear*, III. 3. 13, "revenged home," and III. 4. 16, "I will punish home."

625, 626. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, III. 1. 89, and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. 5. 28: "*Speed.* I understand thee not...*Launce.* My staff understands me."

635. Vergil's *furor arma ministrat*, *Æn.* I. 150.

644—46. Cf. II. 539, 540. *shaggy*; cf. IV. 224, *Lycidas*, 54. It is one of Gray's many Miltonic classical touches; cf. *The Bard*, 11, 12:

"As down the steep of Snowdon's shaggy side
He wound with toilsome march his long array."

Similar is Lat. *horrens* or *horridus* applied to woodland scenery.

665. *jaculation*, Lat. *jaculatio*, 'a casting, hurling.' Addison compares the classical legends about Pelion and Ossa in the Giants' war.

668, 669. Cf. II. 993—96.

670. On the first day the struggle of the angels only makes Heaven resound (217, 218); now it threatens to wreck the whole fabric of the Empyrean.

673. i.e. guiding all things, directing the Universe. M. seems to use "sum of things" = the *summarum summa* of Lucretius (v. 362), i.e. the All, the Universe. "The All" and "this All" (τόδε τὸ πᾶν—*Timæus* 37 D) are favourite phrases of Drummond for the Universe.

Cf. Spenser's *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* describing the creation of the Universe, 41, 42:

"And, last, that mightie shining christall wall,
Wherewith he hath encompassed this All."

674. *advised*, advisedly, purposely.

679. *assessor*, i.e. the sharer of his throne—lit. 'one who sits by.' This literal use occurs in Tennyson's *Queen Mary*, I. 5:

"He slew not him alone who wore the purple,
But his assessor in the throne."

681, 682. i.e. in whose face that which is invisible—namely, what I by Deity am—is visibly beheld. Cf. *Colos.* i. 15, "Who is the image of the invisible God." So in *P. L.* III. 138—42, 384—87, VII. 192—96, X. 63—67. M. expounds the idea in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 5 (*P. W.* IV. 142—45).

invisible...beheld visibly; an instance of oxymoron. *invisible*; apparently a noun='the invisible thing.'

691, 692. *suspend*, delay. The sense is—'Though sin has done them *some* harm, yet it has not made them so inferior to the good angels that the latter can win a decisive victory.'

695. "Within the compass of this one book we have all the variety of battles that can well be conceived. We have a single combat, and a general engagement" under many phases (Newton). And, as in Homer, the "battles still rise one above another, and improve in horror" (Addison).

698. *the main*, the whole "continent" (474) of Heaven, or the whole Universe. For *main*='land' (not sea, as commonly), cf. *King Lear*, III. 1. 5, 6:

"Bids the wind blow the earth into the sea,
Or swell the curled waters 'bove the main";

and Tennyson, *The Princess*, IV.:

"Each was like a Druid rock;
Or like a spire of land that stands apart
Cleft from the main, and wail'd about with mews."

703. *virtue*; cf. III. 586.

709. Cf. V. 605; *Psalm* xlv. 7.

715, 716. Contrast V. 716 ("the Sons of Morn"). *utter*, outer.

719—21. Slightly varied in X. 63—67.

724—34. There are allusions to: *John* xvii. 1, 4, 5, 21—23 (cf. *P. L.* XI. 44); *Matt.* xvii. 5 (cf. *P. R.* I. 85); 1 *Cor.* xv. 28; *Ps.* cxxxix. 21.

738, 739. *prepared*. Cf. 53—55; and see *Rev.* xx. 1, 2; 2 *Pet.* ii. 4; and *Jude* 6. The same reference occurs in 186, I. 48, II. 169, III. 82, XII. 454. *the undying worm*; *Isai.* lxvi. 24; *Mark* ix. 44.

744. Contrast II. 239—43.

747. See v. 606; cf. 679, 892.

748. Newton says—"Milton, by continuing the war for three days, and reserving the victory upon the third for the Messiah alone, plainly alludes to the circumstances of his death and resurrection." M. was not alone in dividing the struggle into three parts. The Schoolmen who discussed most things discussed the point how long the contest lasted, and (writes Reginald Scot) "the greatest number affirme that... it stood with God's justice to give them [the rebellious angels] three warnings; so as at the third warning *Lucifer* fell downe like led to the bottom of hell," *Discourse*, Nicholson's ed., p. 423. Another point is—M. has assigned the overthrow of the rebels to Messiah, whereas in *Rev.* xii. 3—9 it is implied that Michael was their vanquisher; cf., however, verse 11 on which M. may have based his view. In any case it belonged to the scheme of his work to make the Messiah the subduer of Satan in Heaven, as on earth: the first victory foreshadows that later one by which Paradise Lost became for humanity Paradise Regained.

749—59. This description of the throne-chariot of the Deity (IV. 973—76, VII. 218—20), and of the Cherubic Shapes whereby it was convoyed, is modelled very closely on Ezekiel's Vision, chap. i. M. has worked in detail after detail of the Scriptural original, and the whole chapter should be compared with his narrative. *Paradise Lost* contains no more striking instance of his skill in adapting Scripture to the purposes of his work. With 752 cf. VII. 204.

756. *beryl*, a kind of crystal. Fr. *briller*, whence *brilliant*, represents a corruption of Lat. *beryllus* = Gk. βήρυλλος. *careering*, darting; the metaphor of a tournament. Cf. I. 766.

758. *sapphire throne*; cf. Collins, *Ode on the Poetical Character*, 2, one of the poems in which the influence of Milton, that affected Collins's style so greatly, is specially conspicuous.

760. *panoply*, "the whole armour of God (πανοπλία)," *Ephes.* vi. 11.

761. Concerning the much-discussed *Urim*, it seems to be agreed that they were certain material objects placed inside the breastplate of judgment which formed part of the high priest's ephod (*Exod.* xxviii. 30); and that they were a means by which, through him, the will of Jehovah was ascertained. It has been variously suggested that these objects were (1) diamonds and other precious stones, (2) metal slips marked with affirmative and negative answers, (3) small images like the 'teraphim.' M. (cf. *P. R.* III. 13—15) takes the first view, so that the general sense is—'armed in celestial equipment wrought of precious

stones'; cf. 364, and the passage from *An Apology for Smectymnuus*, quoted at 831 ("arming in complete diamond"). Tennyson seems to follow this idea, where he describes (*The Coming of Arthur*, 297, 298) King Arthur's sword Excalibur as

"rich
With jewels, elfin Urim, on the hilt,"

i.e. mysterious precious stones placed there magically.

That famous Elizabethan book, Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), speaks of the Jews being "informed by *Urim*: so as the preests by the brightness of the twelve pretious stones conteined therein, could prognosticate or expound anie thing" (bk. IX. chap. v. p. 139, Nicholson's ed.).

The word *Urim* is said to mean 'light'—whence the view that the *Urim* were of Egyptian origin, and connected with the symbol of light worn by members of the priestly caste in Egypt; or 'revelation'—cf. the rendering of it in the Septuagint, ἡ δήλωσις, and in the Vulgate, *doctrina*. In *The Reason of Church Government*, I. 5, Milton speaks of "the oracle of urim" and "the judgment of urim," *P. W.* II. 455.

762, 763. Cf. the personification of Victory in *Richard III.* v. 3. 79, "Fortune and Victory sit on thy helm" (i.e. helmet). So Expectation was personified, 306. Todd quotes *Richard II.* I. 3. 129 ("eagle-winged pride").

766. *bickering*, quivering, flashing.

767—70. *Jude* 14; *Ps.* lxviii. 17; *Rev.* v. 11.

770. Tennyson remarked on the "grand pause" in the line after *God*, lending tremendous emphasis.

771. "And he rode upon a cherub and did fly," 2 *Sam.* xxii. 11; *Ps.* xviii. 10. M. generally uses *sublime* = Lat. *sublimis* in its literal sense, 'uplifted'; cf. II. 528.

772. M. always scans *crystálline*; cf. VII. 271, *S. A.* 546, "Allure thee from the cool crystálline stream."

776. "And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven," *Mat.* xxiv. 30.

777. *reduced*, brought back—Lat. *reduxit*; cf. X. 438. The word is used similarly in the sense 'to bring back' in his treatise *On Education* (*P. W.* III. 472).

779. *their Head*, i.e. the Messiah; see v. 606. Editors quote *Romans* xii. 5, *Colossians* i. 18.

787. *insensate*, senseless; once elsewhere in M.—cf. *S. A.* 1685, where the context shows that it is a very strong word.

788. Vergil's *tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ? Æn.* I. 11. Cf. *The*

Rape of the Lock, II, I2:

"In tasks so bold can little men engage?
And in soft bosoms dwells such mighty rage?"

So IX. 729, 730. Cf. IV. 118, 119, note.

791. *harden'd more*; like Pharaoh.

797. *last*, at last; an obvious suggestion is *lost*.

801. *Exodus* xiv. 13.

808. "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord," *Romans* xii. 19; cf. *Deuteronomy* xxxii. 35.

831—41. This description recalls III. 392—96, and *An Apology for Smectymnuus*: "then Zeal, whose substance is ethereal, arming in complete diamond [cf. 364, 760, 761], ascends his fiery chariot, drawn with two blazing meteors, figured like beasts, resembling two of those four which Ezekiel and St John saw...with these the invincible warrior, Zeal, shaking loosely the slack reins, drives over the heads of scarlet prelates...bruising their stiff necks under his flaming wheels," *P. W.* III. 129.

833, 834. Cf. 711, 712. In I. 105 Satan boasts that the battle did shake the throne. Thyer compares Hesiod, *Theogony* 841.

838. *astonished*, thunder-struck, stupefied.

841. Spenser has the accentuation *prostráte*; cf. *The Faerie Queene*, III. 12. 39.

842, 843. "And [they] said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the...wrath of the Lamb," *Rev.* vi. 16. The irony of the lines, in view of 639—66, is obvious.

864—66. Cf. I. 44—49, 169—77, *P. R.* I. 90, 360, 361. The "bottomless pit" is the lowest region of Hell—that "fiery gulf" on which the angels are depicted as tossing in I. 52. In the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, 3, M. calls it "that uttermost and bottomless gulf of chaos, deeper from holy bliss than the world's diameter multiplied" (*P. W.* III. 224). Similar allusions to "the bottomless pit" occur in *The Tenure of Kings* (end), *Areopagitica*, and *Of Reformation in England*, II. (*P. W.* II. 47, 61, 417).

868. *ruining*, falling; see III. 258, and cf. Tennyson, *Lucretius*.

869, 870. Repeated from the *Nativity Ode*, 123; see the note on VII. 253—60. Cf. *positi late fundamina Mundi* in Milton's lines *Ad Patrem*, 47. *her*, of Hell.

871. *nine*; traditionally a significant number. See I. 50.

873. i.e. through his wild, disordered realm ("the wasteful deep"); cf. VII. 271, 272, X. 283. In II. 993—96 Chaos, speaking of the expulsion of the angels, tells Satan how he "saw and heard."

874, 875. *Isaiah* v. 14.

877. Cf. II. 823. Tasso, IX. 59, calls it "the house of grief and pain" (Newton). Compare too Dante's synonyms for Hell, such as "the doleful houses" (*dolenti case*) and "the doleful realm" (*dolente regno*); see the *Inferno*, VIII. 120, *Purgatorio*, VII. 22.

880—92. *Rev.* xii. 10, iv. 11; 1 *Tim.* iii. 16; *Heb.* i. 3. Cf. III. 397—99.

885. The grave of Samson Agonistes (1735) is shaded with "branching palm," a symbol of victory. See the Ode *At a Solemn Music*, 14, and cf. Crashaw's picture of the "Assembly of the Saints"—"The palm blooms in each hand, the garland on each brow." See *Rev.* vii. 9.

886. *sung triumph.* M. is thinking perhaps of the Lat. *Io Triumphe*, the cry raised by the crowd and soldiers when a Roman general celebrated his triumph. Cf. Horace, *Odes* IV. 2. 49, 50, *Epodes* IX. 21, 23.

893. Cf. V. 570—74. "The reader cannot but admire the dignity and emphasis with which the Angel's speech concludes. The same brief sentences, and solemn pauses, may be observed in the fine moral instruction which the heavenly messenger gives Adam, at the close of the eighth book" (Todd).

899. There is a ring of Milton in Pope's couplet (*Essay on Man*, I. 127, 128):

> "Aspiring to be gods, if angels fell,
> Aspiring to be angels, men rebel."

See IX. 685—712, note.

900. *he who*; *him* would have been more regular. But *he* sounds more emphatic, and the context requires strong emphasis (Dunster).

900—906. These lines give the two main motives of Satan's resolve to ruin mankind, namely, envy and desire to spite God by marring his creatures: man shall be ruined that Satan may be revenged on the Most High for his defeat (IV. 11, 12).

907. Cf. *P. R.* I. 397, 398; Satan is the speaker:

> "Envy, they say, excites me, thus to gain
> Companions of my misery and woe!"

It is the sentiment expressed in the proverbial line of unknown origin, *solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris* (or *malorum*). So Shakespeare, *Lucrece*, 790, 791:

> "And fellowship in woe doth woe assuage,
> As palmers' chat makes short their pilgrimage,"

and *Romeo and Juliet*, III. 2. 116. When Faustus asks why Lucifer tempts mortals Mephistophiles in reply quotes the line *solamen miseris*

etc., *Faustus*, v. 42—where Dr Ward in his note cites Seneca, *De Consolatione* XII. 2: *est autem hoc ipsum solatii loco, inter multos dolorem suum dividere.* See X. 126—28.

Sir Thomas Browne gives the idea a moral turn: "Delude not thyself into iniquities from participation or community, which abate the sense but not the obliquity of them. To conceive sins less or less of sins, because others also transgress, were morally to commit that natural fallacy of man, to take comfort from society, and think adversities less because others also suffer them" (*Christian Morals*, I. xviii.).

909. *thy weaker*; Eve, "the weaker vessel," 1 *Pet.* iii. 7.

BOOK VII.

1—39. With this exordium compare I. 1—26; III. 1—55; IX. 1—47. All four passages mark a significant stage in the development of the story, and in each passage the notion implied in "*above* the Olympian hill I soar" finds expression. The first serves as prelude to the whole poem and indicates the subject; the second transfers the scene of the action from Hell to Heaven, and later to the Earth; the third is a pause before the history of Creation is unfolded; and the fourth prepares us for the Temptation and Fall of Man. Compare Homer's method of stopping to invoke the Muse afresh before some great event is narrated. Pope parodies this epic convention in the *Argument* and (very Miltonic) first lines of the fourth book of *The Dunciad.*

We may note in these four passages the number of personal allusions, e.g. to Milton's consciousness of the greatness of his subject (I. 12—16, 24—26, III. 54, 55, VII. 12—15, IX. 13—19, 41—43); his blindness (III. 21—55, VII. 27); loneliness (VII. 28); and advanced years (IX. 45).

1. *descend from Heaven*; cf. Horace's *descende cælo...Calliope—Odes* III. 4. 1, 2. Here the invocation is specially appropriate as the scene of the action of the poem passes literally from Heaven to Earth (the Creation of which is about to be described).

2. *if rightly thou art called*; an indication that he was conscious of using the name not in its usual classical sense.

3. *the Olympian hill*; Mount Olympus (cf. I. 516) in the north of Greece. Like Mount Helicon in Bœotia, it was a resort of the Muses

to whom classical poets appealed for inspiration. Hence lines 3, 4 are a figurative way of claiming loftier inspiration than that of classical poets.

3, 4. *soar...flight...wing*; his favourite metaphor to describe uplifting inspiration; cf. I. 14, note, *P. R.* I. 14.

Pegasus was the famous winged horse (cf. "flying," 17) that ascended to the heaven of the classical gods and afterwards used to bear the thunder and lightning of Zeus. M. had ascended far higher, into the Heaven of the Almighty.

5. "Urania" *means* 'the Heavenly one' and it is on a Heavenly power that he calls, not on the classical Muse *named* 'Urania.' See pp. 686—88.

In this book of *Paradise Lost* the classical influence, which predominated in the last, naturally gives way to the Biblical (*Genesis*); the subject being the Creation.

6. *nor of*; understand *art* from the verb in the next line.

7. *old*; often in M. almost a title of reverence; cf. "Mount Casius old," II. 593; "the fable of Bellerus old," *Lycidas*, 160. *Cold* is a needless change.

8—12. The allusion is to *Proverbs* viii. 23—30, where the word rendered "rejoicing" in verse 30 may mean 'playing' (*ludens* in the Vulgate); cf. "didst *play*," 10. M. quotes the verse in *Tetrachordon* (*P. W.* III. 331) and substitutes "playing" for "rejoicing" (Newton).

9. *eternal Wisdom.* "The Eternal Wisdom created man an excellent creature, though he fain would unmake himself and return into nothing; and though he seek his felicity among the reasonless wights, He hath fixed it above" (Drummond, *A Cypress Grove*, *Works*, II. 274).

converse, live in company with (Lat. *conversari*); cf. II. 184.

13. In books III., V., VI., he has described events which took place in the "Heaven of Heavens," i.e. the Empyrean.

14. *drawn*; cf. VIII. 284.

15. *thy tempering*, tempered by thee, i.e. made to suit the breathing of "an earthly guest."

16. *element*, i.e. the Earth.

17. He implies that, guided by the Muse (12), he has been borne aloft on a winged Pegasus of his own, superior to the Pegasus (4) of mythology. *Diva Pegasea* is a synonym for the Muse in Dante, *Paradiso*, XVIII. 82. *unreined*, unbridled, Lat. *infrenis*.

18, 19. An allusion to the legend that Bellerophon attempted to ascend to heaven on the back of Pegasus, but was flung to the ground. Incurring the anger of the gods, he roamed alone in the *Aleian* plain,

'the land of *wandering*' (Gk. ἄλη = 'wandering'), became distracted and died; cf. Homer, *Iliad* VI. 200—202. *clime*, region; cf. II. 572.

20. *erroneous*; in the literal sense 'straying' (Lat. *erroneus*).

21. Henceforth the action of the poem, of which "half remains unsung," takes place on Earth (save in some brief passages of books X., XI.).

22. *the visible diurnal sphere*, i.e. "the Astronomical Universe of Man, which appears to revolve round the Earth daily in twenty-four hours" (Masson). Wordsworth (*The Prelude*, I. 459, 460), may have recollected the line.

23. *rapt*, caught up.

the pole, the highest point of the Universe, i.e. where it is fastened to the golden chain which suspends it from the Empyrean.

25—39. M. refers to his own position after the Restoration. There are similar allusions in *S. A.*; see 697—700, with notes.

26. The verbal repetition gives an effect of pathos; cf. *S. A.* 80, 81. Note how he inverts the order of the words; cf. 184—87.

Perhaps the most remarkable example of the poetic device of repetition in *Paradise Lost* is IV. 641—56. It is a favourite artifice (expressive of great emphasis) with Tennyson, from whose works many striking illustrations might be quoted, e.g. the passage in *Enoch Arden* beginning "The splendour on the waters," and the description of the descent of the Grail in the *Holy Grail*, 473—76, where each line commences with "blood-red." In the *Marriage of Geraint* five consecutive lines start on the same note:

"Forgetful of his promise to the king,
Forgetful of the falcon and the hunt,
Forgetful of the tilt and tournament,
Forgetful of his glory and his name,
Forgetful of his princedom and its cares."

evil tongues. M. had many bitter enemies among the Royalist party; as was only natural considering the attitude which he had adopted towards Charles I. in *The Tenure of Kings* and *Eikonoklastes*. Johnson (not always a friendly critic of the poet) grimly remarks that Milton himself had "never spared any asperity of reproach or brutality of insolence" in his polemical writings against Salmasius and others.

27. The original of Wordsworth's line—"Darkness before, and danger's voice behind"—in the passage on Milton in *The Prelude*, III.

darkness, i.e. blindness. Cf. I. 22, III. 45.

dangers. At the Restoration M. was arrested and imprisoned for some months, probably from August to December 1660, for having defended the execution of Charles I.; and though, thanks to the efforts

of Andrew Marvell (see pp. 365, 366) and some other influential friends he was eventually allowed to take advantage of the Act of Oblivion (1660), yet he must for a time have felt insecure. After the publication of his great work his position was different. He was, says Burnet, "much visited by all strangers, and much admired by all at home, for the poems he wrote...chiefly that of 'Paradise Lost.'"

28. *solitude.* It has been justly said of Milton that throughout his life as a whole he "was aloof and solitary beyond any other great English writer." Cf. Wordsworth's famous description of him ("Thy soul was like a Star, and dwelt apart").

29. *nightly.* Cf. III. 29—32 and IX. 21—24 (notes). "The poet might here remember the nightly vision of Beatrice to Dante, *Purgatorio*, XXX. 133" (Todd).

30. *purples*, dyes with rosy hues.

31. Cf. Horace, *Satires* I. 10. 74, *contentus paucis lectoribus.* As to the reception accorded to *Paradise Lost* on its publication see the *Introduction.* Johnson says: "The sale, if it be considered, will justify the public....The call for books was not in Milton's age, what it is at present [1779—1781]." He notes that between 1623 and 1664 there were only two editions, perhaps one thousand copies in all, of the works of Shakespeare.

Part of this line (31) is quoted by Wordsworth in the opening of *The Recluse*, and the outline of his subject that follows is full of the atmosphere of *Paradise Lost.*

32—38. Cf. the similar allusion in *Lycidas*, 58—63, to the classical legend that Orpheus was torn to pieces, and his head thrown into the river Hebrus, by Thracian women in their Bacchanalian orgies, his mother Calliope, the Muse of epic poetry, being unable to do aught for his defence. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XI. 1—55, Vergil, *Georg.* IV. 517—27; and cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, V. 48, 49:

"The riot of the tipsy Bacchanals,
Tearing the *Thracian* singer in their rage."

No doubt M. intends a comparison between the "wild *rout*" (a contemptuous word) of Bacchanals and the dissolute court of Charles II., and perhaps hints (cf. "dangers," 27) that he himself may suffer like Orpheus. Other passages in his poems which probably refer to the court are I. 497, *P. R.* II. 44—48, 183; see also the notes on *S. A.* 1418, 1605—1607.

34. *Thracian*; Orpheus lived in a cave in Thrace.

35. *Rhodope*, a mountain range in Thrace; the Hebrus on the banks of which Orpheus was killed rises in Rhodope. Ovid calls Orpheus "*Rhodopeius* heros" (*Metamorphoses* X. 50). Cf. Pope, *Ode on St Cecilia's Day*, VI.

36. *to rapture*, i.e. to drink in strains that enraptured *them*, though the "revellers" were deaf to the harmony. Cf. the song "Orpheus with his lute made trees," *Henry VIII.* III. 1. 3.

37. *harp*, the golden lyre given to Orpheus by Apollo.

39. *thou*, Urania. *she*, the Muse, Calliope. M. always refers contemptuously to classical mythology as mere 'fables' or 'dreams'; cf. I. 197, II. 627.

41. *affable*; see VIII. 648, 649, and cf. V. 221, "Raphael, the sociable Spirit." Probably M. in depicting Raphael thus as a power friendly to man is thinking of the story in the Apocryphal *Book of Tobit* how the archangel befriended Tobias; cf. the two allusions to it, IV. 167—71, V. 221—23.

43. *apostasy*, falling away from his obedience to God; cf. 610.

46. *Genesis* ii. 17.

50. *his consorted Eve*, Eve his consort or partner. Cf. *Richard II.* v. 3. 138, "With all the rest of that consorted crew," i.e. associated, acting as partners.

52. *admiration*, wonder.

57. *redounded*, recoiled, came back upon.

59—69. The main sentence is 'Whence Adam repealed the doubts and, being led on with desire to know, proceeded (69) to ask.'

whence, from which subject. *repealed*, recalled; he did not let his thoughts dwell any longer on that matter. For *repeal*=Fr. *rappeler*, in the literal sense 'to recall,' cf. *Julius Cæsar*, III. 1. 51, *Coriolanus*, V. 5. 5.

62. *nearer*, more closely, i.e. than the subjects just mentioned concerned him.

63. M., as we have seen, uses *Heaven*=(1) 'the Empyrean,' i.e. 'the abode of the Almighty,' (2) 'the sky,' i.e. of this World. Here 'sky' is meant; so in 86, 167, 232, 274, 283.

conspicuous, visible to the eye, as opposed to the unseen Empyrean, the affairs of which concerned Adam less.

65. *Eden*; see IV. 132, note.

66. *whose drouth*, who being still thirsty; abstract for concrete.

72. *interpreter*, expounder, explainer; cf. *Interpres divum* (said of Mercury), *Æneid* IV. 378. Cf. Ben Jonson, *Discoveries*, CXIX.: "Speech is the only benefit man hath to express his excellency of mind above other creatures. It is the instrument of society; therefore Mercury, who is the president of language, is called *deorum hominumque interpres*." See III. 157.

79. *the end*, the object, purpose; cf. *Revelation* iv. 11.

88, 89. *yields or fills*; "yields space to all bodies, and again fills

up the deserted space" (Richardson). Cf. II. 842, "the buxom air"=yielding.

92. *so late*, i.e. after having rested "through all eternity." A reason is indicated in 150—60.

94. *absolved*, was completed; Lat. *absolvere*, 'to finish.'

97. "Remember that thou magnify his work, which men behold," *Job* xxxvi. 24.

98. *wants*, has to. *run*; see 372, note.

99. *though steep*; i.e. "though he has passed the meridian and is now on his descent, *pronus*" (Keightley). The standing-still of the sun was probably suggested by *Joshua* x. 12—14.

102. *his generation*, how he was created.

102, 103. i.e. and how Nature (=the Earth and all its forms of animal and vegetable life) was born and arose from the Deep.

unapparent, not appearing, invisible, because hidden in the darkness of Chaos; cf. 233, 234.

104. *the star of evening*, Hesperus; the classical name of the planet Venus when it appeared after sunset; seen before sunrise, it was called "Lucifer" (cf. 133). Cf. VIII. 519, 520.

106. *Sleep*; personified, as in *Comus*, 554. *watch*, keep awake.

116. *infer*, show, prove; cf. VIII. 91, and 2 *Henry IV.* v. 5. 14.

120. For the sentiment "knowledge within bounds," cf. VIII. 173—97.

121. *inventions*, thoughts, foolish imaginations; cf. its use in *Psalm* cvi. 29, "Thus they provoked him...with their inventions."

hope, hope *for*, i.e. to know. Elizabethans use *hope* transitively; cf. *All's Well That Ends Well*, II. 1. 163, "hopest thou my cure?" Cf. II. 234.

122. Cf. 1 *Timothy* i. 17.

123. Cf. Horace, *Odes* III. 29. 29, *exitum* | *caliginosa nocte premit deus*; and Vergil, *Æneid* VI. 267, *pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas*.

131. The name *Lucifer*, 'light-bringer' (Gk. *φωσφόρος*), is properly a Latin title of the morning-star, but it was applied by patristic writers to Satan, in allusion perhaps to the tradition of the original "brightness" of his person. Cf. the common misinterpretation of *Isaiah* xiv. 12 ("How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer"), where "thou" refers to "Babylon," not to Satan, and the Hebrew word translated "Lucifer" should be rendered "day-star," as in the Revised Version.

Milton says that "Lucifer" and "Satan" were the names given to the arch-rebel *after* his expulsion from Heaven: what he was called in Heaven we do not know. See I. 361—75, note, and V. 658, 659. In

each of the early drafts of Milton's contemplated drama of *Paradise Lost* the name "Lucifer," not "Satan," is assigned to him. No doubt, Milton substituted "Satan" as more distinctively Scriptural.

132. '*Bright* as Lucifer' was almost a proverb like 'proud as Lucifer.' Cf. Marlowe's *Faustus*, v. 155:

"beautiful
As was bright Lucifer before his fall."

The old *Faust-book* says: "Lucifer [i.e. Satan] was so illuminated that he far surpassed the brightness of the sun, and all the stars." This brightness was dimmed after Satan's fall (I. 97, 591—99, IV. 835—40, 870).

134. Cf. I. 45, and the familiar lines in *Henry VIII.* III. 2. 371, 372:

"And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer,
Never to hope again."

Cf. also *Absalom and Achitophel*, 273, 274. In the *Areopagitica* M. uses this image in mentioning (*ad fin.*) the downfall of the Court ("she is now fallen from the stars with Lucifer"). The "Fall of Lucifer" is one of the subjects of the York and Chester Miracle-plays.

135. *his place*, the place prepared for him, viz. Hell; cf. *Acts* i. 25.

136. *Saints*, i.e. the Heavenly beings who had remained loyal.

137. "And, behold, a throne was set in heaven, and one sat on the throne," *Revelation* iv. 2. Cf. 556, 585, 586.

139. Thyer suggested *At last* as the true reading.

141. Cf. v. 643, note.

142. *us dispossessed*; an absolute construction; cf. "*him* destroyed," IX. 130, "*me* overthrown," *S. A.* 463. In Shakespeare, as now, the absolute case is the nominative; but in older English it was the dative. Morris quotes Wyclif, *Matthew* xxviii. 13, "Thei han stolen him *us slepinge*"—an exact parallel to "*us* dispossessed." I believe that in such cases M. meant the pronoun to be the dative and that he sometimes employed this old idiom (with pronouns) as suggesting the Latin ablative absolute more than the nominative absolute does. Thus, "*me* overthrown" has more of a Latin sound than "*I* overthrown." He also uses the nominative absolute with the present participle.

143. *fraud*, crime, sin; so Lat. *fraus* is used.

144. Cf. v. 710. *whom their place*; cf. *Psalm* ciii. 16, "and the place thereof shall know it no more." So *Job* vii. 10.

145—49. In I. 633 Satan, encouraging his downcast followers, boasts that their revolt had "emptied Heaven."

146. *station*, post of duty. See *Jude* 6.

152. i.e. which thing, viz. the "dispeopling" of Heaven, he foolishly supposes to damage me.

157—61. Cf. XII. 369—71, note.

162. *inhabit lax*, dwell at ease (having vanquished the rebels). Some explain 'dwell at large' (cf. Lat. *habitare laxe*), as though the expulsion of the rebels gave the others more room in Heaven.

163—67. The Creation of the World is effected through the Son; cf. *John* i. 1—3, especially verse 3. See III. 170, 383, note.

164—66. Cf. *Luke* i. 35.

168. "There are no limits to Chaos [='the Deep'], because I who fill it am infinite; and it is not vacuous or empty, because I am everywhere in it, though I only exhibit my goodness in a limited space, i.e. in Heaven" (Keightley's note).

I am, i.e. "boundless"=infinite. "Immensity and Infinity" are among the "attributes" of the Almighty on which M. discourses in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 2.

175. *the Filial Godhead*, the divine Son (VI. 722); an abstract expression for a concrete seems specially appropriate when divine powers are spoken of. Cf. 587.

178. Cf. II. 297, "By policy and long *procéss* of time."

179. *earthly notion*, the intellect of man. Cf. *King Lear*, I. 4. 248, "his notion weakens"='his mind is failing.' So in *Macbeth*, III. 1. 83.

182, 183. *glory...good-will...peace*. *Luke* ii. 13, 14.

186. *just*, righteous; Christ is called "the just," 1 *Peter* iii. 18.

188. See 615, 616, and I. 162, 163; and cf. Thomson, *A Hymn*:

> "From seeming evil still educing good,
> And better thence again, and better still."

194. *girt*; a constant Biblical metaphor of arming; cf. *Psalm* xviii. 39, "For thou hast girded me with strength unto the battle"; xxx. 11, "thou hast put off my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness."

196. See *Hebrews* i. 3, and cf. III. 138—40.

197. *poured*. Cf. II. 997, *P. R.* III. 311. "The word shows the readiness and forwardness of the Angels...they were so earnest as not to stay to form themselves into regular order, but were *poured* numberless about His [the Messiah's] chariot" (Pearce).

200. "The Lord hath opened his armoury," *Jeremiah* l. 25. The sword with which Michael overcame Satan in the great battle in Heaven was "from the armoury of God" (VI. 321).

201. "And I turned, and lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and, behold, there came four chariots out from between two mountains; and the mountains were mountains of brass," *Zechariah* vi. 1.

202. *against*, in readiness for.

204. Cf. VI. 750, 752. See *Ezekiel* i. 20.

205—207. Cf. V. 253—55. *ever-during* = "everlasting," 565.

207. *moving*, producing harmonious sound by their motion. "The doors of Armida's palace turn on golden hinges," in *Tasso*, VI. 2 (Todd).

208. *the King of Glory*; *Psalm* xxiv. 8.

212. *wasteful*, like a desolate plain. For Milton's favourite alliteration *w...w* in 212—14, see II. 960, note, and cf. *Lycidas*, 13, "Unwept, and welter to the parching wind."

215. Richardson explains: "There was such confusion in Chaos, as if on earth the sea in mountainous waves should rise from its very bottom to assault Heaven (i.e. the sky), and mix the centre of the globe with the extremities of it." Of course, Chaos has no centre or pole.

216. "A magnificent line" (Tennyson). Note the effect of finality produced by the alliteration (*p...p*) and the assonance in the last two words of the verse.

217. *omnific*, almighty; literally 'all-making.'

218. For the throne-chariot of the Deity formed by the wings of the Cherubim see VI. 749—59.

221. *heard*, i.e. and obeyed. With this passage compare the rapid sketch of the Creation given by Uriel, III. 708—21.

224. *fervid*, glowing, i.e. with motion. M. remembered Horace, *Odes* I. 1. 4, 5. Cf. II. 531, 532, note.

225. *the golden compasses, prepared*. Cf. *Proverbs* viii. 27, "When he prepared the heavens, I was there: when he set a compass upon the face of the depth."

226. *circumscribe*, mark out the limits of. So in the *Paradiso*, XIX. 40—42: "He who rolled the compass round the limit of the Universe, and within it marked out so much both hidden and revealed."

228. *one foot*, i.e. of the compasses.

229. For the word-order cf. 17, 270, 323, 477. See note on I. 733.

232. Milton's account of the Creation must be compared with *Genesis* i., ii. He follows the Scripture closely, especially where the Almighty speaks, but supplements it, giving free scope to his imagination (Newton). See also Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.

233. *unformed*, formless; see V. 471, note.

darkness. In II. 961—63 he speaks of Night as the consort of Chaos and co-ruler of his realm, personifying them as spirits: an allegory by which we are to understand that the "Abyss," i.e. Chaos, is a region of gloom. It is so represented in the poem always. See *Genesis* i. 2.

234—37. Cf. I. 19—22.

235. *wings*, i.e. as of a dove, the idea being based on *Luke* iii. 22; see the note on I. 21.

the Spirit of God; in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 7, Milton explains that he understands this to mean, in this context, God's "divine power, rather than any person" of the Trinity.

236. *vital virtue*, the efficacy of life.

237, 238. *downward purged*, caused to sink, i.e. down into Chaos. The language seems to be recalled in Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, 526, 527:

> "But if in noble minds some dregs remain,
> Not yet purged off, of spleen and sour disdain."

Milton's influence on Pope's diction has been observed already. See I. 423, 424; also XI. 244.

tartareous, 'belonging to Tartarus or Hell'; hence 'gloomy.'

239—41. *founded...conglobed*, established and caused to coalesce. At first the Universe carved out of Chaos is a "fluid mass" (237) of "matter unformed" (233). Now atoms (*semina rerum*) of a like nature are brought together so as to form a solid substance.

I believe that by this process M. means us to understand the formation of the Earth, and that in what follows, "the rest...disparted," he refers to the formation of the outer crust which encases the whole Universe. The air is diffused "between" the central Earth and this crust = the *Primum Mobile*.

The rhythm of the passage seems to me to prove that *founded* and *conglobed* are past tenses, not participles. They are in antithesis to "*fluid* mass"; and *conglobed* also gives a contrast to "matter *unformed*" as it implies that the Earth, at first without form, now is moulded into a spherical form: cf. v. 649, "this globous Earth."

239. *founded*; from Lat. *fundare*, 'to lay the foundation of'; editors compare *Psalm* lxxxix. 11, *Proverbs* iii. 19.

240. *the rest*, i.e. the matter which had not been used to form the Earth. *several*; with the idea 'each thing to its own place.'

241. *disparted*, separated in different directions (*dis-*).

spun out; the metaphor of a spindle drawing out the wool on a distaff.

242. *self-balanced*. "By this he probably meant to express the adjustment of the Earth in the exact centre of the World" (Keightley). See v. 579 (note), and cf. "pendulous Earth," IV. 1000.

243—52. *Genesis* i. 3—5. M. does not say that light was created now: it existed previously (i.e. before the Universe itself) and is now introduced into the new region. This accords with

III. 1—6, where we read that light either existed from eternity and was thus "co-eternal" with the Almighty; or, if not existent "from eternity," was certainly the *first* thing made by the Almighty.

244. *ethereal*, partaking of the nature of *ether*. Properly *ether* means very bright atmosphere; light, therefore, may well be called 'ethereal.' Bacon speaks of the "four mutable elements and one immutable fifth Essence," i.e. the "quintessence." (Essay *Of Atheism*.) See III. 716, note.

first of things; cf. III. 1, "Hail, holy Light, offspring of Heaven first-born!" and *S. A.* 83, "O first-created beam!"

245. *sprung from*, suddenly rose above; cf. the address to Light in III. 8—11. He chooses the east as the home of light because they are associated so in our minds through the rising of the Sun (cf. 370), but we must remember his view (which he would have supported by *Genesis* i. 3 compared with i. 14—18) that light exists independently of the Sun.

248. *tabernacle*, dwelling; cf. *Psalm* xix. 4, "In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun." Cf. "her cloudy shrine," 360.

250. *by the hemisphere*; i.e. "one half of the sphere of the Universe being in darkness while the other is in light" (Masson).

253—60. See *Job* xxxviii. 4, 7; cf. the *Nativity Ode*, 117—24:

"Such music (as 'tis said)
Before was never made,
But when of old the Sons of Morning [=Angels] sung,
While the Creator great
His constellations set,
And the *well-balanced* [cf. 242] world on hinges *hung*;
And cast the dark *foundations* [cf. 239] deep,
And bid the weltering waves their oozy channel keep."

Note the third draft of Milton's intended tragedy of *Paradise Lost* and the entry at the close of the first Act: "Chorus of Angels sing a hymne of y^e^ Creation."

255. *exhaling*; cf. v. 642.

257. *the...orb*, the globe of the Universe: "this great round," 267.

261—74. *Genesis* i. 6—8. There are "waters" in the Universe because Chaos, of which it was a portion, was a kind of sea (210—15). At first these waters formed one great "Deep" (245): now they are divided. Part are collected round the Earth, the middle point of the Universe, and cover it (276—82). Part are placed in the Ninth or Crystalline Sphere, i.e. in the uttermost but one of the regions of space that surround the Earth. The "firmament," according to M., is the expanse of air, stretching from the Earth to this Crystalline

Sphere (263—67). Hence the "firmament" intervenes between and "divides" (262, 269) the waters that flow immediately round the Earth and the waters of the Crystalline Sphere: the former being "the waters which were under the firmament," the latter "the waters which were above the firmament" (*Genesis* i. 7); as M. says, "The waters underneath" and "those above" (268).

264. In *Genesis* i. 6, the margin has *expansion* instead of *firmament*. Cf. 340.

266. *the uttermost convex*, the farthest rim.

271. *crystalline*, clear as crystal, glassy; cf. 619, note. M. always scans *crystálline* (like Latin *crystállinus*); cf. III. 482, VI. 772. Contrast *Cymbeline*, v. 4. 113, "Mount, eagle, to my palace crystallíne."

misrule. Cf. the allusion in VI. 871—73 to the "wild anarchy" of Chaos.

272. Cf. II. 898—910, where we read how the elements of Heat and Cold "strive for mastery" in Chaos, sometimes one, sometimes the other, ruling supreme: hence there are "fierce" and rapidly-changing "extremes" of temperature in Chaos.

273. *distemper*, i.e. make the World ("the whole frame") now too hot, now too cold.

277. *waters*, i.e. those "under the firmament." *embryon*, in an undeveloped state. *involved*, wrapped; Lat. *involvere*.

281. Cf. the familiar phrase "mother earth"; see *As You Like It*, I. 2. 213.

282. *genial*, creative, fertilising. This seems to be partly the idea in Gray's "genial current of the soul"; see Tovey's note (Pitt Press ed.) on the *Elegy*, 52. So in the *Essay on Man*, I. 133, III. 118.

282—308. *Genesis* i. 9, 10.

285. *immediately*; the effect of the commands is instantaneous; cf. "forthwith," 243; "He scarce had said," 313; "sudden," 317.

The alliteration in 285, 286 is probably intended to convey an impression of bulk and solidity. See a different alliterative effect in 480.

289—91. See *Psalm* civ. 7, 8. *bottom*, valley.

293. In XII. 197, speaking of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, he says that they walked "As on dry land, between two *crystal walls*."

The whole picture is that of a great wave just before it breaks on the sea-shore.

296. *of armies thou hast heard*. Raphael had described to Adam in bk. VI. the contests in Heaven between the good Angels and the rebels.

297. *so*; Milton's usual way of completing a simile. Understand some verb (e.g. 'hastened') from *troop*.

300. *soft-ebbing*; cf. XI. 847, 848.

301, 302. i.e. either underground, or wandering over (cf. IV. 234) a wide circuit above ground.

serpent, serpentine. *error*; cf. IV. 239.

306. The slow, long-drawn rhythm suits the sense.

309—38. *Genesis* i. 11—13.

319. *smelling*; referring to *herbs*.

321. *swelling*; a suitable epithet of the gourd, and in accordance with the classical descriptions, such as Propertius IV. 2. 43 (*cæruleus cucumis tumidoque cucurbita ventre*) and *Georgic* IV. 121, 122. The original editions have *smelling*, which is not appropriate in itself and not likely to have been repeated so soon after 319. Bentley made the change (Todd). *corny reed*; cf. V. 23.

322. *embattled*. Cf. the comparison in IV. 980—83 between the bristling spears of an army and ears of corn.

add; wrongly altered in some modern texts to *and*. Cf. Lat. *adde* introducing a fresh point or detail = 'moreover, besides'; as in Horace, *Satires* II. 8. 71. *humble*, low-growing; cf. Lat. *humilis* used of trees, as by Vergil, *Eclog.* IV. 2, *humilesque myricæ*.

323. *hair*, leaves and branches; cf. Lat. *coma* used both of hair and foliage. *implicit* = Lat. *implicitus*, 'entangled,' the p. p. of *implicare*.

325. *gemmed*, budded; an imitation of Lat. *gemmare*, 'to put forth buds,' from *gemma*, 'a bud.'

327. *tufts*. Bacon recommends that a garden should be planted "with some pretty tufts of fruit trees" (*Of Gardens*).

331—37. See *Genesis* ii. 5, 6; and cf. *The Idylls of the King*:

> "she [Enid] did not weep,
> But o'er her meek eyes came a happy mist
> Like that which kept the heart of Eden green
> Before the useful trouble of the rain."

338. i.e. the chorus of Angels celebrated this day like the others.

339—86. *Genesis* i. 14—19. Cf. III. 580, 581, note.

342. *circling*; cf. *P. R.* I. 57, "the circling hours," and Gk. κυκλεῖν = 'to revolve,' as in Sophocles, *Electra* 1365. Perhaps Milton has in mind Homer's περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν ('as the years go round').

351. *vicissitude*, alternation, Lat. *vicissitudo*; cf. VI. 8. "All cannot be happy at once...there is a revolution and vicissitude of greatness" (Browne, *Religio Medici*, I. xvii.). And again: "the line of our lives is drawn with white and black vicissitudes," i.e. alternations of fortune (*Christian Morals*, II. x.).

356. *mould*, substance ; a common meaning in M. ; cf. III. 709.

358. See V. 2, note, and cf. Tennyson, *The Gardener's Daughter*:

"The heavens between their fairy fleeces pale
Sow'd all their mystic gulfs with fleeting stars."

362. *firm*, yet firm, i.e. although "porous."

365. *urns* ; used of vessels to hold water ; see *Titus Andronicus*, III. 1. 17, where most editors adopt the correction *urns* for *ruins*.

366. *the morning planet*, Venus (cf. 104, note) ; commonly called "Lucifer" as the morning-star and then treated as masculine. The First Ed. had "*his* horns" (i.e. Lucifer's), the Second Ed. *her* (i.e. of Venus).

367, 368. 'By absorbing (being tinged with) or reflecting the sun's rays they increase their own small possession, i.e. store (Lat. *peculium*), of light.' For *peculiar* used as a noun cf. Pope, *Moral Essays*, I. 15, 16:

"There's some peculiar in each leaf and grain,
Some unmark'd fibre, or some varying vein."

372. *invested*, arrayed ; Lat. *investire*, 'to clothe.' *to run* ; cf. *Psalm* xix. 4, 5, "the sun, which...rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race." See 98, 99.

373. *his longitude*, his course direct from east to west; M. uses *longitude* where we say *latitude* (III. 574—76, note).

374, 375. "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades or loose the bands of Orion?" *Job* xxxviii. 31. The Pleiades rise about the spring equinox, and, according to a common belief, the Creation took place in spring—indeed some said that before the Fall of Man there was no change of seasons, but "the eternal Spring" (IV. 268) "Perpetual smiled on Earth with *vernant* flowers" (X. 679).

376. *levelled west*, due west—exactly opposite.

377. *his mirror*, i.e. reflecting the light from him. Cf. III. 730, and Dryden, *Æn.* III. 765, "Nor could the moon her borrowed light supply." So in his *Religio Laici*, 1, 2:

"Dim as the borrowed beams of moon and stars
To lonely, weary, wandering travellers."

Dante applies the same term "mirror" (*specchio*) to the sun, because "he receives the divine light from above, the spheres intervening, and reflects it downwards," i.e. according to Dante's cosmology (note in the "Temple" edition of the *Purgatorio*, p. 46).

378. *none*; emphatic as coming last; cf. IV. 675, 704, XI. 612.

379. *aspect*, position (an astronomical term). For the accent see II. 301, note, and cf. *Lucrece*, 13, 14:

"Where mortal *stars*, as bright as heaven's beauties,
With pure *aspects* did him peculiar duties."

382. *dividual*, divided, Lat. *dividuus*: she shares her "reign" with the stars. In XII. 85 *dividual* = 'separable,' or 'separate.'

387—448. *Genesis* i. 20—23.

388. *reptile*, creeping things (*reptilia*, *ἑρπετά* in the Septuagint). The term comprises fishes of all sorts. *soul*; used as a collective term = 'creatures.' Note the marginal readings in *Genesis* i. 20.

390. *displayed*, spread out; Lat. *displicare*, 'to un-fold,' Fr. *déplier*.

393. *by their kinds*, according to their species.

400. i.e. with fry (young fishes) and with shoals = *sculls* (402).

403. *bank the mid-sea*; as with a mackerel-shoal.

406. *waved*, undulating in the water. *dropt with gold*, i.e. with gold spots. For a somewhat similar use cf. *Cymbeline*, II. 2. 38, 39:

> "A mole cinque-spotted, like the crimson drops
> I' the bottom of a cowslip."

407. *attend*, "watch" (408) for.

409. *jointed armour*, scales; lobsters and such like fish are referred to: a very appropriate comparison. *smooth*, the smooth sea; cf. "on the level brine," *Lycidas*, 98. See *Æneid* V. 594, 595.

410. *bended*; arching themselves as they rise and dive down again. *dolphins*, "i.e. porpoises, *delphines*" (Keightley).

412. *leviathan*, the whale; cf. the similar description in I. 200—205. Thomson imitates M.:

> "More to embroil the deep, *leviathan*
> And his *unwieldy* train, in dreadful sport,
> *Tempest* the brine" (*Winter*, 1014—16).

417. *tepid*; their warmth serves to hatch the eggs.

419. *disclosed*, unclosed, let out. Cf. *Hamlet*, III. 1. 174, "the *hatch* and the *disclose*"; also V. 1. 310, where it is again used so.

420. *fledge*, fledged.

421. *summed their pens*, acquired their full complement of feathers; the term *sum* is from falconry. *sublime*; cf. VI. 771.

422. Cf. XI. 835, "sea-mews' *clang*." Lat. *clangor* is used of the cry of birds; cf. Livy I. 34, *aquila...cum magno clangore volitans*.

422, 423. i.e. viewed from a distance (cf. 556) the ground would have seemed to be "under a cloud," so great was the mass of birds. Or he might mean that the birds seemed to fly almost into the clouds.

423, 424. "Doth the eagle mount up at thy command, and make her nest on high? She dwelleth and abideth on the rock, upon the crag of the rock, and the strong place," *Job* xxxix. 27, 28.

cedar-tops. Cf. *Richard III.* I. 3. 264, "Our *aery* [= *eyry*] buildeth in the *cedar's top*."

425. *loosely*, singly, not "in common" = together. *wing*; used transitively (II. 842). *region*, the upper air; cf. *Hamlet*, II. 2. 509, 607; so in Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, LXXVII.

426. *wedge*, i.e. cleave as with a wedge. He is thinking (as in *P. R.* III. 309) of the *cuneus* or 'wedge' of the Roman army, viz. the formation of troops into an acute angle, the point of which had to pierce into the massed forces of the enemy; cf. Gk. ἔμβολον. The migrations of some birds are described in similar language by Pliny, *Natural History* X. 32, and by Dante, *Purgatorio*, XXIV. 64—66. Cf. too the *Essay on Man*, III. 105—109:

> "Who bids the stork, Columbus-like, explore
> Heavens not his own, and worlds unknown before?
> Who calls the council, states the certain day,
> Who forms the phalanx, and who points the way?"

A passage ("When the cranes," etc.) in Somerville's *Chase* illustrates the immense influence of Milton's diction on the 18th century poets. Crabbe, describing the flocks of wild-fowl passing over the east coast of England, says (*The Borough*, I. 220—23):

> "Far as the eye can glance on either side,
> In a broad space and level line they glide:
> All in their wedge-like figures from the North,
> Day after day, flight after flight go forth."

428. *caravan*, troop; probably the word then had something of its oriental associations.

429, 430. "After a little time the bird that forms the apex or point [of the 'wedge' or angle] quits it and falls back, and another takes his place"—Keightley. Hence M. says "with mutual wing easing."

430. *prudent*. "Yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle and the crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming," *Jeremiah* viii. 7. Cf. "intelligent of seasons," 427. Dante, who was fond of illustrations drawn from bird-life, has two crane-similes; cf. the *Inferno*, v. 46, 47 ("as the cranes go...making a long streak of themselves in the air"), and *Purgatorio*, XXVI. 43—45.

432. *floats*, undulates. *unnumbered*, innumerable, "innumerous" (455). The rhythm is notable.

434. *painted*; cf. *pictæ volucres* (*Æneid* IV. 525).

435. *nightingale*; cf. III. 38—40, IV. 602, 603, V. 39—41. *solemn*; cf. the description of it in *Il Penseroso*, 56—64. See VIII. 518.

439. *mantling*, raised (viz. "wings") so as to form a kind of mantle.

441. *the dank*, the water. *pennons*, pinions, Lat. *pennæ*.

446. *starry*, starlike; in the one place where Shakespeare uses

starry ("the starry welkin," *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. 2. 356) it means 'adorned with stars.' *eyes*, the eye-shaped spots on the plumage of the peacock.

450—98. *Genesis* i. 24, 25.

451. *soul*; the First Ed. misprints *Foule*; Bentley corrected.

453. *each...their*; cf. VIII. 342, 343, 393; the plural *their* is due to the plural sense; it refers back to the plural noun or pronoun with which *each* is in apposition.

454, 455. *teemed*, brought forth; cf. *Macbeth*, IV. 3. 176, "Each minute teems a new one [grief]." *a birth*. It is generally after a preposition that *a* or *an* = 'one'; cf. *Othello*, II. 3. 212, "both at a birth."

457. *wons*, dwells.

461. *rare*, here and there, Lat. *rarus*.

462. *at once*, together; so in 475. *broad herds*, i.e. covering a wide area (with the implied notion 'numerous'); cf. Homer's phrase *αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν*, *Iliad* XI. 679.

463. *calved*, brought forth young; cf. *Coriolanus*, III. 1. 240.

466. *rampant*, rearing up. *brinded*, brindled.

ounce, a kind of lynx; cf. IV. 344.

467. *libbard*; an Elizabethan form of the word *leopard*, so called because thought to be a cross between a lion (*leo*) and a panther (*pardus*).

471. *Behemoth*, the elephant; cf. Thomson's *Summer*:

"in plaited mail
Behemoth rears his head."

474. *river-horse*, hippopotamus; Gk. *ἵππος* + *ποταμός*. The verb understood is *rose* (472).

476. *worm*; the term includes serpents (cf. 482). The asp or serpent by which Cleopatra was killed is called a *worm* in *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. 2. 243, 256. Cf. IX. 1068. *limber*, flexible.

477. *smallest lineaments exact*, very small, dainty limbs. For *lineaments* = 'limbs' generally, not 'features of the face,' cf. V. 278. *exact* = Lat. *exactus*, 'precise, accurate'; here 'delicately made, dainty.'

478. *liveries*, dress.

480. *these*; referring to *worm*. The alliteration (especially *l...l*) expresses length. Cf. *Comus*, 340, "With thy *l*ong *l*evelled rule of streaming *l*ight." Matthew Arnold uses the same obvious effect in *The Scholar-Gipsy*: "The line of festal light in Christ-Church Hall."

482. *minims*, very small creatures.

484. *and added wings*, and had wings as well as "snaky folds." Fabulous winged serpents such as dragons are meant.

485. *parsimonious*, thrifty; used in a good sense. *emmet*; in

origin the same word as *ant*. M. recollected Horace's description of the ant—*haud ignara ac non incauta futuri* (*Satires* I. i. 35).

486. Cf. Vergil, speaking of bees, *ingentes animos angusto in pectore versant* (*Georg.* IV. 83). Note that "large" is not a mere translation of *ingentes*; it implies wisdom; cf. *P. R.* III. 10, and 1 *Kings* iv. 29, "God gave Solomon...largeness of heart." M. generally lends a fresh turn to what he borrows.

487. Milton shows his republicanism.

490. It was a common belief of Milton's time that the working-bees were female, the males being *drones* (so called from their *droning* buzz). Cf. *Pericles*, II. i. 50, 51, "We would purge the land of these *drones*, that rob the *bee* of *her* honey."

493. *Genesis* ii. 19, 20. Cf. VI. 73—76, VIII. 342—54.

495. *Genesis* iii. 1. The *s...s* sounds in the whole description of the reptiles give a hissing effect. Cf. I. 768—75, note.

"I hate sibilation in verse" (Tennyson).

496. *brazen*, of the colour of brass; see IX. 500, note.

497. *mane*. In the famous description of the serpents that strangled Laocoon (*Æneid* II. 203 *et seq.*) Vergil speaks (206, 207) of their *sanguineæ jubæ*, 'blood-red *manes*.'

497, 498. *to thee not noxious*. Fine 'irony.'

501, 502. 'Earth, being complete in her attire, was smiling and fair.' Cf. Lat. *ridere*='to be bright,' e.g. as a field with flowers.

503. M. often uses a string of monosyllables to convey variety. Cf. II. 621. Tennyson uses such lines, e.g. often in *St Simeon Stylites*, where they give a suitable impression of austerity.

was flown; for this Latinism cf. VI. 335.

504. *frequent*, in throngs.

505. *the end*, the object for whom all was done. In 505—34 M. recalled Ovid's *Metamorphoses* I. 76—86.

506—10. M. treats man's "upright" (509) stature as a sign of his superiority to and authority over animals; cf. IV. 288, 289, *Comus*, 52, 53. One feels a suggestion of the old thought that the purpose of this "erection" of stature, peculiar to man, was "for to behold and look up toward heaven"; see Sir Thomas Browne's *Vulgar Errors*, IV. i, where editors quote Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* II. 56, and Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I. 84—86.

508. *sanctity of reason*, the divine attribute of reason; cf. v. 486—90.

509. *front*, brow; Lat. *frons*; as in II. 302.

510. *from thence*, therefore, i.e. through the possession of these qualities.

511. *magnanimous*, of lofty mind. *to correspond with*, so as to hold intercourse or 'be in sympathy' with.

517, 518. Lines 163—66, 170, 171, 192—220, implied that the Father remained in Heaven while the Son was sent forth; yet, in virtue of his "omnipresence" (168, 169, 588—90), the Father was present in the new Universe no less than in Heaven. Cf. "let *us* make" (519).

519—34. *Genesis* i. 26—31.

528. Cf. *Hebrews* i. 3, "the express image of his person" (Revised Version "very"). Literally 'modelled,' Lat *expressus*; hence 'exact.'

535. *wherever...created.* That Adam was not created in Paradise, the "Garden," but was taken there afterwards, seems implied by *Genesis* ii. 8, 15. See VIII. 296—99.

537. Cf. "*delicious* Paradise," IV. 132.

541. *all sorts are here*; cf. V. 337—47.

544—47. Sin and Death always go together in M. In X. 210, 211 we read how the sentence passed upon Adam is relaxed and "the instant stroke of death...removed," so that after his sin he is still suffered by the Almighty to live, but no longer in Paradise.

557. *idea*; in its old and strict sense 'a mental picture, or image,' lit. 'something seen mentally' (Gk. *ἰδεῖν*, 'to see'). This is the only place in his poetry where M. uses *idea*.

561. *thou heard'st*; cf. Adam's own words, IV. 680—88.

563. Even the *planets*, the 'wandering' bodies (see VIII. 128, 129, note), stood still. *stations*; so the First Edition; the Second has *station*.

564. *pomp*, procession.

565—67. *Psalm* xxiv. 7.

569—73. The Old Testament often speaks of Angels visiting the Earth, and in III. 529—37 M. says that there were two aerial paths for their descent, one leading straight down from Heaven on to Mount Sion, the other extending over the whole Promised Land. In *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 9, M. deals with the ministry on Earth of Angels.

577, 578. Cf. IV. 976, "the road of Heaven star-paved."

579. *the Galaxy*, 'the Milky way'; called *lacteæ plagæ* ('the milky regions') in Milton's poem *In Obitum Præsulis Eliensis*, 60. Cf. Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, II. 2. III, "that *via lactea*, a confused light of small Stars, like so many nailes in a doore" (I. 382, ninth ed.); and Pope, *Essay on Man*, I. 101, 102:

> "His soul proud science never taught to stray
> Far as the solar walk or milky way."

581. *powdered with stars*; a phrase in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*.

584, 585. *the holy mount*; cf. 141, v. 643 (note).

591—93. *Genesis* ii. 2, 3, *Exodus* xx. 11 (whence "hallowed").

596. *dulcimer*; a stringed instrument, played with small hammers; said to be the primitive type from which the pianoforte was developed. Mentioned in *Daniel* iii. 5, 10, 15, and probably of Babylonish origin. Our name for it comes from Spanish *dulcemele*, a dulcimer; so called from its sweet sound (Lat. *dulce* + *melos*).

all organs, wind instruments, opposed to the stringed instruments in 597. Properly *stop* = 'that by which the sounds of wind instruments are regulated'; hence = 'tone, notes.' M. speaks of a "lute or soft organ-stop waiting on elegant voices, either to religious, martial, or civil ditties," *On Education*. A skilled musician himself, he uses musical terms often, and precisely.

597. *on fret*, i.e. produced upon frets. "On stringed instruments that have finger-boards, like the lute or guitar, the small pieces of wood or other material fixed transversely on the finger-board at regular intervals are called frets. The object they serve is to mark off the length of string required to produce a given note. Frets correspond in their use with the holes in the tube of a wind instrument."—Grove's *Dictionary of Music*.

599. *unison*, i.e. solo opposed to in chorus.

599, 600. *incense...fuming*; see *Rev.* viii. 3—5. Cf. xi. 17, 18. Milton "had seen their manner of incensing in the churches abroad" (Newton).

605, 606. *the Giant-angels*; a comparison is implied between the rebellious Angels and the Giants of classical mythology who sought to expel Zeus and the gods from Olympus. *thy thunders*; see the account of the battle in Heaven, vi. 834—66. Cf. Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther*, ii. 535—37 (from the noble passage on the Catholic Church):

> "Still when the giant-brood invades her throne,
> She stoops from heaven and meets them half-way down,
> And with paternal thunder vindicates her crown";

where "giant-brood" is an echo of *Samson Agonistes*, 1247.

617. *witness*, let this World bear witness.

619. *the hyaline*, "the glassy sea" = the Crystalline Sphere. Milton, "when he uses Greek words, sometimes gives the English with them, as in speaking of the rivers of Hell" (ii. 577—83)—Newton. Cf. 579.

621, 622. M. refers more than once to the likelihood of the heavenly bodies being inhabited; see viii. 153—58, and cf. the quotation from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* in the note on viii. 140—45.

622, 623. *thou know'st their seasons*; a parenthesis, qualifying the suggestion that the stars will be fit for habitation (i.e. in respect of temperature): the Angels do not know, but the Almighty does.

624. *nether ocean*, i.e. "the waters under the firmament."

628—30. Cf. 519—34. See *Psalm* viii. 6—8.

631, 632. *O fortunatos nimium sua si bona nôrint*, Vergil, *Georg.* II. 458. *persevere*, remain steadfastly; cf. VIII. 639.

634. *halleluiah*, 'praise ye the Lord'; cf. *Psalm* cxlvi. 1, margin.

636. *face of things*, external nature; all natural objects about us.

BOOK VIII.

The discourse on astronomy in this book (extending down to line 178) is interesting mainly as a proof that Milton was acquainted with the teaching of Copernicus. Indeed, though he accepts the Ptolemaic system throughout the poem, he makes Raphael refer to it and its later developments in not very complimentary terms (77—84) and seems to lean towards the Copernican theory. Grotius in his *Adamus Exul*, the tragedy on the Fall of Man with which M. is thought to have been acquainted, makes an angel explain to Adam the astronomical system and laws of the Universe.

Some striking parallels to Milton's words are presented by the chapter in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* entitled "a Digression of the Ayre" (II. 2. III), which is a review of then current systems and theories of astronomers. Astronomy (in which, as in so many other things, he really belonged to a past generation) evidently had a great attraction for Milton: hence the references to Galileo, the only one of his contemporaries alluded to in *Paradise Lost*. And how significant in itself is the famous reference in bk. I.! "'The Tuscan artist'—that is the name which Milton gives to Galileo, as if to indicate that science and art are in inseparable conjunction, as they were in his own person, and in his own poetry" (Mackail). See I. 287—91, III. 588—90, V. 261—63 (with notes), and the *Areopagitica*, *P. W.* II. 82. Dante, too, and Tennyson (says another critic) "loved the stars."

1—4. In the First Edition of *Paradise Lost* the two books which are now VII. and VIII. of the poem formed only one book; and after the line, "Aught not surpassing human measure, say" (VII. 640), came the line (641), "To whom thus Adam gratefully replied." In the Second Edition, when book VII. was divided into two books, M. added the three lines, "The Angel ended...fixed to hear," to introduce book VIII., and changed slightly what is now the fourth line of the book. Cf. the similar alteration at the beginning of book XII., which in the First Edition formed one book with the present book XI.

2. *charming*; in the strong sense 'laying under a spell, enchanting.'

3. *stood*; perhaps='remained, continued.' It is not Adam's attitude that is emphasised, but his great attention; probably he sat (Richardson).

12. Scan *áttributed*; cf. 107.

14. *resolve*, explain, clear up.

15. M. recollected *Hamlet*, II. 2. 310, "this *goodly frame*, the earth." Cf. "this universal frame"=the Universe, V. 154.

16. *Heaven*, sky; it bears this sense in most passages of this book. See VII. 63, note.

19—38. We have the same idea again in IX. 103—107.

19. *numbered*; apparently='numerous' (cf. VI. 229, and *Cymbeline*, I. 6. 36), unless M. has in mind passages like *Psalm* cxlvii. 4, "He telleth the number of the stars."

22. *officiate*, supply.

23. *opacous*, dark, yielding no light; cf. 93 ("nor glistering").

punctual, small, no bigger than a point (Lat. *punctum*). Cf. Drummond, *A Cypress Grove*: "This globe of the earth and water, which seemeth huge to us, in respect of the universe, compared with that wide, wide pavilion of heaven, is less than little, of no sensible quantity, and but as a point....More, if the earth were not as a point, the stars could not still in all parts of it appear to us as of a like greatness" (*Works*, II. 260).

24. *one day*, i.e. only for one; cf. *one* (emphatic) in 29.

25. *admire*, wonder.

32. *sedentary*, stationary (from Lat. *sedere*, 'to sit'); cf. 89, "Earth sitting still," and II. 927.

33. If the Earth revolved, her circuit would be far less than that of the heavenly bodies.

35—37. The construction is, 'and receives as tribute her warmth and light, brought such an incalculable distance with "speed almost spiritual" (110).'

40. Milton's reason for making Eve withdraw is seen later (354—629).

43. The number of monosyllables is, no doubt, intentional. They give a slow rhythm which suggests the calm dignity of Eve's movement.

46. *her nursery*, things tended by her: an abstract expression for a concrete. We speak of a 'nursery-garden.' There is a beautiful picture in IX. 423—62 of Eve among her flowers.

61. *pomp*, train.

64. *to Adam's doubt proposed*, to the point of difficulty mentioned by Adam, i.e. in 25—38; cf. 13, "something yet of *doubt* remains."

70, 71. *this to attain*; referring probably to what has preceded

in 68, 69. 'To attain this knowledge, viz. of the seasons, hours etc., it makes no difference whether the heaven or the Earth moves. Such knowledge is within our comprehension; but "the rest," viz. more abstruse points, God has concealed' (Newton).

74, 75. *ought...admire.* There is one instance in Shakespeare of this construction; cf. *Julius Cæsar*, I. 1. 3, "you ought not walk." Elsewhere he always has *to*; cf. *Julius Cæsar*, II. 1. 270. In Middle English the present infinitive was marked by the inflection *en*; when this inflection became obsolete, *to* was used with the infinitive. Certain 'anomalous' verbs, however, on the analogy of auxiliary verbs, omitted the *to*, and there was much irregularity in the practice of Elizabethan writers. Cf. the two constructions with *dare* in modern English: 'I dare say this' and 'I dare *to* say.'

78. Cf. II. 190, 191, note.

wide, i.e. of the mark; 'erroneous'; cf. the adverb in *Much Ado About Nothing*, IV. 1. 63, "Is my lord well, that he doth speak so wide?"

80—84. The object of the devices which M. ridicules in these lines was to support the Ptolemaic theory of the circular motion of the heavenly bodies by accounting for difficulties which seemed to conflict with that theory. See *Appendix*, pp. 688—90.

80. *calculate*; "make a computation of everything relating to them: their motions, distance, situation, etc." (Pearce).

82. *appearances*, apparent sizes, motions, etc. of the heavenly bodies; it was a technical term of astronomers, occurring often in Burton's chapter on Astronomy—"a Digression of the Ayre"—*Anatomy of Melancholy*, II. 2. III. *sphere*, the globe of the Universe; = "frame" in 81.

83. "*Centric* are such spheres whose centre is the same with, and *eccentric* are such whose centres are different from, that of the Earth" (Richardson). *scribbled*; an intentionally contemptuous word.

84. *epicycle.* "A small circle, having its centre on the circumference of a greater circle...In the Ptolemaic system of astronomy each of the 'seven planets' was supposed to revolve in an epicycle, the centre of which moved along a greater circle called a deferent."—*New English Dict.*

orb in orb, sphere within sphere.

86. *who*; its antecedent is contained in *thy* (85): 'the reasoning of *thee* who art.' A common Shakespearian idiom; cf. *Twelfth Night*, III. 1. 69, "He must observe *their* mood on *whom* he jests," i.e. the mood of *those* on whom.

and supposest; Raphael implies 'and art foolish enough to suppose.'

If Adam who is "to lead" mankind makes such mistakes, how much more will his descendants err in their "quaint opinions"?

90, 91. *great...bright*; each used as a noun; cf. 448, 453.

infers not, is no proof of; see VII. 116.

93. *nor glistering*, i.e. "opacous" (23). *glistering*; cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, II. 7. 65, "All that glisters is not gold."

94—97. Contrast III. 606—12.

97. *his*; a clear case of *his* for *its*; cf. *itself*, 95.

99. *officious*, ministering = Lat. *officiosus*, 'ready to serve by doing *officia*, i.e. kind acts.' This use of *officious* in a good sense occurs in *Titus Andronicus*, V. 2. 202. Cf. IX. 104.

102. "Who hath laid the measures thereof, if thou knowest? or who hath stretched the line upon it?" *Job* xxxviii. 5, where "it" refers to the Earth (verse 4).

108. *numberless*, that cannot be described in numbers; it refers to *swiftness* (cf. 38), not to *circles* (i.e. the Sun and heavenly bodies).

110. *speed...spiritual*, speed such as bodiless spirits use; cf. 37.

122, 123. *the sun...centre*; i.e. instead of the Earth (VII. 242, note).

124. *attractive virtue*; as we say, 'power of attraction.' So in III. 582, 583 he speaks of the constellations being "turned" by the Sun's "magnetic beam."

128, 129. *six*, i.e. the six planets or 'wanderers'; cf. "*wandering* course" (126). The six meant are the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. The "seventh" planet is the Sun, according to the Ptolemaic system; but the Earth (129), according to the Copernican. Shakespeare treats the Sun and Moon as planets.

129. *the planet Earth*; he does not mean to state definitely that the Earth is a planet; he only hazards the supposition that she is. See the quotation from Burton's *Anatomy* in the note on 140—45.

130. "The *three different motions* which the Copernicans attribute to the Earth are (1) the *diurnal* round her own axis; (2) the *annual* round the Sun; and (3) the *libration*, as it is call'd, whereby the Earth so proceeds in her orbit, as that her axis is [always] parallel to the axis of the World" (Newton).

The third of these motions is the "trepidation talked," to which M. refers in III. 482, 483, and which is there attributed to the Crystalline Sphere, in accordance with the Ptolemaic system. Here it is attributed to the Earth, as the followers of Copernicus taught.

One of the points in *Paradise Lost* which Addison criticises adversely is Milton's "frequent use of what the learned call Technical Words, or terms of art," and he instances more particularly the astronomical terms. But Dante had set the example.

131—40. 'You must attribute the three motions just mentioned *either* to several spheres moving in opposite directions and crossing each other obliquely (the Ptolemaic view), *or* to the Earth (the Copernican view). If you attribute them to the Earth, then you save the Sun his labour, i.e. of revolving round the Earth; and you also get rid of ("save") that wheel or "rhomb" called the *Primum Mobile*, the motion of which is supposed to cause the revolution of the nine inner spheres round the Earth in twenty-four hours. It is only a theory that this wheel or "rhomb" exists, because it is too far off to be visible; and you need not believe in the theory, if the Earth revolves on her axis from west to east every twenty-four hours, and thus illuminates with the Sun's rays one-half of her globe while the other half, being turned away from ("averse") the Sun, is covered with darkness. The theory of the *Primum Mobile* was only invented to explain certain motions which really may be due to the Earth.'

132. *thwart*, crossing; cf. the verb *thwart*='to go across,' IV. 557.

134. *nocturnal and diurnal rhomb*; alluding to its revolution in twenty-four hours. "Wheel of day and night" at once varies and explains the whole phrase. *rhomb*, wheel, Gk. ῥόμβος. "*Wheel* or *wheels*...throughout the *Paradiso* is used for the revolving heavens" ("Temple" edition of *Paradiso*, p. 12). Cf. "the eternal wheels" (*eterne rote*), I. 64; see also XIII. 12, XXII. 119. Pope borrowed Dante's phrase, in the same sense; cf. the *Moral Essays*, III. 168. Sir Thomas Browne in one of his bold astronomical metaphors compares the "encyclopædie and round of knowledge" with "the great and exemplary wheels of heaven" (*Vulgar Errors*, "To the Reader").

137. *fetch day*, i.e. from the Sun.

140—45. Cf. Burton, "If the Earth move, it is a Planet, and shines to them in the Moon, and to the other Planetary inhabitants, as the Moon and they do to us upon the Earth; but shine she doth, as Galilie [Galileo], Kepler, and others prove, and then *per consequens*, the rest of the Planets are inhabited, as well as the Moon" (*Anatomy of Melancholy*, ninth ed., I. p. 385). He had previously (p. 383) referred to "that paradox of the Earth's motion, now (? 1621) so much in question." Some theologians found support for it in *Job* ix. 6. The idea that the stars are inhabited is satirised by Bunyan, as a contemporary delusion or imposture, in the introductory lines ("To the Reader") to *The Holy War*.

145. M. seems to have thought that the Moon is inhabited. Cf. III. 459—62. Drummond mentions, but refrains from expressing any opinion about, the belief; cf. *A Cypress Grove*: "Some affirm there is another world of men and sensitive creatures, with cities and palaces, in the moon" (*Works*, II. 250). *her spots*; see V. 419, 420.

148. *other suns.* "He seems to mean Jupiter and Saturn, whose satellites had been discovered by Galileo. Though he knew them to be planets, he might have regarded them as suns with respect to their attendant moons"; so Keightley, followed by other editors, explains. But Burton, speaking of the "Fixed Stars," says: "If our world [i.e. the Earth] be small, why may we not suppose a plurality of worlds, those infinite stars visible in the Firmament to be so many Suns, to have likewise their subordinate planets? which some have held, and some still maintain....Kepler (I confess) will by no means admit that the fixed stars should be so many Suns, with their compassing planets" (*Anatomy of Melancholy*, I. 386). That appears to me to be the theory to which M. alludes.

150. *male*, original direct light; *female*, reflected light; cf. "borrowed," III. 730.

153—58. 'That there should be such a vast unpeopled space, only made for the purpose of shining, and from each of its orbs only contributing (so great is the distance) a mere glimpse of light to this Earth which itself sends back light: this notion is open to dispute.'

157. *this habitable*, the Earth; an imitation of the Greek phrase ἡ οἰκουμένη (γῆ), 'the inhabited world.'

159. i.e. whether the Copernican system or the Ptolemaic be right.

163—66. It was objected to the Copernican theory "that if the Earth mov'd round on her axle in twenty-four hours, we should be sensible of the rapidity and violence of the motion." M. has this objection in mind when he suggests that if the Earth does revolve, her motion may be smooth and even, and that the atmosphere may move as well as the Earth—which would, of course, make the sense of motion less perceptible to us (Newton).

164. *inoffensive*, not striking against anything, not colliding (Lat. *inoffensus*). *spinning*, i.e. like a top.

173. Cf. Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty*, 53, 54:

"Give unto me, made lowly wise,
The spirit of self-sacrifice."

181. *Intelligence*; in Spenser "a frequent term for the celestial beings" (Todd). See the *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, 84, and cf. Drummond, *A Cypress Grove*: "And if these [the "eternal habitation and throne" of the Almighty] be so dazzling, what is the sight of Him, for whom and by whom all was created; of whose glory to behold the thousand thousand part, the most pure intelligences are fully satiate, and with wonder and delight rest amazed; for the beauty of His light

and the light of His beauty are uncomprehensible" (*Works*, II. 277). It is really a Dante word; cf. the *Convivio*, III. vi.

183—97. Some editors regard these lines as an objection against study of the difficult problems of physical science. I think rather that Milton protested against barren speculation of all sorts, and a spirit of excessive enquiry in general; cf. II. 558—69, note.

194, 195. *what is more*, i.e. anything beyond that. *fume*, vanity; literally 'smoke' (Lat. *fumus*). *fond*, foolish. *impertinence*, irrelevance, that which does not belong to or concern us.

197. *still to seek*, always deficient, at a loss. See *Comus*, 366, note, and cf. the *Utopia* (Pitt Press ed., p. 131), "They do daylie practise... lest they should be to seek in the feate of arms," i.e. deficient in skill.

205. Raphael says later (229—46), that he was not acquainted with the story of Adam's creation, and mentions the reason why. The poet naturally varies the speakers.

212. *palm-tree*, i.e. the date-palm.

213. *from labour*, i.e. when I come from = 'after' (Gk. ἐκ).

218. "Grace is poured into thy lips," *Psalm* xlv. 2.

225. *fellow-servant*, so the Angel described himself to St John, *Revelation* xxii. 9, "I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets."

229. *that day*, viz. the sixth of Creation (VII. 519—50).

230. *uncouth*, unfamiliar, strange.

241. *barricadoed*, fortified. Sin, who kept the gates of Hell, afterwards opened them "with ease" to let Satan out, but was unable to close them again (II. 871—89).

243, 244. *noise*, i.e. of the outcast Angels, who for nine days after their fall from Heaven lay prostrate on the lake of fire in Hell (I. 50—53). When they arose and had re-formed their scattered ranks then (I. 666—79)

> "Highly they *raged*
> Against the Highest, and fierce with grasped arms
> Clashed on their sounding shields the din of war,
> Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven."

Those were the sounds of "furious rage" heard by Raphael. Addison compares Vergil, *Æneid* VI. 552—58.

246. *Sabbath-evening*; the evening before the Sabbath or seventh day on which the Almighty rested from all His work (VII. 592, 593).

247. *relation*, report, story; cf. Fr. *relation* and the verb *relate*.

251. i.e. who was ever conscious of being created? For the idiom cf. V. 857, 858, and see IX. 792, note.

260. *thitherward.* See VII. 506—10, note.

266. *fragrance*; perhaps used figuratively to express an intense sweetness of feeling. But I think that it refers literally to the sweet-scented air, and is combined by a sort of zeugma with *joy*; cf. I. 502, "flown with insolence and wine" (a similar combination of the literal cause with the abstract).

268. *went*, walked; a common Shakespearian use. Cf. *The Tempest*, III. 2. 21, 22, "We'll not *run*...Nor *go* neither."

269. *as.* The Second Edition prints *and.*

281. *from whom I have that*, to whom I owe it that; cf. *Acts* xvii. 28.

284. *drew air*; cf. ἕλκειν τὸν ἀέρα (in rather late Greek writers). Cf. VII. 14.

292—94. *dream...fancy*; see V. 100—13 (the passage on dreams).

stood at my head; Keightley quotes *Iliad* II. 56—59. There is a vague suggestion of *Il Penseroso*, 147—50.

296—99. See VII. 535, note.

302. *smooth sliding*; an epithet of the river Mincius in *Lycidas*, 86.

303. M. always describes the "garden of bliss," i.e. Paradise, as situate on the level summit of a lofty hill, the steep slopes of which are covered with trees and shrubs (cf. "woody"). It is a plateau or table-land of circular shape (304). See IV. 134 (note), 172—77.

plain, flat (Fr. *plain*, 'level,' Lat. *planus*). Cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. 2. 404, "Follow me...to plainer ground."

316. *submiss*, cast down, prostrate (*submissus*). In writing a letter to "your superior," says Ben Jonson, "for your interest or favour with him, you are to be the shorter or longer, more familiar or submiss, as he will afford you time" (*Discoveries*, CXXVI.).

319—33. *Genesis* ii. 15—17. See VII. 46.

323. The inverted word-order gives great emphasis. *operation*, effect.

330. *die*, be subject to death.

331. *mortal*; cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, I. xxxiii., "before his fall, man also was immortal." Many of the Fathers of the Church taught the doctrine that Adam, if he had not sinned, would not have died but been translated to Heaven. M. speaks doubtfully on the subject (V. 493—505), and in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 8, says, "it is evident that God, at least after the fall of man, limited human life to a certain term"—which implies that this limitation *may* have preceded the Fall.

337. *purpose*, discourse; cf. IV. 337. *renewed*; intransitive.

338—41. *Genesis* i. 28. See VII. 530—34.

343, 344. Cf. VII. 493. *fealty*; M. scans it as three syllables, *fëalty*; cf. IX. 262. Contrast *Richard II.* v. 2. 45, "And lasting fealty to the new made king."

351. *stooped*, stooping.

352—54. M. says in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 7 (*ad fin.*): "Man being formed after the image of God, it followed as a necessary consequence that he should be endued with natural wisdom, holiness, and righteousness....Certainly without extraordinary wisdom he could not have given names to the whole animal creation with such *sudden intelligence*." Cf. too his *Tetrachordon*: "Adam, who had the wisdom given him to know all creatures, and to name them according to their properties, no doubt but had the gift to discern perfectly that which concerned him much more; and to *apprehend at first sight* the true fitness of that consort which God provided him" (*P. W.* III. 336). See Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, I. 3. 3, and 6. 6; Dryden, *The Hind and the Panther*, I. 308—10.

apprehension, perception; cf. *Hamlet*, II. 2. 319, "What a piece of work is a man!...in apprehension how like a god!" So also in *Henry V.* III. 7. 145.

372, 373. The magic ring mentioned in the story of Cambuscan (*Il Penseroso*, 109—15) enabled its owner to understand the language of birds; see *The Squyeres Tale*, 138—57. Clouston says, "many Asiatic tales turn upon a knowledge of the language of birds and beasts" (*Popular Tales*, vol. I. p. 376)—e.g. the story in the *Arabian Nights* of "The Page who feigned to know the Speech of Birds."

379. Cf. Abraham's words, *Genesis* xviii. 30.

384. *sort*, prove fitting, suit; cf. X. 651, *P. R.* I. 200.

387. Hume explains: "*the one intense*; man high, wound up, and strain'd to nobler understanding, and of more lofty faculty. *the other still remiss*; the animal let down, and slacker, grovelling in more low and mean perceptions.

"A musical metaphor [cf. 384], from strings, of which the stretch'd and highest gave a smart and sharp sound, the slack a flat and heavy one." Lat. *remissus* = 'slack, relaxed.'

The construction of the line is absolute—'the one *being* intense' etc.

388. The subject of the verbs is *which* (= "society"), in 385.

390. *participate*; cf. IX. 717.

396. *converse*, have fellowship with; cf. 418 ("conversation"), and VII. 9.

399. *nice*, dainty; said with a touch of reproof to Adam for being fastidious and "subtle" in his tastes.

402. *in pleasure*, in the midst of pleasant things. *Eden* means 'pleasure'; cf. IV. 27, 28.

405—407. Passages like this, and III. 383, 384, V. 603—606, reveal the Arianism of Milton's theology.

407. Newton quotes Horace, *Odes* I. 12. 17, 18 :

unde nil majus generatur ipso,
nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum.

409. *and those*; the Heavenly beings.

412—14. An allusion to *Romans* xi. 33.

417. *in degree*, only relatively perfect. *the cause*, which thing, viz. his imperfection, is the cause.

421. *through all numbers absolute.* Newton noted that this is a Latin turn of phrase='perfect in every respect'; from Lat. *numerus* in the sense 'a part of a whole, detail.' Cf. *omnibus numeris*='in every detail' in the following passages: *perfectum expletumque omnibus suis numeris atque partibus*—Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* II. 13; and *liber numeris omnibus absolutus*—Pliny, *Epistles* IX. 38. Here M. uses the Latinism with a kind of quibble, *numbers* being in antithesis to *one*. For *absolute*='perfect,' cf. 548.

423. *his single imperfection*, his imperfection in being single, i.e. unwedded. Cf. phrases in Shakespeare like "single blessedness"= blessedness in being single, *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, I. 1. 78; cf. I. 120, note.

425. *in unity defective*, defective as long as he is single. *unity*; in its literal sense, 'oneness, the state of being one.'

which, a thing which, viz. "to manifest...and beget."

433. *from prone*, from being prone, i.e. not upright. M. uses this classical idiom several times in prose and verse, but commonly with the preposition *of*. Cf. *The Tenure of Kings*, "raised them to be high and rich *of* poor and base" (*P. W.* II. 47). See IV. 153, note.

440. *free.* "Milton is, upon all occasions, a strenuous advocate for the freedom of the human mind, against the narrow and rigid notions of the Calvinists of that age" (Thyer).

441. *my image*; in apposition to *thee* (440); cf. VII. 519, 520.

443. *freely*, spontaneously; without warning from his Maker.

445. *Genesis* ii. 18.

450. *other self*; so in X. 128. Cf. the classical phrases for a friend, ἕτερος αὐτός and *alter ego*.

452—86. *Genesis* ii. 21, 22.

460, 461. *the cell of fancy*; for this idea cf. V. 102—109. See *Numbers* xxiv. 4 ("falling into a trance, but having his eyes open").

462, 463. *abstract*, abstract*ed*. In *Gen.* ii. 21, the word rendered "a deep sleep" implies a 'trance' (Newton).

465. *my left side.* "The Scripture says only 'one of his ribs,' but Milton follows those interpreters who suppose this rib was taken from

the left side, as being nearer to the heart" (Newton). Cf. *cordial*, 'belonging to the heart' (Lat. *cor*), in 466. Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, I. xxi., says, "Whether Eve was framed out of the left side of Adam, I dispute not; because I stand not yet assured which is the right side of a man; or whether there be any such distinction in nature." See also X. 886—88, notes.

466—70. In his *Tetrachordon*, M. says: "That there was a nearer alliance between Adam and Eve, than could be ever after between man and wife, is visible to any. For no other woman was ever moulded out of her husband's rib" (*P. W.* III. 335).

478. Cf. Milton's *Sonnet* "On his deceased Wife," 14 (Thyer).

488. Newton quotes Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. 4. 120, "The lustre in your eye, *heaven* in your cheek."

494. *enviest*, grudgest.

494—99. *Genesis* ii. 23, 24; *Matthew* xix. 4—6; *Mark* x. 6—8.

498. *adhere*=the Scriptural word "cleave" (*Genesis* ii. 24). Newton notes that the Vulgate has *adhærebit uxori suæ*.

500. *divinely*, by divine agency (cf. 485); Lat. *divinitus*. Cf. *S. A.* 226, "The work to which I was divinely called."

502. *conscience*, consciousness=Lat. *conscientia*; cf. *Hebrews* x. 2, "because that the worshippers once purged should have had no more conscience of sins." So in the second *Sonnet* ("To Cyriack Skinner") on his blindness.

503. *wooed...won*. Proverbial; cf. *Richard III.* I. 2. 228, 229:

"Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?
Was ever woman in this humour won?"

See 1 *Henry VI.* V. 3. 77, 78; *Titus Andronicus*, II. 1. 82, 83; *Sonnet* 41.

504. *not obvious*, retiring, modest; not 'forward.'

508. *honour*. Cf. *Hebrews* xiii. 4, "Marriage is honourable in all," and the *Prayer-Book*, "holy Matrimony...is an honourable estate." Cf. 577.

513, 514. This notion of omens is imitated from the classical poets. Cf. IX. 782—84.

515—17. *gales*. Speaking of the similar passage in bk. IV.—cf. "sylvan scene" (IV. 140), "gentle gales" (156)—Tennyson justly remarked: "undoubtedly commonplace now, but M. introduced the style": which the 18th century poets did to death.

518. *the amorous bird of night*; see V. 39—41, note.

519, 520. Cf. XI. 588, 589. The evening-star Hesperus was also called *stella Veneris*. See VII. 366, note. *on his hill-top*; Newton compares Catullus LXII. 1, 2; Vergil, *Eclogues* VIII. 30.

532, 533. Cf. *S. A.* 1003—1007.

534—36. *or...or*; cf. *Coriolanus*, III. 1. 208, 209:

"Or let us stand to our authority,
Or let us lose it";

and *Julius Cæsar*, v. 5. 3, "he is or ta'en or slain."

537—39. So in *S. A.* 1025—30 the Chorus ask why women are fickle:

"Is it for that such outward ornament
Was lavished on their sex, that inward gifts
Were left for haste unfinished, judgment scant,
Capacity not raised to apprehend
Or value what is best,
In choice, but oftest to affect the wrong?"

In those lines, as here in 540—42, we have Milton's own opinion as to the relative character and intellectual capacity of man and woman. "Not equal" is his view (IV. 296); contrast Tennyson's—"diverse" (*The Princess*).

547. *absolute*, perfect, "complete" (548). Cf. 471—74.

548. *so well to know*, i.e. *she seems* (547).

555, 556. i.e. designed by God from the first, not made to supply some need or "occasion" that arose afterwards.

560. *contracted*, frowning, in sign of displeasure. Cicero has *contrahere frontem* in this sense, *Pro Cluentio* 26.

561—78. Cf. the very similar passage in bk. X. (145—56), where, after the Fall, Adam is rebuked by God for having yielded to Eve (*Genesis* iii. 12) and eaten the forbidden fruit. Raphael's warning prepares us for Adam's weakness in book IX.

569. *Ephesians* v. 28, 29. Cf. the *Prayer-Book*, "I take thee to my wedded wife...to love and to cherish."

570. *not thy subjection*; a favourite sentiment with M.; cf. IX. 1182—86, *S. A.* 1053—60.

573. *that skill*, that knowledge or wisdom, i.e. self-esteem.

574. "The head of the woman is the man," 1 *Corinthians* xi. 3.

576. *adorn.* The word is either an imitation of Ital. *adorno*= *adornato*, and M. is fond of Italianised forms; or an instance of the Elizabethan tendency to abbreviate participles.

579, 580. *touch.* Cf. Adam's words, 530.

590. *hath his seat in reason*, is based on. Compare Dante's analysis of love into two kinds—"either natural or rational" (*amore o naturale o d' animo*)—*Purgatorio*, XVII. 92, 93. That and the next canto of the *Purgatorio* should be compared with 586—621. The language recalls *Twelfth Night*, II. 4. 21, 22:

"It gives a very echo to the seat
Where Love is throned."

591. *scale*, ladder (Lat. *scala*); cf. v. 483, and Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, I. xxxiii., "there is in this universe a stair, or manifest scale, of creatures, rising not disorderly, or in confusion, but with a comely method and proportion." He speaks too of "the ladder and scale of creatures" (I. xxx.). See also Bacon, *New Atlantis*, Pitt Press ed., p. 47. This idea of ascent is essentially Platonic and Spenserian.

592. We find this idea of Heavenly love in *Comus*, 1003—11 (the allegory of Cupid and Pysche), *Lycidas*, 176, 177, and Milton's Latin elegy, the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 217. Note also that in the first three drafts of his contemplated drama of *Paradise Lost* a personification of "Heavenly Love" appears among the characters. No doubt, the idea was suggested by Plato's discourse in the *Symposium* (180 *et seq.*) on the two types of love—*οὐράνιος Ἔρως*, 'divine love,' and *πάνδημος Ἔρως*; cf. Milton's reference to "the divine volumes of Plato" (by which probably he meant in particular the *Symposium* and *Phædrus*) in a well-known passage of autobiography in *An Apology for Smectymnuus*, *P. W.* III. 119. Spenser has *An Hymne of Heavenly Love*, the sentiment of which is Christianised Platonism, adapted from Italian sources; see the Pitt Press edition of the *Fowre Hymnes*.

thou may'st ascend. Cf. Wordsworth, *Laodamia*, 145—47:

"Learn by a mortal yearning to ascend,
Seeking a higher object:—Love was given,
Encouraged, sanctioned, chiefly for that end."

Thyer refers to the *Symposium* 211.

598. *genial*, nuptial; cf. Lat. *genialis lectus* (or *torus*); *genialis* is connected with *gignere*, 'to beget, to produce, bring forth.' See IV. 712.

599. *mysterious*, full of awe, such as befits "a great mystery" (*Ephesians* v. 32).

601. *decencies*, graceful traits, touches of comeliness.

604. Cf. the definition of friendship as 'one soul in two bodies.'

607. *these subject not*, these do not bring me into "subjection" (570); i.e. the charming qualities of Eve mentioned above.

608. *foiled*, overcome.

609—11. i.e. though he meets with various objects presented to him by his senses under various forms, yet he still preserves freedom of choice.

615. Cf. Wordsworth, *Laodamia*, 97, 98:

"He spake of love, such love as spirits feel
In worlds whose course is equable and pure."

624, 625. Cf. the description of spiritual forms in I. 424—28.

631. *Earth's green Cape*, Cape *Verd* (='green'), on the west coast of Africa. *verdant Isles*, the Cape Verd islands; commonly identified with the classical *Hesperidum Insulæ*, in which were the "Hesperian Gardens" (III. 568) where grew the golden apples guarded by the daughters of Hesperus and the dragon Ladon. See III. 568, IV. 250, notes.

632. I think the rhythm shows that *Hesperean* qualifies *sun* (630), not *Isles*.

633—43. Raphael "very properly closes his discourse with those moral instructions which should make the most lasting impression on the mind of Adam, and to deliver which was the principal end and design of the Angel's coming" (Newton).

634. See 1 *John* v. 3, "For this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments."

636. *free will*, your will unswayed by passion.

637. *admit*, approve of. Newton says 'commit' (=Lat. *admittere*).

639. *persevering*; cf. VII. 632.

648. See VII. 41, note.

651. *good*, propitious, gracious: *sis bonus, o, felixque tuis*, Vergil, *Eclogue* v. 65. Milton had echoed that passage twice. Cf. the end (207, 208) of his *Epitaphium Damonis*:

quin tu, cæli post jura recepta,
Dexter ades placidusque fave;

and *Lycidas*, 182—85:

"Now, Lycidas, the shepherds weep no more;
Henceforth thou art the Genius of the shore,
In thy large recompense, and shalt be good
To all that wander in that perilous flood."

oft return. Raphael does not appear again in the poem; after the Temptation and Fall, a sterner Archangel (XI. 234, 235) is sent from Heaven to lead Adam forth from Paradise.

BOOK IX.

1—5. This introduction refers mainly to Raphael's colloquy with Adam in the four preceding books of *Paradise Lost*. We were told in them how the Archangel came down to Eden, partook with Adam of the "rural repast" which Eve prepared (v. 331—450), and then held long "talk" with him; narrating the rebellion of Satan and his

followers (v. 577—907), the contest and their expulsion from Heaven (VI. 1—892), and the Creation of the World (book VII.); explaining other points on which Adam asks questions (book VIII.); and admonishing him against his Enemy (VI. 900—12, VIII. 635—43). Raphael is referred to several times in books V.—VIII. as Adam's "Angel-guest" (v. 328), "godlike guest" (v. 351), "Heavenly guest" (VII. 69, VIII. 646), and it is to him that the description in lines 2—4 is meant to apply.

This book "has more story in it, and is fuller of incidents, than any other in the whole poem" (Addison).

1. *no more of talk*, i.e. there will be no more of this friendly conversation in the rest of the poem. In book XI. the Messenger sent from Heaven is not Raphael "the affable Archangel" (VII. 41), but the stern, warlike Michael, who has to announce to Adam and Eve their banishment from Eden and to lead them forth.

where God; understand from what follows some words like 'conversed,' 'spoke.' The reference is to book VIII., where Adam says that the Almighty gave him possession of the Garden of Eden, warned him not to touch the Tree of Knowledge (VIII. 316—33), and then promised him a help-mate in Eve (VIII. 437—51).

2. *as with his friend.* Cf. *Exodus* xxxiii. 11.

6. *tragic*, i.e. "notes," to which the nouns "distrust," "breach" etc. are in apposition. The style of books IX.—XII. is less epical; we must not "expect such lofty images and descriptions as before" (Newton).

11. *a world of*, much of, a deal of. For the verbal quibble see 648, and cf. XI. 627. Addison quotes this line (11) to illustrate his remark that M. "often affects a kind of jingle in his words"—a figure of speech, he adds, authorised by "some of the greatest ancients" but "at present [1712] universally exploded by all the masters of polite writing."

12. *Sin...Death*; see X. 230. *shadow*, inseparable companion; compare "shade," X. 249. There is in both cases an allusion to the description of Death's appearance—"that shadow seemed," II. 669; "the meagre Shadow," X. 264.

Misery, all kinds of physical pain and disease—the "harbingers," i.e. forerunners, of death. Cf. the vision revealed to Adam in XI. 477—90 of the "diseases dire" that Eve's disobedience brought upon men.

13—19. He means that as regards the "argument," i.e. subject, with which it is now about to deal, his poem has an advantage over the three great classical epics: (1) the *Iliad*, which commences with the line "Sing, O Muse, the wrath of Achilles," and describes in book

XXII. his pursuit of Hector ("his foe") thrice round the wall of Troy; (2) the *Odyssey*, which relates the wanderings that Odysseus ("the Greek") experienced on his homeward journey after the Trojan war because Neptune was hostile to him; and (3) the *Æneid*, which tells of the hostility of Juno to Æneas, the son of Cytherea, i.e. Venus, and of his betrothal to Lavinia (daughter of Latinus, king of Latium), who had previously been promised in marriage to Turnus.

There is a similar summary of the themes of the three classical epics in his *Second Defence of the People of England*, where he writes: "The epic poet who adheres at all to the rules of that species of composition does not profess to describe the whole life of the hero whom he celebrates, but only some particular action of his life, as the resentment of Achilles at Troy, the return of Ulysses, or the coming of Æneas into Italy," *P. W.* I. 299. It is remarkable, I think, how much more repetition of thought and expression there is in Milton than in Shakespeare.

This claim to moral, not artistic, superiority, as of Christianity over Paganism, occurs in the two other great passages of invocation in *Paradise Lost*; cf. I. 12—16 and VII. 1—12. In Milton's view the great poet is a teacher in the first place, a singer in the second, and he seems to have regarded himself as literally an inspired teacher.

"Wrath" (14), "rage" (16) "ire" (18) all point back to "anger" in line 10. "The anger that he is about to sing is an 'argument' more heroic not only than the anger of men, of Achilles and Turnus, but than that even of the gods, of Neptune and Juno. The anger of the true God is a more noble subject than [the anger] of the false gods" (Newton).

20. *answerable*; a style corresponding with the dignity of his subject.

21. *my celestial patroness*, i.e. the "Heavenly Muse" (Urania) whose aid he invokes at the beginning of the poem (I. 6). Milton's references to this Muse of Sacred Song which gave him inspiration have a reality that is lacking in the conventional poetical appeals to the 'Muses.' Cf. *P. R.* I. 8—17.

22. *nightly*; cf. 47. He elsewhere speaks of himself as best inspired at night or just at dawn; cf. III. 29—32 and VII. 28—30.

These personal touches have been condemned by some critics as alien from the impersonal elevation of epic poetry. "I cannot" (says Newton) "but own that an author is generally guilty of an unpardonable self-love, when he lays aside his subject to descant upon his own person. But that human frailty is to be forgiven in Milton; nay, I am pleased with it. He gratifies the curiosity he has raised in me about

his person; when I admire the author I desire to know something of the man; and he, whom all readers would be glad to know, is allowed to speak for himself. But this, however, is a very dangerous example for a genius of an infirm order, and is only to be justified by success."

24. The inverted stress ("éasy") in the first foot gives an easy flow of rhythm corresponding with the sense.

25. *since first*, i.e. about 1640; some lines of *Paradise Lost* (IV. 32—41) were written as early as 1642.

this subject for heroic song. See the *Appendix*, pp. 690, 691.

26. *long choosing and beginning late*; see the *Introduction*.

29. i.e. *the* chief mastery *being* to etc. *dissect*; referring to the detailed descriptions of wounds in Homer and Vergil.

30, 31. *fabled...feigned.* A mythical subject would not appeal to M. Probably one of his reasons for abandoning the story of King Arthur, which he at one time intended to take as the subject of his great poem, was that he found the story to be "fabled" and "feigned." His three great poems all had a solid basis; so had *Lycidas*, and perhaps *Comus* in a minor degree (see *Introductions* to them).

33. *races and games.* The allusion is to the classical poets; cf. especially the description of the games in *Iliad* XXIII. and *Æneid* V. M. makes the Angels who keep guard over the entrance to Paradise "exercise heroic games" (IV. 551, 552), but does not describe them, to avoid repetition of II. 528—38. Compare Johnson's comment: "There is perhaps no poem, of the same length [as *Paradise Lost*], from which so little can be taken without apparent mutilation. Here are no funeral games, nor is there any long description of a shield"—such as Homer's description of the shield of Achilles, and Vergil's of the shield of Æneas. Cf. line 34.

34—38. The allusion is to the Italian poets—e.g. Boiardo, Ariosto and Tasso—and Spenser, who describe tournaments and scenes of chivalry.

34, 35. *tilting furniture*, all the equipments of a tournament. *imblazoned*, with coats of arms portrayed on them. Such descriptions are a great feature of Boiardo's *Orlando* (Thyer). *impresses*, devices on shields; the word was particularly associated with the heraldic aspect of tournaments.

36. The *base* was a skirt or kilt, reaching from the waist to the knees, worn by a knight on horseback.

tinsel trappings; Keightley quotes *The Faerie Queene*, III. i. 15:

> "Her garments all were wrought of beaten gold,
> And all her steed with tinsell trappings shone."

37, 38. "The *marshal* placed the guests according to their rank

and saw that they were properly served; the *sewer* marched in before the meats, and arranged them on the table; the *seneshal* was the household steward" (Todd).

41, 43. *me...remains=me manet.*

43, 44. *to raise that name*, i.e. to raise up, create, for my poem the title "heroic."

44. *an age too late*; i.e. in the world's history; implying that the conditions favourable to epic poetry had passed away. It is, I suppose, true that no great epic poem (unless Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* be an exception) has been written, at any rate in English, since *Paradise Lost*.

In his *Life* of Milton Johnson says: "There prevailed in his time an opinion that the world was in its decay....It was suspected that the whole creation languished, that neither trees nor animals had the height or bulk of their predecessors, and that everything was daily sinking by gradual diminution. Milton appears to suspect that souls partake of the general degeneracy, and is not without some fear that his book is to be written in 'an age too late' for heroic poesy."

The opinion to which Johnson refers (satirically, as might be expected) "is said to have been first propagated by Dr Gabriel Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, in a work entitled 'The Fall of Man, or the Corruption of Nature proved by Natural Reason,' 1616" (C. H. Firth). Ben Jonson seems to allude to it in his *Discoveries*, xx. (*Natura Non Effœta*): "I cannot think Nature is so spent and decayed that she can bring forth nothing worth her former years. She is always the same, like herself; and when she collects her strength, is abler still. Men are decayed, and studies: She is not." The idea is glanced at by Thomson, *Spring*, 307, 308.

44, 45. *or cold climate.* Here he touches on what was a lifelong opinion. Thus in his poem *Mansus* (1638) he apologises for his Latin poems on the ground that his Muse was reared in the chill north; while in the *History of Britain* he complains that the English lack "the sun [which] ripens wits as well as fruits" (*P. W.* v. 240). We find the same idea in *The Reason of Church Government*, Preface to book II. ("if there be nothing adverse in our *climate*, or the fate of this *age*," i.e. adverse to the composition of a great poem), and in the *Areopagitica*; see *P. W.* II. 53, 479. Cf. Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, II., where he says that some people allow only foreign writers to have wit:

> "Meanly they seek the blessing to confine,
> And force that sun but on a part to shine,
> Which not alone the southern wit sublimes,
> But ripens spirits in cold northern climes."

The influence of climate on national character is a leading idea in Gray's philosophic fragment *The Alliance of Education and Government.*

or years; perhaps not far short of sixty.

During the years that he was engaged over *P. L.* Milton could only compose freely between the autumn equinox and May: "whatever he attempted at other times was never to his satisfaction, though he courted his fancy never so much" (Phillips's *Memoir*, 1694, substantiated by Toland and Aubrey).

wing; his favourite emblem; cf. III. 13, VII. 4.

46. *depressed*; used proleptically, and with an antithesis to "raise," 43.

53. The close of the fourth book describes how Satan was driven out of Eden by Gabriel. In the intervening books, V.—VIII., there is very little advance in the action of the poem, except that Adam receives warning of his Enemy through Raphael.

54, 55. At his first entrance into Eden Satan had overheard Adam and Eve speaking about the Tree of Knowledge and thus learned the one thing in which to tempt them and compass their ruin (IV. 408—535).

fraud; in the general sense 'deceit, guile'; see 89, 285. Cf. *The Prayer-Book*, "Whatsoever hath been decayed by the fraud and malice of the devil" (the Collect in "The Visitation of the Sick").

56. *maugre*. Milton uses it in two other places (III. 255) and *P. R.* III. 368, in each instance with a noun, not a clause.

59. *from compassing the Earth*. Cf. *Job* i. 7, "And the LORD said unto Satan, Whence comest thou? Then Satan answered the LORD, and said, From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it."

Todd quotes from Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, where the passage is versified thus:

> "I come, said he, from walking in and out,
> And compassing the earthlie ball about."

cautious of day; cf. "he rode with darkness," 63, 64.

60—62. Cf. IV. 549—88, where Uriel is described as coming to warn Gabriel, who guarded the eastern gate of Paradise with Cherubim, that one of the outcast evil angels has found his way into the "garden."

Uriel; cf. III. 648, 649, note.

descried; this favours the change of text in IV. 567.

63—66. First he gives an astronomical, then a geographical (76—82), account of Satan's wanderings.

"Of the seven days during which Satan went round and round the Earth, always keeping himself on its dark side, three were spent in moving from east to west on the equatorial line; four in moving round from pole to pole, [i.e.] from north to south and back,—in which second way of moving he would traverse (or go along) the two colures,—viz. two great circles, so named by astronomers, drawn from the poles. Originally all great circles passing through the poles were called *colures* (κόλουροι, 'curtailed'); but the term was at length confined to the two great circles drawn from the poles through the equinoxes and the solstices respectively. The one was called the Equinoctial colure, the other the Solstitial" (Masson).

67. *the coast averse*, the side of Paradise away from the gate where the Cherubim kept watch (IV. 542—54); that this was the north side is shown, as Keightley noted, by the position assigned to the river (the Tigris) in IV. 223—32.

69—73. He identifies the Tigris with the river that "went out of Eden to water the garden," *Genesis* ii. 10.

71—77. *Paradise...Eden*; see the notes on IV. 132, 134.

73. *rose up*. We have the same rhythm expressing the same effect in I. 10 and IV. 229.

74. *sunk*; the incorrect form used by M., presumably as more euphonious; he nearly always has *sung* for *sang*. See XI. 745.

76—82. "The Fiend, on leaving Eden, had gone northward over the Pontus Euxinus or Black Sea, and over the Palus Mæotis or Sea of Azof, and so still northward, over what is now Russian territory, as far as beyond the Siberian river Ob or Obe, which flows into the Arctic sea; whence, continuing round the pole and descending on the other side of the globe, he had gone southward again as far as the Antarctic sea and pole. So much for his travels north and south. In *length*, i.e. measured as longitude in an equatorial direction, his journeys had extended from the Syrian river Orontes, west of Eden, to the Isthmus of Darien, and so still west, completing the great circle [of the world] to India on the east of Eden. Observe how true to the imagined reality is the mention of Ganges here before Indus. In the circuit described Satan would come upon the Ganges first" (Masson).

77. *pool*, i.e. inland sea; used in allusion to its classical name, ἡ Μαιῶτις λίμνη, *Palus Mæotis*. So in *P. R.* IV. 79 he calls it "the Tauric pool" (from the neighbouring Tauric Chersonese, i.e. the Crimea). Cf. "the Asphaltic pool"=the Dead Sea, I. 411. The river *Ob* is mentioned several times in Milton's *History of Moscovia* (i.e. Russia), one of his minor prose-works, not published till 1682.

79. *antarctic*, south. "No particular place is mentioned near the South pole, there being [there] all sea or land unknown" (Newton).

81. *Darien*, i.e. the Isthmus of Panama.

82. *the orb*, the whole world—*orbis terrarum*. A similar passage comes in Milton's Latin piece *In Quintum Novembris* (7—10), written many years before.

83. *narrow*, careful, scrutinising closely.

86. "Now the Serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the LORD God had made," *Genesis* iii. 1. Cf. 560.

87, 88. *irresolute of thoughts revolved*, i.e. a debate that for a long time came to no decision in regard to—no settlement of—the thoughts pondered over. *sentence*, decision, Lat. *sententia*.

90. *suggestions*, temptations.

95. *doubt*, suspicion.

98. The alliteration emphasises the intensity of his emotion.

99. Cf. VII. 328, 329.

103. M. is fond of comparing the motions of the stellar bodies (="other heavens") to a "dance"; cf. V. 178, 620—24, VIII. 125.

104. *officious*; cf. VIII. 99.

105. *as seems*. Cf. VIII. 15—38, where dealing with the same thought M. makes Adam use the same cautious language—e.g. "that seem," 19, "for aught appears," 30. Probably his reason was that he thought that some of the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon, might be inhabited (III. 459—62, VIII. 140—76).

107. *sacred*; used in reference to "light"; see 192, note.

113. *growth, sense, reason*. "The three kinds of life rising as it were by steps ['gradual,' 112], the vegetable, animal and rational; of all which Man partakes, and he only; he grows as plants...he lives as all other animated creatures, but is over and above indued with reason" (Richardson). See note on V. 469.

115. *joy in aught*. One joy is left to him, but only one (477—79).

119. *place*; implying '*fit* place to dwell in.'

"Place *or* refuge" is not, at first sight, an obvious antithesis, and Bentley suggested "place *of* refuge." But the sense Milton intended is, no doubt: 'I find none of these delightful places, or parts of the earth, permitted to be a residence for me; neither can I possibly escape from that hell to which I am doomed'—the hell, namely, of his outcast condition and "torment" within him (Dunster).

122. Cf. IV. 109, 110. There, as here, Milton makes Satan soliloquise on the brink of a momentous action, and the effect is to heighten the sense of tension and expectancy.

126—28. For the sentiment, see VI. 907, note.

130. *him destroyed*; see VII. 142.

133. *follow*, i.e. fall, like man himself; cf. X. 651, note.

137—39. Meant as a sneer at the time which the work of creation had taken its Creator, though "Almighty styled."

140—51. Cf. the "Argument" of bk. VII.: "Raphael...relates... that God, after the expelling of Satan and his Angels out of Heaven, declared His pleasure to create another World, and other creatures to dwell therein."

140. *in one night*; that in which the rebellion in Heaven began; see V. 642—71.

141. *well nigh half*; see II. 692, note.

"That a greater number of angels remained in heaven, than fell from it, the Schoolmen will tell us; that the number of blessed souls will not come short of that vast number of fallen spirits, we have the favourable calculation of others" (Browne, *Christian Morals*, III. xxviii.).

142. *name*; cf. Lat. *nomen* in the sense 'race, stock.'

146, 147. *if they...are his created*; which he denies when addressing his followers, V. 859—63, telling them that they are "self-begot, self-raised," 860. Yet he knew and elsewhere (IV. 42, 43) admitted to himself the truth.

148—51. Cf. Satan's words at his first sight of Adam and Eve (IV. 358—60).

150. Bunyan uses *original*='origin' several times in *The Holy War*, e.g. "We will, if you please, first discourse of the original of this Diabolus" ("Temple" edition, p. 12).

155. "For he shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways," *Psalm* xci. 11.

156. *flaming ministers*, the Cherubim (61, 62); cf. IV. 797, 798.

157. *earthy*; so the original editions; the mis-reading *earthly* occurs often in modern texts.

166. *this essence*, i.e. the substance variously described as "ethereal" and "empyreal" of which M. conceived the Angelic forms to consist; cf. passages like I. 117, V. 499, VI. 330, 433, and the discourse on Angels in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 7. After their rebellion the "liquid texture" (VI. 348) of the forms of the evil Angels degenerated into a "gross" substance (VI. 661). See V. 478, VI. 327, notes. That the forms of the fallen Angels changed was a doctrine taught by many of the Church Fathers.

to incarnate and imbrute; the construction is probably varied thus: 'I am now constrained into a beast, and to incarnate this essence.'

169. *down*; for this use of the adverb as a verb ('sink') Newton compares 2 *Henry IV.* IV. 5, 120, 121.

170. *obnoxious*; in the sense of Lat. *obnoxius*, 'liable, exposed to.'

172. Cf. IV. 17, 18.

174. *higher*, i.e. aiming higher, against the Almighty himself.

175—78. Jealousy is one of the motives that animate Satan against man, but the strongest is desire "to spite the great Creator" (II. 384, 385). Cf. 178 and X. 1, "the...despiteful act."

176. *son of despite*; modelled on Hebraic phrases like "sons of valour," 2 *Samuel* ii. 7 (margin), "sons of Belial," 1 *Samuel* ii. 12.

180. *like a...mist*; the simile is used again, XII. 629—31. It is Homeric (*Iliad* I. 359). The external world had been "like a mist" to the poet himself.

192. *whenas*, when; so *whereas*, where; both are common in Elizabethan writers, and may perhaps have been originally rather more emphatic than the simple forms, though the distinction, if it existed, was soon lost.

sacred; because "God is light," 1 *John* i. 5. Cf. the invocation ("Hail, holy Light") in III. 1—6.

193, 194. The origin of Gray's line, *Elegy*, 17:

"The breezy call of incense-breathing Morn."

196, 197. Cf. passages like *Genesis* viii. 21, *Leviticus* i. 9.

198, 199. Cf. their "Morning Hymn," V. 153—208.

200. Newton aptly notes that M. himself was an early riser, quoting the passage to that effect in *An Apology for Smectymnuus*, *P. W.* III. 112. Cf. *L'Allegro*, 41—68, *Il Penseroso*, 121—30. Among the Milton MSS. (a Common-place Book of miscellaneous jottings) found at Netherby Hall in Cumberland and printed by the Camden Society was a piece of Latin verse in praise of early rising. Aubrey in his brief *Life* of Milton says that it was his custom to rise at 4.30 a.m., and that he always began the day by having the Hebrew Bible read to him: "then he contemplated."

213. *hear*; so the First Ed.; the Second, *bear*.

218. *spring*, clump, thicket; commonly 'a sprig, single shoot of a tree,' as in *Venus and Adonis*, 656, "This canker that eats up Love's tender spring."

228. *compare*; used as a noun in III. 138, V. 467; so in Shakespeare.

229. *motioned*, proposed; cf. *motion* = 'proposal' in politics.

233. *to study household good*. Cf. *S. A.* 1046—49. Milton brought up his daughters on this principle. Apparently he had good reason to be satisfied in this respect with his third wife, "a genteel person," says Aubrey, "of a peaceful and agreeable humour," who, according to tradition, was careful "in providing such dishes" as he liked best.

241. *not the lowest end*, i.e. the highest object, since "without love no happiness," as Raphael tells Adam (VIII. 621).

245. *wilderness*, wildness; Todd compares *Measure for Measure*, III. 1. 142 (evidently a favourite scene with Milton—cf. II. 180—82, note).

247. Scan *convérse*; cf. 909. So in *Hamlet*, II. 1. 42.

249. Cf. Cicero's saying which has become proverbial, *nunquam minus solus quam cum solus*; and the familiar lines in *Childe Harold*, IV., "There is a pleasure" etc.

The verse is noticeable as having two extra syllables. Cf. VIII. 216.

264. *envy*; cf. IV. 502, 503.

265. *or this, or worse*; whether this, or worse, *be his design* (261).

265, 266. The creation of Eve (*Genesis* ii. 21, 22) is described in VIII. 465—71. Cf. the allusion in 1153, 1154.

270. *virgin*, sinless, innocent.

276. *the parting Angel*, Raphael, whose last words to Adam were a warning to "beware" and "stand fast" in his obedience (VIII. 633—43).

282. *thou fear'st not*. "Adam had not said so expressly, but had implied as much in enlarging particularly upon [their Enemy's] 'sly assault,' 256" (Newton).

288. *thoughts which*; the abrupt transition to the interrogative form "how found they?" marks the agitation of the speaker.

harbour, dwelling-place, lodging; cf. 2 *Henry VI.* III. 1. 335, 336:

> "Let pale-faced fear keep with the mean-born man,
> And find no harbour in a royal heart."

290. *healing words*; again in *S. A.* 605.

292. *entire*; in the literal sense of Lat. *integer* (from which *entire* is derived), 'untouched by, free from.'

314. *unite*, i.e. with the virtues implied in the preceding lines.

320. *less attributed to*, too little credit given to. *less*, i.e. than she deserved. Apparently M. scanned *áttributed*; cf. VIII. 12.

327. *only our foe*; she quotes Adam's argument (296—99), and then (329) endeavours to answer it.

330. *front*, brow, forehead (Lat. *frons*); used with quibbling allusion to "affronts" in 328.

334. *event*, issue, result, Lat. *eventus*; cf. 405, 984.

336. *alone*; emphatic. 'What is the value of these qualities till they have been tested and stood the test by their own unaided merits?'

The sentiment is that of the fine passage in the *Areopagitica* where M. says, "I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue," i.e. one that does not go out into the world and face evil (*P. W.* II. 68).

341. *no Eden*, i.e. "no place of happiness, not what its name denotes," i.e. 'pleasure' (Keightley).

351, 352. *but God left free the will.* On this point, as might be expected, M. dwells often; cf. III. 96—128, V. 524—40, X. 9. There is much bearing on the subject in chapters 3 and 4—on "The divine Decrees" and "Predestination"—of *The Christian Doctrine*, I.

what obeys reason is free; cf. XII. 82—101.

353. *still erect*, always on the alert.

358. *mind*, remind.

361. *suborned*, procured for an evil purpose; qualifying *object*.

367. *approve*, give proof of, demonstrate; cf. 2 *Cor.* vii. 11.

371. *securer*, less on our guard, "less prepared" (381).

'It may be (says Adam) that if we remain together and let the trial come to us, instead of going to meet it, we shall not be so well prepared for it when it does come as you appear to be after my warning: if you think so, then go.'

372—75. The rapid, rather abrupt style is meant, apparently, to indicate some displeasure on the part of Adam.

Newton thought that Milton here had in mind the incident of his own wife's leaving him soon after their marriage.

377. i.e. for all her submissiveness she has the last word. It is in these side-touches that M. shows his own estimate of women. Indeed the picture he draws of Eve in this book is not agreeable. She is self-willed; easily flattered by the Serpent; disobedient of command (780, 781); selfish enough to drag down Adam in her fall (831); deceitful (877, 878); and so mean-spirited as to reproach him (1155—61).

387. *Oread*, a nymph of the mountain (Gk. ὄρος, a 'mountain'). *Dryad*, a nymph of the wood—literally of the trees (Gk. δρῦς, an 'oak' or any tree). *Delia*, Artemis or Diana, who was born in the island of *Delos*; the goddess of the chase, in which capacity she was attended by a "train" of nymphs. Milton refers to her in *Comus*, 441, 442, as

"the huntress Dian...
Fair silver-shafted queen for ever chaste."

392. The conception of fire and its uses occurs to Adam later (X. 1070—82).

393—95. *Pales*, a Roman divinity of flocks and shepherds. *Pomona*, the goddess of fruit (Lat. *pomum*); cf. V. 378. The story of Pomona's being wooed by *Vertumnus*, one of the lesser rustic deities of Roman mythology, is told by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* XIV. 623 *et seq.*

likest; misprinted *likeliest* in the Second Ed. Newton restored the true reading.

395, 396. *Ceres*, the goddess of agriculture. *yet virgin of*, i.e. before she had become the mother of Proserpine by Jupiter.

Prosérpina, the Latin form; cf. "the Gardin of Proserpina" in *The Faerie Queene*, II. 7. 53. In IV. 269 Milton uses the Englished form *Proserpin*.

On the appositeness of the comparisons in 386—96 Pearce has an excellent note. "She [Eve] was likened to the Nymphs and Delia in regard to her gait; but now that Milton has mentioned her being 'armed with garden tools,' he beautifully compares her to Pales, Pomona, and Ceres, all three Goddesses like to each other [and to Eve] in these circumstances, that they were handsome, that they presided over gardening and cultivation of ground, and that they are usually described by the ancient poets as carrying tools of gardening or husbandry in their hands."

401, 402. i.e. to be returned and *to have* all things, etc.; an instance of *zeugma*.

409. *hellish rancour imminent*; his favourite word-order; cf. 5, 1047, and see the note on I. 733.

413. *mere serpent*. No doubt, M. knew, and perhaps wished to brush aside, the Rabbinical gloss that Satan assumed a form half angelical (or human), half serpentine, when he appeared to Eve. Cf. Pope, *Prologue to the Satires*, 330, 331 (part of the bitterly satirical portrait of Lord Hervey—cf. IV. 800, note):

"Eve's tempter thus the rabbins have exprest,
A Cherub's face, a reptile all the rest."

See Mark Pattison's note on the passage.

418. *more pleasant*, i.e. especially pleasant.

419. *tendance*, that which they tended; the abstract word being used in a concrete sense, as often in M.

423. *to*, agreeably to, in harmony with. Cf. *S. A.* 1539, "And to our wish I see one hither speeding," i.e. just as we wanted.

426. *bushing*; there is no authority for *blushing*.

432. Repeated from IV. 270.

436. *voluble*; in the literal sense of Lat. *volubilis* = 'rolling.'

438. *imbordered*, planted so as to form a border on either side of the "walk" (434). *hand*, handiwork.

439, 440. There is a fuller allusion to the legend of the 'Garden of Adonis' in *Comus*, 998—1002. No doubt, M. knew the long description of the 'Garden' in *The Faerie Queene*, III. 6. 29—49, which Keats in turn followed in *Endymion*, II. The allusion is not uncommon in Elizabethan writers. Cf. Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, V. 3, "I pray thee, light honey-bee, remember that thou art not now in Adonis' garden, but in

Cynthia's presence, where thorns lie in garrison about the roses"; and Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Victorie on Earth*, 40, "Adonis' garden was to this but vayne." The chief classical authority for the legend is Pliny, *Natural History* XIX. 19, where the gardens of Adonis and Alcinous are mentioned in the same sentence.

revived, i.e. after he was slain by the boar. According to the myth, the prayers of Aphrodite (Venus) moved the gods of the lower world to allow Adonis to return to the earth every year and pass six months with the goddess. Spenser treats the story as an allegory of the immortality of love, and says (*The Faerie Queene*, III. 6. 46—48) that after his restoration to life Aphrodite would not let Adonis descend to the nether world but kept him in the 'Garden':

> "There yet, some say, in secret he does ly,
> Lapped in flowres and pretious spycery,
> By her hid from the world, and from the skill
> Of Stygian Gods, which doe her love envy."

440. *renowned*, i.e. through Homer's mention of him.

441. *Alcinous*; see the note on v. 340, 341, and compare the allusion to Alcinous in Milton's *Vacation Exercise*, 49 ("In solemn songs at King Alcinous' feast"). *Laertes' son*, Odysseus.

442, 443. Referring to the Garden of Solomon ("the sapient king") mentioned in the *Song of Solomon* vi. 2. By "fair Egyptian spouse" M. means "Pharaoh's daughter" (1 *Kings* iii. 1), to whom the *Song* alludes in vii. 1 ("O prince's daughter"). Some critics regard the *Song of Solomon* as an *epithalamium* on Solomon's marriage with this princess. Addison could "not but take notice, that Milton, in the conferences between Adam and Eve, had his eye very frequently upon the book of Canticles" (i.e. *Song of Solomon*). See v. 17—25, note.

not mystic. M. inserts these words as the allusion is to Scripture—not as before, to classical legend. Contrast "feigned," 439.

445—54. Perhaps "only a narrative of what befell the poet in his younger days, when living in his father's house in Bread Street, in the City" (Keightley). Cf. the seventh of his Latin Elegies, where, speaking of his youth, M. says:

> *Et modo qua nostri spatiantur in urbe Quirites*
> *et modo villarum proxima rura placent:*

lines which Cowper renders:

> "I shunned not, therefore, public haunts, but strayed
> Careless in city, or suburban shade."

Probably the "public haunt" specially meant was Gray's-Inn Walk, then the fashionable promenade, and not far from Milton's home.

No one can read Milton's works carefully without seeing that he

was a true lover of Nature, though not minutely accurate, like Tennyson, in his descriptions of her. His favourite season was spring, and his favourite times of the day the very early morning (cf. 200, note, and 447) and twilight (see IV. 598, 599). And, like his contemporaries, Cowley and Marvell, he loved a garden (*Il Penseroso*, 49, 50). "He always had a garden where he lived," says Aubrey. At his ideal College, gardening is to be part of the course. Gardens, indeed, were becoming the fashion: witness Evelyn and his *Sylva*.

In *On Education* M. does not forget the influence of Nature: "in those vernal seasons of the year when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature, not to go out and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth."

445. Editors note that "in populous cities" occurs in *Othello*, I. 1. 77. See also Drummond's *Pastoral Elegy*, 83 (*Works*, II. 116).

446. *annoy*, make *noisome*, pollute.

450. *tedded*, mown and spread out to dry. Thomson, who imitated M. much, has the word in his *Summer*, "Wide flies the tedded grain," i.e. the corn-sheaves are scattered to dry.

453. *for her*, because of her.

456. *plat*, plot.

467, 468. Cf. the sentiment of the famous lines, I. 254, 255.

471. *recollects*; in the literal sense 're-collects,' i.e. gathers together again; cf. I. 528.

476—78. i.e. not hope of enjoying pleasure but hope of destroying all pleasure, save such as lies in the work itself of destroying.

485. *of terrestrial mould*, i.e. "formed of earth" (149), a "man of clay" (176). *mould* = 'material, substance'; as often in M.

489. Cf. Tennyson's description of Helen of Troy in *A Dream of Fair Women*:

> "A daughter of the gods, divinely tall,
> And most divinely fair."

490, 491. i.e. love and beauty inspire a certain awe unless there is a still stronger influence of hate to counteract them.

not approached, i.e. if not; the metaphor is continued in "way" and "tend" (='direct my course'), 493.

496. *indented*; "going in and out like the teeth of a saw," says Newton, who refers to the snake in *As You Like It*, IV. 3. 113, that "with indented glides did slip away."

500. Todd aptly quotes the description of Pyrrhus in the Player's speech in *Hamlet* (II. 2. 485), "with eyes like carbuncles," i.e. deep red (a sign of passionate temperament and anger). See *Julius Cæsar*, I. 2. 186, *Coriolanus*, V. 1. 63, 64, and *Kenilworth*, XXII. Cf. Dante's

description of Cerberus: "his eyes are red" (*gli occhi ha vermigli*)—*Inferno*, VI. 16. See VII. 496.

502. *spires*, coils; Lat. *spira*, 'a coil, wreath.' Cf. *The Rape of the Lock*, IV. 43, 44:

> "Now glaring fiends, and snakes on rolling spires,
> Pale spectres, gaping tombs, and purple fires."

505, 506. "He here enumerates all the transformed serpents of which antiquity had told, viz. those into which Cadmus and his wife Harmonia were changed in Illyria; that which accompanied the Roman ambassadors from Epidaurus to Rome; and those which were regarded as the sires of Alexander the Great and of Scipio Africanus; of which the former ['he'] was said to have been Jupiter Ammon, the latter Jupiter Capitolinus" (Keightley).

not those that...changed, i.e. not those *serpents* that changed *into themselves* Hermione and Cadmus. This interpretation—Keightley's—seems the best; but some editors insert a comma after *changed*, taking it intransitively and treating *Hermione and Cadmus* as in apposition to *those*.

Hermione; the name usually given is Harmonia. The story how Cadmus king of Thebes and his wife Harmonia came to Illyria and were changed into serpents is told by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* IV. 562—602; a passage which M. seems to have had again in his mind when he described the final change of Satan, X. 511—32. The *Metamorphoses* was one of Milton's favourite books, according to his daughter's statement (see Johnson's *Life*); just as, in Golding's translation, it seems to have been a favourite with Shakespeare—the source, probably, of much of his knowledge of classical mythology.

506, 507. *the god*, Æsculapius, the god of medicine, whose chief seat of worship was at Epidaurus. At the time of a great pestilence at Rome the oracle of Delphi bade the Romans seek the aid of Æsculapius; so they sent ambassadors to Epidaurus and the god appeared to them in the form of a serpent which accompanied them back and stayed the pestilence at Rome, where Æsculapius was thenceforth worshipped. This legend also is told by Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV. 622—744.

507—10. *nor to which*, i.e. nor *those serpents* into which Jupiter Ammon was changed and was seen (i.e. by mortals).

The story that Jupiter Ammon—the "Libyan Jove," IV. 277, so called in allusion to his shrine in the Libyan desert—was the father of Alexander the Great occurs in Plutarch's *Life* of Alexander. Dryden uses it, with obvious reference to this passage, in *Alexander's Feast*, 21—29. A similar fable represented Jupiter *Capitolinus* (i.e. of the *Capitol*) as the father of Scipio Africanus, the vanquisher of Hannibal. *Olympias*; the wife of Philip of Macedon.

516. *so*; his habitual way of completing a simile. The comparison of a ship with a serpent is not peculiar to any poet.

522. An allusion to the legend of the sorceress Circe who bewitched men with magic drugs, and then by a touch of her wand transformed them into animals (cf. "herd disguised") which she kept in subjection. Cf. the account in *Odyssey* x. how Odysseus came to the island of Ææa where she dwelt, and how she changed some of his followers into swine. Milton represents Comus as the son of Circe and assigns to him the attributes of the enchantress. See *Comus*, 50—77. In *Eikonoklastes*, 13, M. says that part of the nation is still bewitched with the idea of monarchy, "like men enchanted with the Circean cup of servitude."

525. *turret*, towering. *enamelled*, smooth and variegated like enamel. Perhaps M. recollected *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 1. 255, "And there the snake throws her enamell'd skin" (i.e. throws off, casts).

529, 530. i.e. either he actually used the serpent's tongue as an instrument of speech (although "not made" for it, 749), or he caused a voice to sound by impression of the air.

532. This description of the temptation should be compared with Eve's account of the dream in which she supposed herself to be tempted, v. 35—93.

533. *sole wonder*; cf. Comus's address to "the Lady" in *Comus*, 265, "Hail, foreign wonder!" and *The Tempest*, I. 2. 426, 427.

544. *shallow to*, without sufficient intelligence to; rather a favourite epithet of contempt with M.

549, 550. *glozed*, spoke flatteringly. *proem*, introduction; Gk. προοίμιον, a prelude in music (cf. "tuned"), hence a preface to a poem or speech. Todd shows that M. remembered *Comus*, 160—64.

553—66. Milton meets the objection of improbability. Cf. Sir Thomas Browne: "It hath seemed strange unto some, she [Eve] should be deluded by a serpent, or subject her reason to a beast, which God had subjected unto hers. It hath empuzzled the enquiries of others to apprehend, and enforced them unto strange conceptions, to make out, how without fear or doubt she could discourse with such a creature, or hear a serpent speak, without suspicion of imposture," *Vulgar Errors*, I. 1. The first two chapters of the *Errors* (1646) discuss the "Causes of Errors," from that of Adam and Eve onwards, and "what we may call the intellectual and moral by-play of the situation of the first man and woman in Paradise, with strange queries about it"

(Pater). These chapters are very typical of Browne, and we may be sure that Milton knew them.

558. *the latter I demur*; 'as to the latter—"sense," 554—I am doubtful whether it was denied to brutes, for' etc. Probably this is an expression of Milton's own opinion; cf. VIII. 373, 374.

560, 561. i.e. thee I knew *to be* the subtlest beast; because Raphael had so described the serpent when speaking with Adam and Eve (VII. 494, 495).

563. *of mute*; for this classical idiom cf. 712 and see IV. 153, note.

575. *roving the field*; cf. *Comus*, 60, "Roving the Celtic and Iberian fields." So "roam" is transitive in I. 521.

581. *fennel*; of which serpents were supposed to be fond; cf. Pliny, *Natural History* VIII. 41, XIX. 56, XX. 95. He mentions the belief that fennel causes snakes to cast their old skins. To this association with serpents it may have been due that fennel was an emblem of dissembling and flattering: whence Ophelia's offer of fennel (probably) to the treacherous Claudius—"There's fennel for you" (*Hamlet*, IV. 5. 180). In *An Apology for Smectymnuus* M. mentions another popular belief, given by Pliny, that connects serpents with fennel: "Something I thought it was that made him so quick-sighted...now I know it was this equal temper of his affections, that gave him to see clearer than any fennel-rubbed serpent" (*P. W.* III. 136). The snake was thought to refresh its sight in spring-time by rubbing against the fennel-plant.

582. Serpents were supposed to suck the teats of sheep and goats (Newton).

586—88. Cf. 740, 741.

599, 600. *to degree of reason*, to the extent of giving me the faculty of reason. *inward*; cf. "internal man," 711; externally there was no change in him (601).

601. *retained*; in somewhat loose agreement with *me* (599). It is a more appropriate word than *restrained* (Bentley's suggestion). "For *retain'd* signifies the being kept within such and such bounds in a natural state; *restrain'd*, to be kept within them in an unnatural; but the serpent's being confined to his own shape, was being in his natural state" (Warburton).

605. *middle*, in the air.

606. *fair*; similarly used as a noun by Shakespeare. Cf. *Sonnet* 16, "Neither in inward worth nor outward fair," and *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV. 1. 17, "Where fair is not, praise cannot mend the brow." For the Elizabethan use of an adj. = a noun cf. 483, 986.

612. *universal Dame*, mistress (*domina*) of all. Cf. "Empress of this fair World," 568; "Queen of this Universe," 684.

613. *so talk'd.* "Milton has shown more art and ability in taking off the common objections to the Mosaic history of the temptation, by the addition of some circumstances of his own invention, than in any other theological part of his poem" (Warburton).

spirited, possessed by a spirit.

For a more striking instance of the same alliterative effect (*s...s*), designed to suggest the serpent's hiss, see X. 521—28.

615, 616. She thinks that in his excessive compliments (cf. 606—12) he has scarcely shown such "reason" (600) as he said that the fruit conferred.

623. *to their provision*, to enjoy what is provided for them.

624. *birth*, produce—'what she *bears*'; *birth* is from A.S. *beran*, 'to *bear*,' and in the original editions of *P. L.* the word is here spelt *bearth*. As in the passages where the word occurs in its ordinary sense it has its ordinary form, some editors think that M. intended the peculiar form *bearth* to indicate the somewhat peculiar sense, and retain the form. The *New English Dictionary* (which does not recognise *bearth* as an independent form) quotes Dryden, *Georg.* I. 196:

"The fruitful Earth
Was free to give her unexacted birth."

629. *blowing*, blossoming. The epithet does not occur elsewhere in Milton, though the *Comus* MS., at line 545, suggests that he thought it a safer description than *flaunting*.

balm, i.e. the balsam-tree (Gk. βάλσαμος), to which "myrrh," a kind of thorny shrub, is akin. Cf. v. 23.

633, 634. Quoted by Burke in his speech on American Taxation, in describing General Conway (the leader of the House of Commons) after the debate when the Stamp Act was repealed (March 18, 1766).

wandering fire, an *ignis fatuus*; cf. the German *elf-licht*.

634—42. Cf. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, "Fiery spirits or devils are such as commonly work by blazing Stars, Firedrakes, or *Ignes Fatui*; which lead men often *in flumina*, aut *præcipitia*" (ninth ed., 1800, I. 65). The chief of these spirits were Will-o'-the-Wisp and Jack-o'-the-Lanthorn. M. alludes to the superstition in *L'Allegro*, 104 (see the note), and *Comus*, 433; but whether he himself believes in it we do not know, as he is careful to add the qualifying words "they say." Cf. *Comus*, 432—37:

"*Some say* no evil thing that walks by night,
In fog or *fire*, by lake or moorish fen,
. . . . . .
Hath hurtful power o'er true virginity."

635. *compact of*, composed of; cf. *Titus Andronicus*, v. 3. 88.

640. M. recollected *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 1. 39, "Mislead night-wanderers, laughing at their harm" (said of the mischievous Puck; cf. also III. 1. 112).

643. *fraud*, offence, crime (Lat. *fraus*); or 'hurt, damage.'

644. *the Tree of prohibition*; a "Hebraism for the prohibited or forbidden tree" (Newton).

645. *root*, source; used probably with a grim quibble on "Tree."

648. *fruitless...fruit*; the same sort of jingle or word-quibble as in line 11; see the note on I. 642. "The Italian poets...abound with such verbal quaintnesses" (Newton).

653. *sole*; cf. IV. 421, 433.

daughter of his voice; a literal rendering of a Hebrew phrase which implies 'a voice from Heaven.' Wordsworth describes Duty as "Stern daughter of the Voice of God," *Ode to Duty*.

the rest, for the rest—'in all else' (Lat. *cetera*).

654. Cf. *Romans* ii. 14, "these...are a law unto themselves."

655—63. *Genesis* iii. 1—3, which M. follows very closely.

655. *guilefully*; because he knew that only one tree—not "all"—was forbidden them.

667. *new part puts on*, assumes a new character, i.e. feigning indignant sympathy with man. The metaphor is that of 'playing a part'; cf. *P. R.* II. 239, 240, and *Coriolanus*, III. 2. 105, 106:

> "You have put me now to such a part which never
> I shall discharge to the life" (i.e. act).

As a young man Milton seems to have been fond of the theatre, which often supplies him with a simile or illustration; cf. *L' Allegro*, 131—34, and his first Latin *Elegy*.

668. *fluctuates*; used literally; 'undulates' (Lat *fluctuat*) with his body. *in act*, with his whole person addressed to its task; cf. 674.

670. *some orator*; such as Demosthenes, to whom M. refers in *P. R.* IV. 268—71; or Isocrates, the "old man eloquent" of his *Sonnet* (X.) "To the Lady Margaret Ley," and author of the λόγος Ἀρεοπαγιτικός whence the title of the *Areopagitica* was adapted; or Cicero (cf. 675, note). In *P. R.* IV. 356—60 he makes the Saviour speak of the Prophets of Israel as better teachers of the true principles of statesmanship "Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome" (i.e. orators).

672. *since mute*, i.e. not merely in Greece and Rome, but altogether, as though eloquence were an extinct quality.

673. *in himself collected*, i.e. completely master of himself = Ital. *in se raccolto* (Thyer).

673, 674. *each part, motion, each act*, the orator's whole form, and

every movement and gesture. *won audience*; cf. the picture of Satan addressing his followers, x. 458, 459.

675. *in highth began*, plunged right into the subject (*in medias res*). Probably M. had in mind the abrupt commencement of Cicero's first Oration against Catiline—*quousque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra?* (Thyer).

680. *science*; in its original wide sense 'knowledge' (*scientia*); cf. Gray's *Elegy*, 119, "Fair Science frown'd not on his humble birth."

681, 682. Cf. Vergil's line *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas* —*Georg.* II. 490.

685—712. *Genesis* iii. 4, 5. Bacon says: "Aspiring to be like God in power, the angels transgressed and fell; *Ascendam, et ero similis altissimo*: by aspiring to be like God in knowledge, man transgressed and fell; *Eritis sicut Dii, scientes bonum et malum*: but by aspiring to a similitude of God in goodness or love, neither man nor angel ever transgressed, or shall transgress. For unto that imitation we are called." (*The Advancement of Learning*, II. 22. 15. The two Latin quotations are respectively from *Isaiah* xiv. 14 and *Genesis* iii. 5, in the Vulgate, whence Bacon usually quoted the Scripture.) See VI. 899, note.

687. *to knowledge*, i.e. in addition to.

700. *ye*; there is no need to substitute *you*. Originally *ye* was used for the nominative only and *you* for the objective cases; cf. "Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you," *John* xv. 16. Elizabethan writers, however, often disregarded the distinction.

701. *not feared*, i.e. not to be feared.

702. The Serpent's argument is—'Your fear of death implies injustice on the part of God: but if He is "not just," then is He "not God," and so not to be feared.'

710—12. So Adam also reasons; cf. 932—37.

710. *should*; so the original editions; *shall*, which some modern texts print, is obviously due to 708.

711. *internal Man*; though externally he is still a serpent; cf. 601.

713, 714. *so ye shall die perhaps*, i.e. *this* perhaps will be the death meant for you, of which you spoke (663). Cf. the New Testament often, e.g. *Colossians* iii. 9, 10, "ye have put off the old man with his deeds, and have put on the new man."

722. *if they*, i.e. produce.

729, 730. *can envy dwell* etc.; a variation of Vergil's *tantæne animis cælestibus iræ? Aeneid* I. 11. So in VI. 788; see also IV. 118, 119.

732. *humane*; a complimentary term, 'gracious.' Some editors interpret it='human' (a bold oxymoron); but it does not bear this

sense in the two other places where Milton uses it, viz. II. 109, *P. R.* I. 221.

737. *impregned*; cf. IV. 500.

740, 741. Cf. 586—88; V. 84—86. It is an addition to the Scriptural account. "They were deceived through the conduct of their senses, and by temptations from the object itself" (Sir Thomas Browne).

with desire; cf. *Genesis* iii. 6, "a tree to be desired."

742. *inclinable*; leaning to, inclined towards (Lat. *inclinabilis*).

758. *in plain*; cf. "in few," i.e. words, X. 157.

771. *author*, informant. *unsuspect*, not to be suspected.

773, 774. 'Being ignorant of good and evil, how can I know what is to be feared?'

781. *eat*; a preterite=*ate*; so often in Shakespeare; cf. *Macbeth*, II. 4. 18.

782—84. The introduction of "signs" and omens after the manner of classical writers occurs at several important points in the action of the poem. Cf. 1000—1004; VIII. 513, 514; XI. 182—207. Similarly Grotius in his *Adamus Exul* represents Eve's disobedient act as accompanied by portents—*arborque trepido tota subsiluit solo.*

Moreover, "all Nature suffered by the guilt of our first parents" (see X. 651), so that these signs are not merely prodigies but appropriate "marks of her sympathising in the fall of man" (Addison).

783. The pathetic effect of the alliteration is noticeable; cf. the *Nativity Ode*, 186.

792. *knew not eating*, i.e. that she was eating; an imitation of the Greek use of a participle after verbs of knowledge or perception, as e.g. in Euripides, *Hecuba* 397, *οὐ γὰρ οἶδα δεσπότας κεκτημένος*. The Romans borrowed the idiom, as in *sensit medios delapsus in hostes* (*Æneid* II. 377). So in *S. A.* 840, "Knowing, as needs I must, by thee betrayed."

793. *boon*, gay, cheerful; cf. 'boon companion.'

794. The Serpent has slunk away; she forgets him, in her joy.

795. *virtuous...precious*; equivalent to superlatives. Editors note that Ben Jonson in his *English Grammar*, bk. II. chap. IV., refers to this use of the positive, which may have been imitated from the Greek and Latin idiom. Editors quote *δῖα θεάων*, *Iliad* V. 381, and *sancte deorum*, *Æneid* IV. 576.

797. *to sapience*, even to the point of conferring wisdom; cf. 599 ("to degree"). *infamed*, without fame, unknown.

800. *not without*; cf. V. 178, note.

803—805. i.e. she intends to eat of the fruit till she equals the gods ("others"), however much they may grudge ("envy") her the knowledge.

805—807. The Serpent had argued that the tree was not the gift of the gods, 718—28.

experience, making trial.

811—13. Cf. texts like *Psalms* x. 11, xciv. 7, *Job* xxii. 13, 14.

815. *safe*, not dangerous, not likely to harm; cf. the colloquial phrase 'safe out of the way.' Macbeth (III. 4. 25) asks the murderer "But Banquo's safe?" i.e. disposed of, so as not to cause trouble.

820. *odds*, balance, advantage; cf. x. 374.

823. *more equal.* Cf. IV. 295—99, 635—38; VIII. 540—75; X. 145—56, 888—98: passages which, taken together, are evidence of Milton's own conception of the difference between man and woman. There is indeed something curiously personal in the references to woman in his poems, as though he could not refrain from expressing his own views; cf. 377, note, and 1182—86.

832, 833. Cf. Horace's *tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens—Odes* III. 9. 24.

837. *sciential*, conferring knowledge, i.e. on those who partake of it. There is a happy allusion to Milton in Lamb's essay *Oxford in the Long Vacation*, where he describes his visits to the libraries: "I seem to inhale learning...; and the odour of their [the books'] old moth-scented coverings is fragrant as the first bloom of those sciential apples which grew amid the happy orchard" (i.e. of Eden).

845. *divine of*, foreboding = Lat. *divinus* in the sense 'prophetic of,' as in Horace, *Ars Poetica* 218, 219, *divina futuri...sententia.*

846. *the faltering measure*, the tremulous, uneven 'beat' of his heart, excited by the foreboding of evil.

851. *smiled*; cf. Lat. *ridere* in the sense 'to look pleasant.'

852. The language is Vergilian—*Georg.* IV. 415.

853, 854. i.e. the pleading expression in her face, showing that she was conscious of guilt, served to introduce the apology she was about to make. The construction seems to be, 'excuse came as prologue and (came) to lead up to apology'—*prompt* being a verb. The alteration "*too* prompt" (adj.) is tempting, but has no authority.

864. *tasted*, if tasted.

872. *to admiration*; cf. Fr. *à merveille.*

875. *opener mine eyes*; cf. 706—708, 985.

877—85. A deceitful argument; contrast her reasoning in 817—25.

888. The strong medial pause marks Adam's horror.

890. *astonied*, astonished; cf. *Job* xvii. 8, "Upright men shall be astonied at this." *horror chill*; cf. Vergilian expressions like *gelidus tremor* and *frigidus horror—Æneid* II. 120, 121, III. 29.

899. *amiable*, lovely, pleasing to the eye; of the five epithets in the

line it is the one that carries on the notion in "fairest," 896, and "to sight," 898. For the use of *amiable* cf. IV. 250.

901. The alliteration seems to emphasise the certainty and hopelessness of her doom. *to death devote*; from Horace's line *devota morti pectora liberæ—Odes* IV. 14. 18. *devote*, doomed.

910. *wild*. The epithet well marks Adam's distress: even Paradise has suddenly lost its beauty in his eyes and become "wild" and dreary.

914, 915. Cf. VIII. 494—96.

922, 923. *hast*; so the First Ed.; the Second *hath*.

The original editions have a comma after *dared*, with the sense—'who hast been so daring, had it been only in gazing on the fruit covetously.' Some editors remove the comma after *dared* and make the construction *dared to eye*: a needless change, I think.

926, 927. Various classical renderings of this obvious sentiment have been cited; the closest being a fragment of the poet Agathon, which occurs in Aristotle, *Nicom. Ethics* VI. 2:

μόνου γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεὸς στερίσκεται,
ἀγένητα ποιεῖν ἅσσ' ἂν ᾖ πεπραγμένα.

927. *so*, even so, i.e. though what is done cannot be undone.

928. *perhaps*. M. may have in mind the variation between the Authorised Version in *Gen.* iii. 3 ("lest ye die") and the Vulgate's "ne *forte* moriamini." Cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Vulgar Errors*, I. 1.

fact; in the literal sense 'deed,' Lat. *factum*; cf. 980.

929. *for etasted fruit*, the fruit having been tasted already, i.e. "by the Serpent."

932—37. This was the Serpent's argument to Eve; cf. 710—12.

945. *not well conceived of*, i.e. it is not to be supposed that the Almighty would act thus. Cf. 938.

947, 948. *lest the Adversary...say*. Cf. *Deuteronomy* xxxii. 27. For "the Adversary"=Satan, according to the meaning of the name, cf. *Job* i. 6 (margin), 1 *Peter* v. 8.

953. *certain to*, resolved to. An imitation of Lat. *certus*, with infinitive or gerund, ='determined to'; cf. *certus eundi* and *certa mori*—*Æneid* IV. 554, 564.

965. *I boast me sprung*; cf. the Homeric εὔχομαι εἶναι.

967. Cf. VIII. 604.

974. *by occasion*, indirectly.

977—81. Contrast 826—33.

980. *oblige*; in the sense of Lat. *obligare*, 'to render liable to punishment, make guilty.'

989. Cf. the proverbial phrase 'to scatter to the winds.' Newton compares Horace, *Odes* I. 26. 1—3.

998. *not deceived*; as Eve was by the Serpent; Adam sinned wilfully. Cf. 1 *Timothy* ii. 14, "And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression."

999. Cf. x. 151—53.

1000—1004. Cf. 782—84, note.

1003, 1004. It has been remarked that this is the only passage in the poem where M. uses the phrase 'Original Sin'; the doctrine expressed by it he discusses in the treatise on *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 7 and 11, attributing the first use of the expression (*originale delictum*) to St Augustine, though it is said to have been used by Cyprian in the third century A.D. (*P. W.* IV. 191—94, 259—61).

1009. *swim*, revel; cf. XI. 625. So in *The Faerie Queene*, I. 12. 41, "Yet swimming in that sea of blissful joy," and II. 3. 40.

1011. Cf. Horace's *spernit humum fugiente penna—Odes* III. 2. 24.

1018. *elegant*; in the sense of Lat. *elegans*, 'refined in taste, fastidious.' Cf. v. 335, "tastes...inelegant."

1019, 1020. "Since we use the word *savour* in both senses [physical and moral], and apply it to the understanding as well as to the palate" (Newton). In this rather far-fetched thought M. is really playing upon the two senses of Lat. *sapere*, 'to taste' and 'to have discernment, be wise'—both *sapience* (1018) and *savour* (through the French) coming from *sapere*. Newton quotes the same quibble from Cicero's *De Finibus* II. 8, *nec enim sequitur ut cui cor sapiat ei non sapiat palatum*. "Taste," e.g. 'man of taste,' lends itself to the same sort of word-play.

1026. *for*, instead of.

1034. *toy*, caress.

1042. Cf. *Proverbs* vii. 18.

1046—52. Contrast the description of Adam's sleep (v. 3—5).

1050. *unkindly*, not natural. *fumes*, vapours, as of intoxication (cf. 793); cf. Dryden, *Aurengzebe*:

> "Power like new wine does your weak brain surprise,
> And its mad fumes in hot discourses rise."

1058. *Shame*; personified, as in 1097. In the original editions the sense was obscured by the omission of a stop after *shame*.

1058, 1059. *he covered*; cf. *Psalm* cix. 29, "Let mine adversaries be clothed with shame, and let them cover themselves with their own confusion, as with a mantle."

but his robe uncovered more, i.e. Shame, till then unknown to them (IV. 313—18), made them conscious of their nakedness. The thought is worked out in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 12.

1059—62. *Judges* xvi. 4—20; cf. *Samson Agonistes* almost *passim*. There is a striking application of the story in the conclusion of *The*

Reason of Church Government, II.—*P. W.* II. 506; cf. also the allusion in *Eikonoklastes*, 22.

the Danite; cf. the description of Samson's father Manoah in *Judges* xiii. 2, "a man of Zorah, of the family of the Danites," i.e. of the Tribe of Dan.

1061. Some editors have put forward the view that here and in the three lines of *S. A.* where the name occurs M. treated the second syllable of *Dalilah* as short or unaccented, e.g. *Dalílah*, a scansion which seems to me as unpleasant as it is needless. The correct accentuation is *Dalílah* (=Dalēelah), and the last two syllables may form a trochee or "inversion of rhythm" such as M. admits into any foot of his blank verse. Thus the present line, I think, runs

"Of Phíl|istế|an Dà|lílah, | and wák'd,"

the third foot having a light stress or accent.

The lines in *S. A.* in which the name comes are:

"Was in the vale of Sorec, Da|líla," 229:

"Than, Da|líla| thy wife," 724 (a short verse):

"The sump|tuous Da|líla | floating this way," 1072.

In each verse the trochee is rhythmical and quite regular.

'Dalilah' follows the first syllable of the Greek form; the form in the Authorised Version, 'Delilah,' is nearer to the Hebrew. As printed in *S. A.* the name has no *h*, perhaps an intentional difference, M. being extremely particular where sound was affected.

1064. *strucken*; cf. *The Comedy of Errors*, I. 2. 45, "The clock hath strucken twelve upon the bell." The forms of the preterite and past participle of *strike* vary greatly in Elizabethan English.

1068. *worm*, serpent (VII. 476); cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. 2. 243, 244, where Cleopatra asks for the asp or serpent to kill herself:

"Hast thou the pretty worm of Nilus there,
That kills and pains not?"

1079. *the last*, the worst, greatest; cf. Lat. *extremus*, *ultimus*.

of the first, i.e. lesser evils, which they may well expect, seeing that they have already experienced the greatest of evils, viz. shame.

1080—82. Cf. X. 722—25, XI. 315—17.

1083. *this earthly*, i.e. shape; or *earthly* might be a noun='mortal nature,' as in VIII. 453, "My earthly by his Heavenly overpowered."

1086—88. Cf. IV. 245, 246.

impenetrable to star. Newton quotes Statius, *Thebais* X. 85, 86, *nulli penetrabilis astro | lucus iners*, which perhaps suggested Spenser's description of the grove "Not perceable with power of any starr," *The Faerie Queene*, I. 1. 7. Cf. *Arcades*, 88, 89:

"Under the shady roof
Of branching elm star-proof."

or sunlight. Cf. poetic descriptions such as "sun-proof" applied to shade, e.g. in Peele's play *David and Bethsabe*:

"This shade, sun-proof, is yet no shade to me."

So in Matthew Arnold's *Church of Brou*:

"The hills are clothed with pines sun-proof."

1088. *brown*, dark. *cover me*; cf. *Revelation* vi. 16.

1090. *them*; "those Heavenly shapes," 1082.

1091. *as in*, seeing that we are in; Lat. *ut*; cf. x. 978.

1101—11. The reference is to the banyan-tree or Indian fig (*Ficus religiosa* or *Indica*). Warton pointed out that M. has followed closely—cf. the numerous verbal similarities—the account of this tree in Gerard's *Herball*, 1597 (the standard Elizabethan work on botany), where it is called "the arched Indian Fig-tree." Gerard, who took his information on the subject from Pliny, *Natural History* XII. 5, says:

"The ends [of its branches] hang downe, and touch the ground, where they take roote and grow in such sort, that those twigs become great trees; and these, being grown up unto the like greatnesse, do cast their branches or twiggy tendrels unto the earth, where they likewise take hold and roote; by meanes whereof it cometh to passe, that of one tree is made a great wood or desart of trees, which the Indians do use for couerture against the extreme heate of the sun. Some likewise use them for pleasure, cutting downe by a direct line a long walke, or as it were a vault, through the thickest part, from which also they cut certain loopholes or windowes in some places, to the end to receiue thereby the fresh cool air that entreth thereat, as also for light that they may see their cattell that feed thereby....From which vault or close walke doth rebound such an admirable echo or answering voice....The first or mother of this wood is hard to be known from the children."

The description of the size of the leaves of this tree—"broad as Amazonian targe," 1111—is due to the same source, Gerard reproducing Pliny's mis-statement that *foliorum latitudo peltæ effigiem Amazonicæ habet*. The description is inaccurate as the leaves of the *banyan* are small: it is the *banana* or plantain-tree that has large leaves which "are used, on the coast of Malabar, in the same manner as here by Adam and Eve" (Keightley). Pliny in describing the *Ficus Indica* evidently united the characteristics of the *banyan* and *banana*, and apparently writers even later than M. repeat the confusion. The banyan from its peculiar character is described in many early travels, e.g. in Sir Thomas Herbert's (1634) and Tavernier's (1684).

It furnishes Sir Thomas Browne with a characteristic simile: we must, he says, "bid early defiance unto mother-vices" (i.e. evil tendencies which lead to other evil): "Where such plants grow and

prosper, look for no champain or region void of thorns; but productions like the tree of Goa [*Ficus Indica*], and forests of abomination," *Christian Morals*, III. iv. Thomson (*Summer*) speaks of

"the maze,
Embowering endless, of the Indian fig";

and it is, doubtless, one of his many Miltonic reminiscences.

1103. *Decan*; the name was often applied to the Indian peninsula in general, i.e. so as to include Malabar.

1111. Cf. Vergil's reference to the 'crescent-shaped shields' (*lunatæ pelta*) of the Amazons, *Æneid* I. 490.

1113. Cf. the margin in *Genesis* iii. 7, "things to gird about."

1115. *of late*, i.e. as compared with the remote events of which the poem treats; not strictly "of late" in relation to Milton's own time, because the date of Columbus's discovery was 1492.

1117. *with feathered cincture*. Hence Gray's phrase, "feather-cinctur'd chiefs," spoken of the Indians of South America, *The Progress of Poesy*, 62.

1127—31. Cf. 351—56.

1140, 1141. Cf. Eve's words, 335. *approve*; cf. 367. *owe*, possess.

1144. Cf. Homer's ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων.

1155. *the head*. An allusion to 1 *Corinthians* xi. 3, "the head of the woman is the man." So in IV. 443.

1159. Alluding to 372—75.

1163, 1164. *the love*, i.e. that you have to offer me; "*thy* love" is a needless change.

1164, 1165. *expressed immutable*, shown to be unchangeable; the words refer to Adam's love for Eve, which he had "expressed," i.e. demonstrated, so strikingly; cf. 961, 962.

1182—86. No doubt, an expression of Milton's own opinion. One of his sneers at Charles I. is that he was influenced so by his wife: "Examples are not far to seek, how great mischief and dishonour hath befallen nations under the government of effeminate and uxorious magistrates; who being themselves governed and overswayed at home under a feminine usurpation, cannot but be far short of spirit and authority without doors, to govern a whole nation" (*Eikonoklastes*, 7). Professor Firth has recently noted a curious, hitherto unremarked illustration of Milton's prejudice against women, viz. his treatment of Boadicea in his *History of Britain*. "Previous historians had regarded the warrior-Queen as a national heroine; he represented her merely as a virago, 'a distracted woman with as mad a crew at her heels.'"

1183. *women*; he may have dictated *woman*.

1189. *contest*. For the accent cf. XI. 800.

BOOK X.

1. *heinous*; cf. IX. 929. *despiteful*; see IX. 175—78, note.

5—7. Contrast IX. 811—16.

9. *with...free will armed.* Cf. 46 and see IX. 351, 352, note.

10. *complete to*, fully equipped so as to; qualifying *mind* or *man*. Some editors remove the comma of the original editions after *armed*, which they connect with *complete*. But the rhythm seems to me to favour a slight pause at the end of verse 9.

12. *they*, i.e. "Man" (9), used collectively, as in *Genesis* i. 26.

16. *manifold in sin.* "The Divines...reckon up several sins as included in this one act of eating the forbidden fruit, namely, pride, uxoriousness, wicked curiosity, infidelity, disobedience, etc." (Newton). Milton has a passage to this effect in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 11 (*P. W.* IV. 254, 255).

18. *the Angelic guards*, i.e. the Cherubim; cf. IX. 61, 62, 156, 157.

19. *by this*; cf. *Julius Cæsar*, I. 3. 125, "And I do know, by this, they stay for me."

20, 21. *had stolen entrance*; as is described in IX. 69—76.

29. i.e. to make appear accountable = to explain, justify.

accountable; in the sense 'that can be accounted for'; not, as more often, 'liable to render account.'

32. *his secret cloud.* The description is based on passages like *Exodus* xxxiii. 9, 10; 1 *Kings* viii. 10, 11; *Ezekiel* x. 4: to which (and others) M. refers in the chapter, I. 2, of *The Christian Doctrine* that treats "Of God." Cf. the fuller allusion in III. 378—81.

33. "And out of the throne proceeded lightnings and thunderings and voices," *Revelation* iv. 5. Where he is describing Heaven M. draws largely on the book of *Revelation*, as we should expect.

35. *charge*, duty, office, viz. of guarding Man; cf. IX. 157.

38. *foretold*, having been warned. *so lately*; see III. 80 *et seq.*

40. *speed*, be successful in.

42. *flattered*; cf. IX. 532—48, 606—12.

lies; cf. IX. 703—709, 716—32.

45. *moment*, force = Lat. *momentum*, the metaphor being taken from a balance; cf. "inclining" (46), "even scale" (47). So in VI. 239.

48. *rests*, remains, Lat. *restat*; cf. 3 *Henry VI.* v. 7. 42, 43:

> "And now what rests but that we spend the time
> With stately triumphs, mirthful comic shows?"

pass, should be pronounced.

50. *presumes...vain*; cf. Adam's words, IX. 927—37.

52. *by some immediate stroke*; see 210. Cf. *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 12, "Under the head of death, in Scripture, all evils whatever, together with everything which in its consequences tends to death, must be understood as comprehended; for mere bodily death, as it is called, did not follow the sin of Adam on the selfsame day, as God had threatened."

53. The proverbial form of phrase seems hardly to fit the context. For the proverb "omittance is no quittance" (i.e. you may leave a thing undone, but not have done with it), cf. *As You Like It*, III. 5. 133.

54. *as bounty*, i.e. has been "scorned." Man had shown scorn of the gifts of the Almighty by seeking something more which was forbidden him.

55—57. Cf. *John* v. 22, "For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son."

59. *mercy...justice*. Cf. *Psalm* lxxxv. 10 and see the *Nativity Ode*, 141—44.

60. *his Mediator*. M. discusses "The Mediatorial office" of Christ in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 15.

63—67. For similar passages see III. 138—42, 383—89, VI. 680—82, 719—21; and cf. *Hebrews* i. 3, "Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person,...sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high." Cf. 85, 86.

70, 71. Cf. III. 168.

74. *when time shall be*; cf. III. 284.

for so I undertook; as was related in III. 227—65.

77. *derived*, turned aside. Lat. *derivare*, 'to divert a stream from its channel,' hence figuratively, 'to turn aside, divert.'

77, 78 Todd compares *The Merchant of Venice*, IV. 1. 196, 197.

79. *them*; "Justice" and "Mercy."

84. *conviction*, proving guilty; this is not necessary because the Serpent has admitted his own guilt by flight. The line emphasises the words "convict by flight" (i.e. convicted).

86—88. Compare the description of the Son accompanied to the gate of Heaven by a host of Angelic beings as he goes forth to create the Universe, VII. 192—209.

88, 89. Cf. VII. 617—25. *coast*, region; more often plural.

90, 91. Cf. Raphael's account of his descent from Heaven to Paradise, VIII. 110—14.

92. The time is determined by *Genesis* iii. 8 ("in the cool of

the day"), where for "cool" the margin has "wind"—cf. "gentle airs" (93).

95. *more cool*, i.e. than "the evening cool": not a very happy play on words.

96. *Intercessor.* Cf. III. 219, XI. 19. Milton deals with the subject of Christ's intercession for man, as one aspect of his office as 'Mediator,' in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 15.

97—223. The whole scene follows *Genesis* iii. 8—21 closely, the words of the Scripture being worked into the text, just as in Shakespeare's Roman historical plays the language of North's *Plutarch* is constantly reproduced and in Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* the language of Malory's *Morte Darthur*. In many passages of the poem, especially where he represents the Deity as speaking, M. reproduces the Scripture thus, merely adapting it to the form of blank verse.

106. *obvious*; in the sense of Lat. *obvius*, 'coming to meet.'

112. *apparent*, clear, manifest.

120. *still*, ever, always.

121, 122. Cf. IX. 1051—59, 1070—98.

128. *my other self.* Cf. VIII. 450, note.

131, 132. The lines are suggestive of *Lycidas*, 6, 7.

145—56. See IX. 823, note.

149, 150. See IX. 265, 266 (note), and cf. IV. 440, 441.

154. i.e. such as were seemly while subject to her husband's government.

155, 156. *part...person*; terms drawn from the stage. 'It was for you to play the part (cf. IX. 667) and character (Lat. *persona*) of ruler.' So in *P. R.* II. 240.

157. *in few*; cf. *Henry V.* I. 2. 245. So "in plain," IX. 758.

161. *bold*; as when she plucked the forbidden fruit (IX. 780, 781).

loquacious; as in her argument with Adam (IX. 973 *et seq.*).

165. *unable*; qualifying *Serpent.*

169. *more to know*, i.e. that the Serpent was only the instrument of Satan.

173. *mysterious*, because they had an inner application, viz. to Satan, which, for the time, was to be hidden from Adam, who would suppose that they referred to the Serpent. Later (1032—35) Adam perceives the application.

judged as then best; an inversion of order; 'as was then thought best.'

175—81. *Genesis* iii. 14, 15.

181. *her seed*, i.e. in the person of the Son of Man (183).

182. *then verified.* The 'verification' described (183—190) is of

the last and most significant words of the whole curse, viz. "Her seed shall bruise," etc.

"Here [182—90] is a manifest indication, that, when Milton wrote this passage, he thought *Paradise* was chiefly *regained* at our Saviour's resurrection. This would have been a copious and sublime subject for a second poem. The wonders, then to be described, would have erected even an ordinary poet's genius; and, in episodes, he might have introduced His conception, birth, miracles, and all the history of His administration, while on earth. And I much grieve, that, instead of this, he should choose for the argument ['subject'] of his 'Paradise Regained' the fourth chapter of Luke, *the temptation in the wilderness*; a dry, barren, and narrow ground, to build an epick poem on. In that work he has amplified his scanty materials to a surprising dignity; but yet, being cramped down by a wrong choice, without the expected applause" (Bentley).

The poet was an old man, and tired, when he set about the second epic, and wisely adapted his choice to his strength.

183. *Mary, second Eve*; repeated from v. 387. The thought is similar to that which makes Christ "the last Adam," 1 *Corinthians* xv. 45.

184. Cf. I. 45.

185. Cf. *Ephesians* ii. 2, "the prince of the power of the air," referring to Satan.

185—90. Based on the following texts: *Colossians* ii. 15; *Psalm* lxviii. 18; *Romans* xvi. 20 (marginal reading "tread"). Cf. III. 247—56.

191. *his fatal bruise*, i.e. Satan's.

213. *suffer change*; cf. 651, note.

214. *Philippians* ii. 7.

215. *John* xiii. 5.

217. *slain*; apparently for the purpose, as hitherto it has been implied that the beasts were not killed by each other (see 710, note) or by Adam.

218. *repaid*, i.e. for the loss of their old skin. "Pliny mentions some lesser creatures shedding their skins in the manner of snakes, but that is hardly authority sufficient for such a notion as this" (Newton).

219. *thought not much*; cf. *The Tempest*, I. 2. 250—53:

"*Prospero.* Dost thou forget
From what a torment I did free thee?
Ariel. No.
Pros. Thou dost, and think'st it much to tread the ooze
Of the salt deep" (i.e. a great grievance).

his enemies; because it was their sin that necessitated His sacrifice.

222. *robe of righteousness*; see *Isaiah* lxi. 10.

225. Cf. III. 169, 239, 279.

229. *was sinned and judged*; for the impersonal construction cf. VI. 335.

230. *Sin and Death.* See the notes on II. 648, 650, 666.

Addison observes that book X. has a "greater variety of characters" than any other. He compares it with the last act of a tragedy in which all the main *dramatis personæ* are introduced and the effect of the action upon them is made clear. Compare especially Adam and Eve in their abasement.

231. *in counterview*, i.e. opposite each other, one "on either side" (II. 649) of the entrance; *vis-à-vis.* Cf. 235.

231, 232. *the gates...now...open wide.* Cf. the description in II. 871—89 how Sin, "the Portress of Hell-gate," opened "the infernal doors" to let Satan pass out on his journey through Chaos to the new-created World and then could not shut them. *now*; emphatic.

235, 236. *O Son.* See II. 727—814. *author*, parent.

241. *avengers*; so the Second Ed.; the First Ed. has *avenger*; but cf. "*their* revenge," 242.

246. Cf. 263, 358, 359, and the "Argument" of the book, lines 6, 7 ("by wondrous sympathy").

249. *secretest*; cf. *Macbeth*, III. 4. 126, "the secret'st man of blood."

thou, my shade, i.e. shadow; cf. IX. 12, note. Sin and Death are always introduced together in the poem: an obvious allegory.

256. *found*, build; Lat. *fundare*, 'to lay the foundation of.'

257. *this main*, the "sea" (286) of Chaos; "the foaming Deep" (301).

260, 261. "*intercourse*, passing frequently backward and forward; *transmigration*, quitting Hell once for all to inhabit the new creation; they were uncertain which their lot should be" (Richardson).

264. *meagre*; in the literal sense 'lean,' Fr. *maigre*; cf. the conventional representation of Death as a skeleton.

274. *ravenous fowl.* "Of vultures particularly it is said by Pliny, that they will fly three days beforehand to places where there are future carcases—*triduo antea volare eos ubi cadavera futura sunt* [*Nat. Hist.* X. 7]. And (what probably gave occasion to this similitude in Milton) Lucan has described [VII. 831—37] the ravenous birds that followed the Roman camps, and scented the battle of Pharsalia" (Newton). Cf. *Julius Cæsar*, V. 1. 85—87, where on the morning of the battle Cassius says:

> "ravens, crows, and kites
> Fly o'er our heads, and downward look on us,
> As we were sickly prey" (i.e. as if).

though; the reading *through* has no authority.

279. *so*; cf. IX. 516. *Feature*, shape, form; as commonly in Shakespeare, from the literal meaning 'make,' O. Fr. *faiture*, Lat. *factura*. M. purposely uses rather a vague word which leaves much to the imagination; cf. the description of Death in II. 666—70.

279, 280. Cf. *Georgic* I. 376, *suspiciens patulis captavit naribus auras*.

281. *sagacious of*, scenting (Lat. *sagax*).

282, 283. *waste wide*; one of Milton's favourite alliterative effects, here suggestive of desolation.

anarchy; cf. VI. 873. In II. 988 Chaos is personified as "the Anarch old."

284—302. Lines 284—88 describe how Sin and Death collected towards the mouth of Hell the materials for their causeway: lines 293—98 how Death made the materials coalesce into solid masses suitable for the purposes mentioned in the next verses: lines 299—320 how the materials were used partly to form the foundation of the whole structure, partly to construct the bridge raised on those foundations. "Aggregated soil" in 293 and "gathered beach" in 299 refer to the "solid" elements mentioned in 286, while "asphaltic slime" in 298 refers to the "slimy" elements, 286. By "the rest" in 296 he means, I think, all such "solid" elements as are not included under "soil" in 293: the "slime," i.e. pitch, helps to bind these elements together: the "soil" may be conceived as coalescing more easily under the petrifying stroke of Death's sceptre. In 296—98 the sense obviously is that Death bound the elements together by means of his look and by means of the slime; the manner of expression is rather strained, but, as it seems to me, quite Miltonic, the combination of an abstract word like "rigour" and a literal word like "slime" being somewhat similar to I. 502, "flown with insolence and wine."

288. *shoaling*; apparently transitive; 'driving it in a shoal or bank.'

290. *the Cronian sea*, the Arctic Ocean; from the Lat. name *Cronium Mare* (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* IV. 30), less used than *Mare Concretum*.

291. *the imagined way*, i.e. the north-east passage, then thought to be practicable and made the object of many voyages of discovery to India and the East. Cf. a similar allusion in the *Areopagitica*, "a passage... far easier and shorter than an Indian voyage, though it could be sailed either by the north of *Cataio* eastward, or of Canada westward" (i.e. even though it could).—*P. W.* II. 69.

292. *Petsora*, the Gulf of Petchora in the Arctic Ocean, at the mouth of the river of that name. M. speaks of the river "Pechora or

Petzora," and of the town of the same name in his *History of Moscovia*, quoting as his authority the narratives of certain merchants of Hull who had wintered in those parts in the year 1611.

292, 293. *the...Cathaian coast*; commonly explained 'the coast of China'—with doubtful correctness, however. Strictly 'Cathay' was identical with China, *Cathay* being a corruption of *Kitai*, the name by which China is still known in Russia and in many Asiatic countries. But formerly, till some time after 1600, the opinion prevailed that 'Cathay' was a great region distinct from China, lying north of it and stretching right up to the Arctic Ocean; comprehending, in fact, East Siberia. Cathay is marked so in many old maps, and its capital was supposed to be Cambalu—i.e. Cambalu was regarded as a different city from Pekin, the capital of China, though properly they were the same. I believe that this was Milton's notion of Cathay, from the references to it in the *History of Moscovia* and from the fact that in *P. L.* XI. 388 and 390 he treats "Cambalu, seat of *Cathaian* Can" and "Paquin [*Pekin*] of *Sinæan* kings" as two distinct cities.

rich. In the *History of Moscovia* he touches several times on the wealth and trade of the cities of Cathay—*P. W.* v. 407. Indeed the wealth of this mysterious land had become proverbial through the reports of travellers from the time of Marco Polo onwards. See chapter XX. in Mandeville's *Voiage*.

294. *mace*, sceptre; cf. *Henry V.* IV. I. 278, "The sword, the mace, the crown imperial." Todd quotes from the play *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, by Marlowe and Nash, "like pale Death's stony mace" (II. I. 116, Bullen's ed., II. 320). Burke has a telling allusion to this line in the *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, part II., section V.—"[he] will sooner thaw the eternal ice of his atlantic regions, than restore the central heat to Paris, whilst it remains 'smitten with the cold, dry petrifick mace' of a false and unfeeling philosophy" (Payne's ed., p. 288).

296. *Delos*; one of the Cyclades islands (v. 264, 265), in the Ægean Sea. "According to a legend, founded perhaps on some tradition of its late volcanic origin, it was called out of the deep by the trident [cf. 'as with a trident,' 295] of Poseidon [=Neptune], but was a floating island until Zeus fastened it by adamantine chains to the bottom of the sea, that it might be a secure resting-place to Leto, for the birth of Apollo and Artemis."—*Classical Dictionary*.

296, 297. *his look*, i.e. like the look of the Gorgons which turned men into stone.

Gorgonian, petrifying; cf. II. 611, "Gorgonian terror."

298. *asphaltic slime*, i.e. asphalt or bitumen (cf. 562), such as that

which floats on the surface of the Dead Sea—thence called 'Lake *Asphaltites*,' a name said to have been first given it by the historian Diodorus Siculus (2nd century A.D.). Probably Milton here had in mind *Genesis* xi. 3, where the Hebrew word used for this bituminous substance is rendered 'slime.' The substance is "petroleum hardened by evaporation and oxidation," and the lumps of it appear in the water especially after earthquakes. See again 561, 562, note; also I. 411, XII. 41, 42, notes.

299, 300. *deep to the roots...they fastened*, i.e. laid the foundation of the structure. *mole*, causeway = Latin *moles*, used of any massive structure, e.g. a dam or pier.

Johnson considered that M. had here assigned to Sin and Death "a work too bulky for ideal architects," i.e. too material for allegorical figures. Addison had doubted whether "persons of such a chimerical existence are proper actors in an epic poem," but showed that the reason why M. introduced them lay in the subject of his poem, i.e. in the paucity of *dramatis personæ* which it afforded. And he praised greatly the allegory in book II., from the point of view of allegory.

305. *inoffensive*, free from obstacles (Lat. *inoffensus*); literally, 'not causing one to offend, i.e. stumble against' (Lat. *offendere*).

306. *if great things...* M. has this Vergilian allusion in II. 921, 922, VI. 310, 311, *P. R.* IV. 563, 564.

307—11. Alluding to the invasion of Greece by Xerxes B.C. 480.

308. *Susa*; a Persian city of the province of Susiana and winter residence of the kings of Persia; see *P. R.* III. 288. According to tradition, Susa was founded by Tithonus, the father of Memnon (see *Il Penseroso*, 18), and Memnon built its acropolis, called after him the *Memnonium*. Susa is the Shushan of *Esther* i. 2 and *Daniel* viii. 2, passages of which perhaps we have an echo in "Memnonian *palace*."

310. *bridging*; with the bridge of boats described by Herodotus VII. 36. See Mayor's notes on Juvenal X. 173—76.

311. The reference is to the story told by Herodotus (VII. 35), that Xerxes in his anger at the destruction of his first bridge by a storm ordered the Hellespont to receive three hundred lashes from a "scourge" —τριηκοσίας ἐπικέσθαι μάστιγι πληγάς—and to have a pair of fetters thrown into it. Cf. Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes*, 231, 232:

"Fresh praise is try'd till madness fires his mind—
The waves he lashes, and enchains the wind"

(said of Xerxes).

indignant; cf. *Georg.* II. 161, 162, *Æneid* VIII. 728 (*pontem indignatus Araxes*). See 417, 418.

313. *pontifical*; literally 'bridge-making' (Lat. *pons* + *facere*); cf.

pontifice, 348. It has been suggested that M. used the word with a sarcastic allusion to its other sense 'belonging to the Pontiff, i.e. the Pope.' Cf. I. 795, note.

314. *vexed*, storm-tost; cf. I. 306, and see VII. 211—15.

316. *first lighted.* See III. 418—22.

317. The original editions have no comma after "Chaos," and the construction intended might be "landed to the outside," i.e. on to; but it seems better to regard the words "to the outside" as a kind of explanation of "to the self-same place where": taken thus, they define the place.

323. *interposed*, i.e. between "the confines" of Heaven and those of the World. The bridge from Hell touched the outer surface of this World at the point where (1) the stair from Heaven also touched the surface, and where (2) the passage led down to the interior of the World. The bridge therefore resembles the middle one of three roads which form a junction.

327. *in likeness*, i.e. "disguised" (330), as in III. 634—44, 694.

328, 329. "Satan, to avoid being discovered (as he had been before, IV. 569 *et seq.*) by Uriel regent of the Sun [see IX. 60—62, note], takes care to keep at as great a distance as possible, and therefore, 'while the sun rose in Aries,' he steers his course directly upwards 'betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion,' two constellations which lay in a quite different part of the heavens from Aries" (Newton).

steering, steering *to. his zenith*, i.e. straight upwards, towards that opening in the surface of the globe through which he had descended into the interior (III. 526 *et seq.*) and Sin and Death were about to descend.

332. *after Eve seduced*; for the Latinised turn of phrase see 577, 687, and cf. I. 573. *unminded*, unnoticed, i.e. by Eve.

335. *unweeting*, ignorant, i.e. of the results of her action, or of Satan's proximity. M. always (cf. 916) uses this form. *seconded*, repeated.

336, 337. Cf. IX. 1113, 1114.

344, 345. *understood*, i.e. *being* understood. The original editions have a full stop after *time* in 345, making *understood* a past tense, instead of participle, with the subject 'he' omitted. The correction (Tickell's) seems certain and is generally adopted now.

345, 346. *joy and tidings*; probably meant as a hendiadys = 'joyful tidings.'

347, 348. *the foot*; meaning, of course, the top of the bridge ("pontifice").

351. *stupendous*; in the original editions 'stupendious.'

358, 359. Cf. 246.

364. *consequence*, connection.

370. *fortify*, build.

372. *virtue*, courage (Lat. *virtus*); cf. I. 320.

374. *odds*, advantage.

378. *doom*, judgment, decree.

379. Cf. Satan's own words in IV. 110—12, where he means that he rules Hell already and hopes to rule the World, leaving Heaven to the Almighty.

380, 381. *the empyreal bounds*, the confines of the Empyrean or Heaven, which M. here treats as a square ("quadrature") in allusion to the description of the New Jerusalem in *Revelation* xxi. 16; previously he left its shape an undecided question (II. 1048).

orbicular; the World is always spoken of in the poem as a globe.

382. *try*, i.e. and find.

383. *the Prince of Darkness*; a stereotyped phrase; cf. *King Lear*, III. 4. 148, *All's Well That Ends Well*, IV. 5. 44, 45.

386, 387. Alluding to the meaning of *Satan*, viz. 'Adversary.'

389. *empire* = "Powers" in 395.

389—91. The sense is—'That have met my triumphal act, my work, viz. the discovery and conquest of the new World, with your triumphal act, your glorious work, viz. the construction of this bridge.'

397, 398. See the account in III. 561—742 of Satan's own descent to the Earth, "amongst innumerable stars" (III. 565) = "among these numerous orbs" (397).

399—402. Cf. Satan's promise to Sin in II. 838—44, where he tells her of the new World to which he is journeying.

409. *no detriment*. An allusion to the formula conferring supreme power on the Consuls at Rome in times of great crisis, namely, *videant* (or *dent operam* etc.) *consules ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat.*

413. "Strike" (='to blast') was the word applied to the evil "influence" which astrologists supposed the planets to exercise on the earth. Cf. *Hamlet*, I. 1. 162, "The nights are wholesome; then no planets strike." The belief survives in 'moon-struck.' M. says that the planets themselves were 'blasted' by bad "influence" as Sin and Death passed near them.

415. *causey*, causeway, road.

424. *Pandemonium*; cf. I. 756.

425, 426. Cf. VII. 131—34, notes.

426. *paragoned*, compared; cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, I. 5. 71, 72:

"If thou with Cæsar paragon again
My man of men."

So Drummond in *A Cypress Grove*, in the passage on the bliss of the righteous after death: "all pleasure [i.e. on earth], paragoned with what is here, is pain, all mirth mourning, all beauty deformity" (*Works*, II. 279). The literal idea of the noun *paragon* is 'a model, pattern': hence the notions 'rival' and 'comparison.' Shakespeare uses the verb = 'to excel'—a natural extension of the sense 'rival'; cf. *Othello*, II. 1. 61—63:

"a maid
That paragons description and wild fame;
One that excels the quirks of blazoning pens."

427. *the Grand*, the great ones (Ital. *i grandi*), being "the great consulting peers" (456) who held the council in bk. II.

430. *observed*, obeyed; cf. I. 588.

431, 432. Cf. the first lines of Milton's *History of Moscovia*: "The Empire of Moscovia, or as others call it Russia, is bounded... on the east by the river Ob, or Oby [see IX. 78], and the Nagayan *Tartars* on the Volga as far as *Astracan*."

433. *Bactrian*, Persian, the ancient Bactria or Bactriana having been a province of the Persian empire; cf. *P. R.* III. 285.

Sophi, Shah.

from the horns, i.e. retreats before the Turkish armies. "During the sixteenth century there was continual warfare between the Persians and the Ottoman Turks, who were the masters of Asia Minor and Syria" (Keightley).

horns; alluding to the shape—a half-moon or "crescent" of the ensign of the Turks; cf. Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, "The moony Standards of proud Ottoman" (Grosart's ed., I. 31; see also II. 42).

435. *Aladule*; the Greater Armenia, so called by the Turks from *Aladules*, the last king of the country, slain by the emperor Selím I. (from Hume's note). A province of "Aliduli" is marked in the map of the "Turkish Empire" in Hexham's English edition (1636) of *Mercator's Atlas*. There is reason to believe that M. made use of this particular *Atlas* (which has full descriptions as well as maps), and took from it the names "Namancos" and "Bayona" in *Lycidas*, 162.

436. *Tauris*, the modern Tabriz, in the north of Persia; not far from the Armenian frontier.

Casbeen, Kazvin, north of Teheran, the capital of Persia.

438. *reduced*, led back; Lat. *reducere*, 'to lead back,' e.g. troops.

441—50. Editors compare *Æneid* I. 439, 440, 586—89.

445. *his high throne*; described in II. 1—4. *state*, canopy.

450—52. M. dwells more than once on the "*faded* splendour" (IV. 870) of Satan's form.

451. *permissive*. Elizabethan writers treat the termination *-ive* as passive in various adjectives. Cf. *As You Like It*, III. 2. 10, "The fair, the chaste and unexpress*ive* she," i.e. 'inexpress*ible*.' So "insuppressive," not to be suppressed, *Julius Cæsar*, II. 1. 134; and "uncomprehensive," *Troilus and Cressida*, III. 3. 198.

453. Cf. "the Stygian council" (II. 506), used similarly of Satan's followers. Milton's whole conception of "Hell" owes much to the classics; cf. especially II. 575—86 with *Æneid* VI. 295 *et seq.*

456. *forth rushed*; since they sat in council "far within" the palace, away from the inferior Angels who thronged "the hall" (I. 791).

457. "The Devils are frequently described by metaphors taken from the Turks. Satan is called the 'Sultan,' I. 348, as here the council is styled the 'Divan'" (Newton).

divan, council; cf. Dryden's *State of Innocence*:

"'tis not fit
Our dark Divan in public view should sit."

The *State of Innocence* was based on *Paradise Lost*. See *Introduction*.

458, 459. Cf. the picture of a great orator in IX. 670—76. Editors compare Lucan, *Pharsalia* I. 297, 298.

461. They have, he says, a double claim to these titles implying lordship and power: (1) the claim of possession, since they are now to "possess a spacious World" (466, 467) and be lords thereof; (2) the claim of ancient right, since these titles belonged to them in Heaven. The form of the commencement of the speech resembles II. 11—14, V. 361, 362.

465. *the house of woe*; repeated from VI. 877.

469. *long were to tell*; like Lat. *longum est*; see I. 507.

470—80. Cf. the description of Satan's journey through Chaos (="the Deep," 471, "the Abyss," 476) in bk. II. 629 *et seq.*

471. *unreal*; "because...always changing."

475. *uncouth*, unknown, strange. M. accents *úncouth*.

477. *unoriginal*, having no originator, being itself "*eldest* of things," II. 962.

478—80. Chaos, far from "opposing" his journey, directed him on his course, II. 1004—1009. He magnifies his exploits to win "transcendent glory...above his fellows," II. 427, 428.

protesting Fate, i.e. objecting that Fate did not mean the "secrets" of their realm to be explored thus.

481, 482. Cf. Beelzebub's speech at the infernal council in II. 345—51.

512. *clung*; probably a participle = 'pressed tight.'

513. *supplanted*; in the literal sense 'tripped up'; from Lat. *supplantare*, 'to trip up, to throw a man off his feet'—a wrestler's term.

514. "Milton...had no doubt in mind the transformation of Cadmus in the fourth book of the *Metamorphoses*, to which he had alluded before in IX. 506" (Newton); also Dante, *Inferno*, XXIV., XXV. (Todd). Dante's description (canto XXV.) of the transformation of the five criminals into reptiles is much more detailed than Milton's, and repulsive.

515. *reluctant*; used literally = 'struggling against'; Lat. *reluctari*. Cf. 1045.

517. *his doom*; as pronounced on the Serpent in 175—77. Cf. the "Argument" of the book.

521. *riot*, i.e. rebellion in Heaven; cf. Lat. *tumultus*.

521—28. This passage is perhaps the most striking example of alliteration and assonance in the poem, the effect being designed partly to suggest to the ear the actual sound described, partly to convey to the imagination a sense of the terror of the whole scene. Thus the repeated sibilant represents the hissing; cf. I. 768, IX. 613. On the other hand, the repetition of sound in "*d*readful," "*d*in," "*d*ire," "*d*rear" etc. seems to intensify the horror of the event. A similar, though less striking, instance of the same effect occurs in XI. 489—92.

523. *complicated*, twisted, twined together; Lat. *complicare*, 'to tie up.'

524. *amphisbæna*; a kind of serpent, supposed to have a head at either end of its body. Sir Thomas Browne has a chapter (XV.) "Of the amphisbæna" in his *Vulgar Errors*, III., his conclusion being that "we must crave leave to doubt of this double-headed serpent."

525. *cerastes*; Gk. κεράστης, 'a horned snake,' from κέρας, 'a horn.'

Dante describes the Furies as "girt with greenest *hydras*; for hair, they had little serpents and *cerastes*, wherewith their horrid temples were bound" (*Inferno*, IX. 40—42).

hydrus; a water-snake; cf. Gk. ὕδωρ, 'water.'

ellops; Gk. ἔλλοψ, 'mute'; an epithet of fish; then used substantively for a certain sea-fish (probably the swordfish or sturgeon) and later = 'serpent.'

526. *dipsas*; a serpent whose bite caused great thirst (Gk. δίψος).

526, 527. *the soil*, i.e. Libya in Africa. An allusion to the legend that as Perseus was bringing back the head of Medusa, one of the Gorgons, who had hissing snakes instead of hair, drops of her blood fell on the soil and caused the country to abound with serpents. Ovid touches on

the story, *Metamorphoses* IV. 613—19, while Lucan enumerates the kinds of serpents, and his account (*Pharsalia* IX. 700—33) was probably in Milton's thoughts.

528. *Ophiusa*; the island of serpents = Gk. ὀφιοῦσσα, i.e. ὀφιόεσσα, 'abounding in serpents'; a small island in the Mediterranean, to which the Romans gave the similar name 'Colubraria,' from *coluber*, 'a snake,' adder. Now Formentera, one of the Balearic group.

529. *dragon*; cf. "the dragon" = Satan in *Revelation* xii. Gk. δράκων, 'serpent.'

529—31. Ovid speaks of the monstrous serpent Python, born from the slime left on the earth by the flood of Deucalion—*Metamorphoses* I. 434 *et seq.*

535. *in station...or just array*; "either on guard or drawn up in military array to receive and do him honour" (Keightley). Lat. *in statione*, a military term = 'on guard'; cf. "stations" = 'sentinels, pickets,' II. 412. *just*, regular, due (Lat. *justus*); cf. 888.

536. *sublime* = Lat. *sublimis* in its figurative sense 'uplifted.' Cf. *S. A.* 1669, "While their hearts were jocund and sublime."

541. *changing*, i.e. changing *into*.

541—45. The partial repetition of the alliterative effect of 521—28, to recall and point the likeness to the previous scene of transformation, is surely a very happy device.

546. *exploding*, driving off the scene.

550. *fair*; accidentally omitted in the Second Ed.: hence a wrong reading "like *to* that," current in later editions till Newton restored the true text.

560. *Megæra*; one of the Eumenides or Furies, who are described as having serpents twined in their hair.

561, 562. Alluding to the apples of the Dead Sea = "that bituminous lake." Cf. *Eikonoklastes*, 24: "Thus these pious flourishes and colours [i.e. excuses], examined thoroughly, are like the apples of Asphaltis [see 298, note], appearing goodly to the sudden eye; but look well upon them, or at least but touch them, and they turn into cinders."

lake; cf. the other common name for the Dead Sea, viz. 'Lake *Asphaltites*.'

565. *with gust*; as we say, 'with gusto.'

567—70. The sound is meant to echo the sense.

568. *drugged*, nauseated as "with the hateful taste usually found in drugs" (Richardson).

572. *triumphed*, i.e. over. *once*; emphatic. Man was deceived (by the Serpent) but "once"; the serpents were duped "oft."

lapsed; a preterite, I think; 'fell into error.'

572, 573. The original editions read:

"Thus were they plagu'd
And worn with famin, long and ceaseless hiss."

It seems to me simplest to suppose that the printer misplaced the comma after "famine"; if we put it after "long," then "famine" and "hiss" (a noun) are balanced with their respective epithets, and the balance gives an admirable rhythm, while the turn of phrase "worn with famine, and hiss" is quite characteristic. Keightley printed:

"Thus were they plagued;
And, worn with famine, long and ceaseless hiss";

taking "hiss" as a verb. Other editors have followed him (some placing a comma instead of a semicolon after "plagued"). This interpretation appears to me to be open to several objections. It rather implies that the "famine" was the cause of the hissing; involves a most awkward change from the past tense in 572 to the present in 573 and then back to the past in 574, and yields, surely, an unpleasant rhythm.

575—77. No doubt, M. had some authority for this tradition, but editors have failed to find it. The nearest approach to it known to Newton was the speech of the Fairy Manto in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, XLIII. 98:

"Each sev'nth day we constrained are to take
Upon ourselves the person of a snake" (Harrington's trans.).

some say; a convenient phrase, under cover of which he can mention theories, yet avoid the responsibility of accepting them. Cf. 668, 671, IX. 638.

578. We must remember that according to the ordinary patristic and mediæval belief which M. accepted (see *Appendix*, pp. 672—74), the fallen Angels became the gods of classical mythology: hence there might well be among "the heathen" some tradition of the story of Eve and the Serpent. So M. identifies the Serpent (Satan) with Ophion (cf. Gk. *ὄφις*, 'a serpent'), one of the Titans and the first ruler of Olympus; and suggests that Eurynome, the daughter of Oceanus and wife of Ophion, may have been the same as Eve. Newton showed that in the allusion to Ophion and Eurynome M. had in his thoughts a passage of the *Argonautica* (I. 503—509) of Apollonius Rhodius.

579. *purchase*, prey, i.e. mankind. In *Comus*, 607, "And force him to return his *purchase* back," the first version (Cambridge MS.) has "And force him to release his new got *prey*."

581, 582. *wide-encroaching*. "Some epithet should be added to *Eve* to shew the similitude between her and *Eurynome*, and why he takes the one for the other; and therefore in allusion to the name *Eurynome* [='wide-ruling'] he styles Eve 'the wide-encroaching,' as

extending her rule and dominion farther than she should over her husband, and affecting godhead" (Newton).

584. *Ops*, the wife of Saturn. *Dictæan*, Cretan, from Dicte, a mountain of Crete in which island Jupiter was brought up. The legend that Zeus (Jupiter) expelled Cronos (Saturn) from Olympus (I. 516, VII. 3, 7), the 'heaven' of later classical mythology, and from sovereignty over gods and men, is touched on in *Il Penseroso*, 30.

586, 587. *in power*, potentially.

actual, the cause of an act, viz. Eve's act of disobedience. No doubt, M. is alluding to the theological term "actual sin," which he defines as "crime itself, or the act of sinning," and discusses in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 11 (*P. W.* IV. 262). Compare the *Prayer-Book*, "Articles of Religion," XXXI.

588—90. Cf. *Rev.* vi. 8, "And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him."

591. *second*; Sin herself was first.

601. *unhide-bound*, with the skin hanging loose about it, hence capable of containing much.

606. *scythe*; the traditional attribute of Time and Death. Cf. Shakespeare, *Sonnet* 12, "And nothing 'gainst Time's scythe can make defence."

616—40. This speech is noticeable as not being so Biblical in character as most of those which M. assigns to the Almighty.

616, 617. M. seems to have had in his thoughts *Julius Cæsar*, III. 1. 273, "Cry 'Havoc,' and let slip the dogs of war." The phrase 'cry "havoc,"' imitated from O. Fr. *crier havot*, was an old military term for 'giving no quarter,' i.e. it was the signal for indiscriminate slaughter; so that "to *havoc* yonder world" was an even stronger expression then than it is now. *dogs of Hell*; cf. II. 653—59.

623. *enter and possess*; "terms of English law" (Keightley). For *possess* = 'take possession of' cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III. 2. 27.

624. *conniving*, tolerating, permitting, them.

632. *cramm'd*; suitable to the context; but in *Comus*, 713, Milton's unerring taste substituted *thronging* for the first reading:

"*Cramming* the seas w^th^ spawne innumerable."

638. *Heaven and Earth* = the World, as often in Scripture.

made pure, i.e. by fire, according to 2 *Peter* iii. 7, 10—13. See III. 333—35. In *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 33, he treats of "the destruction of the present unclean and polluted world, namely, its final conflagration" (*P. W.* IV. 488).

640. *precedes*; "shall go before those ravagers Sin and Death, and shall direct and lead them on" (Newton). But might not the sense be

'has precedence = prevails,' the notion being that "the curse" has power for a time but will in the end be annulled? Bentley suggested *proceeds*, i.e. goes on, continues.

642. *as the sound*, resembling the sound, by reason of the multitude of voices; being even "as the voice of many waters," *Revelation* xix. 6. Cf. v. 872, 873.

643, 644. Cf. *Revelation* xv. 3, xvi. 7. To "justify the ways of God to men" (I. 26) was Milton's aim in composing *Paradise Lost*.

645. *extenuate*, weaken; properly 'make slight' (Lat. *tenuis*).

647, 648. "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth...And the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven"—*Revelation* xxi. 1, 2; see also verse 10 and note "descending."

to the ages, i.e. for the succeeding ages. *rise*, i.e. from the conflagration.

650. *his mighty Angels*; meaning, probably, "the seven Spirits" of God "which are before his throne" and execute his commands on Earth. See the description of them in III. 648—53. Of these Uriel was one.

651. In *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 13, he says, "All nature is subject to mortality and a curse on account of man"; and that thought is the basis of this long passage dealing with the deterioration in the physical Universe which followed the Fall of Man. The main Scriptural authority for this thought which M. quotes is *Genesis* iii. 17, "cursed is the ground for thy sake." The idea comes in Drummond's "Hymn of the Fairest Fair," 263—84 (*Flowers of Sion*). Cf. also the third draft of Milton's contemplated tragedy of *Paradise Lost*, in the outline of the action of Act v. Cf. IX. 132, 133.

656. *blanc*, 'pale' (Fr. *blanc*, 'white').

657. *the other five*, i.e. planets.

658—62. On the astrological terms in these lines, see pp. 691, 692.

the fixed, i.e. stars; see III. 481, note.

663. *which of them*; e.g. Orion "with fierce winds...armed," I. 305.

665. *their corners*, their respective quarters. *when*, i.e. and also the times when. *confound*, mingle, make undistinguishable.

666. The winds are said to "roll the thunder" because they "roll" the clouds which cause the thunder.

668—78. Dr Masson explains: "It is poetically assumed here that, before the Fall, the ecliptic or Sun's path was in the same plane as the Earth's equator, and that the present obliquity of the two planes, or their intersection at an angle of $23\frac{1}{2}°$, was a modification of the physical Universe for the worse, consequent upon the moral evil introduced by sin. But this physical alteration might be produced in either of two

ways: either by pushing askance the axis of the Earth the required distance, leaving the Sun undisturbed; or by leaving the Earth undisturbed and compelling the Sun to deviate the required distance ('like distant breadth') from his former equatorial or equinoctial path. To indicate what 'the like distant breadth' would amount to, Milton follows the Sun in imagination after his deviation from the equatorial line: tracing him, first, in his ascent north of the equator, through the constellations Taurus (in whose neck are the Pleiades, called the Seven Atlantic Sisters, as being mythologically the daughters of Atlas) and Gemini (called 'the Spartan twins,' as representing Castor and Pollux, the twin-sons of Tyndarus, King of Sparta), up to his extreme distance from the equator at the Crab, in the Tropic of Cancer; then returning with him in his descending path by Leo and Virgo, till he again touches the equator at Libra; and, for the rest, simply suggesting his similar deviation from the equator to the south by naming the Tropic of Capricorn as the farthest point reached on that side....He [Milton] gives the larger space to the hypothesis of a change of the Sun's path."

671. *the centric globe*, the Earth, the centre of the Universe, according to the Ptolemaic system.

676. *the Scales*=Libra (III. 558).

678, 679. He has previously said that before the Fall only one season was known in Eden, viz. "eternal spring," IV. 268: a view held by some of the Church Fathers. See also V. 394, 395. When Dante reaches the Garden of Eden he is told (*Purgatorio*, XXVIII. 142, 143): "Here the root of man's race was innocent; here spring is everlasting, and every kind of fruit" (cf. V. 341). Classical mythology spoke similarly of the Golden Age; see *The Advancement of Learning*, II. 20. 9, where editors cite Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I. 107 (*ver erat æternum*, etc.).

680—84. "If the Sun were to be always in the equator, there could never be night at the poles, the sun going round and round continually in the horizon" (Keightley).

685—87. i.e. the sun would have prevented the snow stretching so far southward from the North Pole as it does at present, and conversely an equal distance northward from the South Pole.

Estotiland; an old name, applied not very precisely, to the part of North America lying between Baffin's Bay and Hudson's Bay. The description (II. 436) of the chief provinces of North America in Hexham's *Mercator* (1636) mentions both "Estotilandia" and "Norumbega" (see 696).

Magellan, i.e. the Strait of, in South America; named after the Portuguese navigator Magelhaens.

688. An allusion to the story of the revenge taken by Atreus, king of Mycenæ, on his brother Thyestes, who had wronged him and been banished: how "Atreus, pretending to be reconciled to Thyestes, recalled him to Mycenæ, killed his two sons, and placed their flesh before their father at a banquet, who unwittingly partook of the horrid meal"—(*Classical Dictionary*). This spectacle is said to have caused the sun to turn aside, and M. suggests that the feasting on the forbidden fruit worked a like effect.

Thyestean; I think that M. intended us to scan 'Thyést(e)an,' eliding the *e* of the termination, instead of accentuating it according to the correct rendering 'Thyestéan.' Good critics, e.g. Mr Bridges, recognise a similar scansion in *S. A.* 133, "Chalý|b(e)an tém|per'd steel, and frock of mail"—instead of 'Chalýbéan.' Dr Abbot scans 'Epicúrĕan' in *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. 1. 24, and says that "the Elizabethans generally did not accent the *e* in such words."

689—91. i.e. the sun's course before the Fall must have differed from its present course: otherwise the World would not have escaped extremes of heat and cold then any more than it does now.

693. *sideral*, of the stars (Lat. *sidera*). *blast*, i.e. blasting "influence."

696. *Norumbega*; an obsolete name for a great tract comprehending in modern nomenclature southern Canada and the northern states of America, e.g. New York and Maine. "Norumbega" is marked thus both in Hexham's general map of America and also in that of "New England." In Milton's time the application of names to these distant regions was rather vague.

the Samoed shore, i.e. the shore of north-eastern Siberia, near the Gulf of Obi in the Arctic Ocean. In Milton's *History of Moscovia* is a chapter on "Samoedia, Siberia, and other countries north-east, subject to the Muscovites," *P. W.* v. 403, 404; with references to Purchas's *Pilgrimage*.

697. *their brazen dungeon*; suggested perhaps by the prison of the winds guarded by Æolus; cf. *Æneid* I. 52 *et seq.*

698. *flaw*, a gust of wind. "Gust and flaw" seems to have been a common combination; cf. *Venus and Adonis*, 456.

699, 700. *Boreas*, the north wind; *Cæcias*, the north-east, Gk. *καικίας*. Cf. Holland's translation (1603) of Plutarch's *Morals*, "like unto the north-east winde *Cæcias*, which evermore gathereth the clouds unto it" (p. 379, quoted in the *Stanford Dictionary*). *Argestes*, the north-west wind; *Thrascias*, the north-north-west; Gk. *θρασκίας*, also spelt *θρᾳκίας*, i.e. the wind that blew from *Thrace*.

702. *Notus*, the south wind; *Afer*, the south-west; lit. 'the African' (Lat. *afer*), i.e. wind; cf. *creber procellis Africus*—*Æneid* I. 85, 86.

703. *Serraliona*, i.e. Sierra Leone, off the west coast of Africa; literally the 'Lioness Mountain,' from Spanish *sierra*, 'a saw,' hence 'a jagged mountain ridge or chain of mountains,' and *leona*, 'a lioness.' It was evidently proverbial for storms; cf. Hexham's *Mercator*, II. 426: "Sierra Liona is...a very high Mount, the toppe whereof is continually hidde with snowe: from whence there comes fearefull noises, and great tempest."

703—706. To heighten the confusion of the contest between the winds from the north (699, 700) and those from the south (701, 702), there rush forth to the fray winds from either side, viz. Eurus, the east wind, and Sirocco, the south-east: Zephyrus, the west wind, and Libecchio, the south-west.

704. *Levant and Ponent*; the rising and setting winds, i.e. those which come from the quarters where the sun respectively rises and sets. From Fr. *levant* and *ponent*, used thus. Cf. *levant*='sunrise,' e.g. in Holland's *Pliny* (1601), XVIII. 33, "the Sunne rising or Levant of that day." A later word, with the same sense, is *levanter*.

705. *with their lateral noise*; qualifying, I think, "Eurus and Zephyr," as being "lateral" in relation to the north and south winds; but some editors connect the words with "Sirocco, and Libecchio" as describing *their* relation to "Eurus and Zephyr."

706. *Sirocco...Libecchio*; Italian names (whereas all the others in the passage are classical), the two winds being peculiar to the shores of the Mediterranean and the south of Europe. Ital. *sirocco*, from Arabic *sharq*, 'east.'

710—14. Previously (IV. 340—47) the beasts had known neither strife among themselves nor fear of man.

711. "It was [Milton's] notion that *beast*, *fowl*, and *fish* [all] grazed the herb before the Fall" (Newton). Cf. *Gen.* i. 30, and see *P. L.* VII. 403, 404.

714—17. Newton well remarks on the skill with which the transition to Adam again is effected. "We have seen great alterations produced in nature, and it is now time to see how Adam is affected with them, and whether the disorders *within* are not even worse than those *without*."

718. "The wicked are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest," *Isaiah* lvii. 20. Todd quotes from one of Milton's minor pamphlets, *Colasterion*: "Tost and tempested in a most unquiet sea of afflictions and temptations" (*P. W.* III. 450); and remarks: "The *sea of sorrow*, or of *evils*, is a frequent expression in the Greek and Latin, as well as in our own, poets." Cf. κακῶν πέλαγος in Æschylus, *Persæ* 433, and the famous line in *Hamlet* (III. 1. 59).

In *The Reason of Church Government*, II., M. speaks of himself giving up the quiet life of a student, "to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes" (i.e. politics and controversy)—*P. W.* II. 481.

719. *disburden*, himself. "A metaphor taken from a ship in a tempest, unlading, *disburdening*, to preserve itself from sinking by its weight" (Richardson). The metaphor follows naturally on line 718. Cf. *Richard II.* II. 1. 228, 229:

> "My heart is great; but it must break with silence,
> Ere't be disburden'd with a liberal tongue."

720. *miserable of happy*; on this idiom see IV. 153 (note); cf. 723.

723. *the face*. Cf. IX. 1080—82.

728, 729. "Meat and drink propagate it ['curse'] by prolonging life, and children by carrying it on to posterity" (Newton).

In his *Essay* on Milton (see I. 261—63, note), William Lauder translated these lines into *quod comedo, poto, gigno, diris subjacet*, and pretended that the Latin occurred in the tragedy of *Adamus Exul* (1601)—a very rare work—of the jurist Grotius. Two lines earlier in this book (616, 617) were derived by Lauder from an equally fictitious hexameter—*infernique canes populantur cuncta creata*—ascribed to a work published in 1654 by a certain Jacobus Masenius, professor in the Jesuits' College at Cologne.

729, 730. *Genesis* i. 28. See VII. 530, 531.

736. See V. 396, note.

737. *the execration*, i.e. "Ill fare our Ancestor impure!" 735. Cf. 821, 822.

738. *mine own*; the only noun to which these words can well refer is "curses" (732), but the sense is 'afflictions, evils.'

all from me, all the afflictions derived from me, i.e. those of his descendants.

739. *redound*; in the literal sense 'flow back' (Lat. *redundare*). The metaphor is changed in the next line ("light"). Some editions misprint *rebound*.

740, 741. "These curses, though lighting on him their centre, will weigh heavy, though according to the laws of physics they should not weigh anything there, the weight of bodies being only their tendency to the centre" (Keightley). Critics have censured the style as forced and colloquial (cf. 736).

743. *Isaiah* xlv. 9.

748. *equal*, fair (Lat. *æquus*). *reduce*; in the literal sense 'to bring back' (Lat. *reducere*), i.e. to the dust of which Adam was made.

758. *thou didst*; addressing himself, not his Maker, as in 743—55. The abrupt transitions show his emotion.

762. *Isaiah* xlv. 10.

773. *this day*; Adam should have said "*that* day"—cf. 49, 210. The time of the action of this book is the day after Adam's sin. Cf. the time references in 329 ("the sun rose") and 342 ("by night").

778. *my mother's lap*; a curious expression from Adam's lips; see XI. 536.

783. *all*; cf. Horace's *non omnis moriar—Odes* III. 30. 6 (said, however, in a different connection, viz. in reference to the immortality conferred by his poetry).

784, 785. *Genesis* ii 7. Horace calls the breath of life *divinæ particulam auræ* (*Sat.* II. 2. 79). *inspired*; in the literal sense 'breathed.'

788. *a living death*; a proverbial phrase; cf. *S. A.* 100, "To live a life half dead, a living death." So in *Richard III.* I. 2. 153; *Lucrece*, 726.

789—92. The spirit, Adam is made to argue, constitutes life (cf. "pure breath of life") and the spirit alone "sinned": the body is mere "dust," a "clod," and as such "properly hath neither" life nor sin: therefore "death," as the annihilation of life and punishment of sin, must mean the death of the spirit. So the "end" (797) will be not merely the dissolution of the mortal body into its dust but annihilation of the whole being—"*all* of me shall die."

The subject is discussed in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 13.

798—801. Cf. *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 2, where, treating of the "omnipotence" of the Almighty, he says, "It must be remembered that the power of God is not exerted in things which imply a contradiction"; he quotes 2 *Timothy* ii. 13, *Hebrews* vi. 18. It was a doctrine on which mediæval theologians dwelt.

806—808. *all causes else*... "All other agents act in proportion to the *reception* or capacity of the subject-matter, and not to the utmost extent of their own power ['sphere']. An allusion to the axiom: *omne efficiens agit secundum vires recipientis, non suas*" (Newton). So, Adam argues, he cannot be punished after death because death is the utmost punishment that he has the capacity to suffer: with death that capacity ends.

810. *bereaving sense*; cf. "insensible," 777.

812. *without*, outside; cf. *Macbeth*, III. 1. 47, "They are, my lord, without the palace gate."

816. *am*; attracted to the nearer and, in Adam's view, more important subject "I." *incorporate*; cf. *Romans* vii. 20.

832. *me, me.* Cf. 936 and Vergil's line *me, me,—adsum, qui feci,—in me convertite ferrum—Æneid* IX. 427.

840. *past example*, i.e. of the fallen Angels.

842. In each of Milton's drafts of a tragedy on the theme of "Paradise Lost," *Conscience* is one of the abstract *dramatis personæ*.

852—59. Cf. 923, note.

858. *Death comes not at call.* Cf. XI. 491—93.

858, 859. Newton compares Horace's *pede Pœna claudo—Odes* III. 2. 32.

860. Todd shows that this form of invocation is "after the manner of the Italian poets." Cf. too Tennyson's *Œnone.*

861, 862. *other...other*; a favourite form of emphasis with M. Cf. *Comus*, 612, 613:

> "Far other arms and other weapons must
> Be those that quell the might of hellish charms";

and *Lycidas*, 174. Cf. the *Inferno*, III. 91, 92, where Charon refuses to convey Dante across the great river of hell: "By other ways, by other ferries, not here, shalt thou pass over" (*per altra via, per altri porti*). So Marvell in *Upon the Hill at Billborow*:

> "'Much other groves,' say they, 'than these,
> And other hills, him once did please'";

and in his beautiful little poem *The Garden*; and Tennyson in *Tithonus*:

> "Ay me! ay me! with what another heart
> In days far-off, and with what other eyes
> I used to watch!"

M. uses the artifice in his prose; cf. *On Education*, *P. W.* III. 474.

song; cf. "their vocal worship," IX. 198, 199 (note).

872, 873. *pretended to*; literally 'stretched before,' Lat. *prætentus*; hence 'serving as a screen to, masking.'

883. *understood*; the subject "I" is easily supplied from 880.

886. *sinister*; used quibblingly in its literal sense 'left'—a reference to the tradition that the rib out of which Eve was fashioned was taken from Adam's left side (VIII. 465, note)—and also in the figurative sense 'unlucky.'

Scan *sinister*, as in *Henry V.* II. 4. 85, "'Tis no sinister nor no awkward claim." This accentuation survived at least as late as Dryden; cf. *The Hind and the Panther*, III. 492:

> "In which sinister destinies ordain
> A dame should drown with all her feathered train."

In M., as in Shakespeare and Elizabethan writers generally, many words bear the original Latin (and French) accent which later has yielded to the Teutonic tendency to shift the accent on to an earlier syllable.

887, 888. It was an old belief that Adam as created had thirteen ribs on the left side and that Eve was formed out of the extra one.

888—98. Editors cite similar passages from other poets, in particular a close parallel from Milton's favourite writer Euripides, viz. *Hippolytus* 616 *et seq.* See the chorus 1010—60 in *S. A.*

898—906. The passage is like a commentary on the proverbial line, "The course of true love never did run smooth," *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, I. 1. 134. That M. when he wrote the lines was thinking of the circumstances of his own first marriage cannot be doubted.

904—906. A personal allusion appears to be intended. Edward Phillips, the poet's nephew and one of his biographers, states that after Milton's first wife refused to live with him he paid much attention to a Miss Davis (possibly the lady addressed in his *Sonnet* "To a Virtuous young Lady"); so that "too late" represented his own experience.

Probably "already linked, and wedlock-bound" refers to "he," and "fell adversary" to his wife, now a source of "hate or shame" to him; but the sense might be that the man meets "his happiest choice" after *she* is "linked" to his enemy, which state of things occasions him "hate or shame."

921. *forlorn of*; cf. Tennyson's *Œnone*:

> "Hither came at noon
> Mournful Œnone, wandering forlorn
> Of Paris."

923. *scarce one short hour*; in her grief she, like Adam (852—59), forgets the words of their Judge which clearly showed that "the instant stroke of death" was "removed far off" (210, 211). Contrast 962, 963.

937—46. Probably Milton's reconciliation with his own wife was present to his thoughts; cf. *S. A.* 1003—1007:

> "Yet beauty, though injurious, hath strange power,
> After offence returning, to regain
> Love once possessed, nor can be easily
> Repulsed, without much inward passion felt,
> And secret sting of amorous remorse."

959. *elsewhere*, at "the place" (cf. 932, 953, 1098, 1099), where their Judge appeared to them and pronounced their sentence; or perhaps he means 'in Heaven.'

978. *as in our evils*, considering that we are in such evils; Lat. *ut*. Richardson aptly quotes from Cicero's letters *Ad familiares* XII. 2, *nonnihil, ut in tantis malis, est profectum*. Cf. IX. 1091.

979. *descent*; abstract for concrete; 'descendants.'

987. *prevent*, anticipate, forestall.

989. In the early editions the words "so Death" were placed at the beginning of 990; doubtless an error, since there is no other instance

in the poem of a short line (as 989 would be without the two words), or of an Alexandrine.

996. *the present object*, the object of your love who is present.

1004—1006. *and have.* 'Though we have the power, through choosing the quickest of the many ways of dying, to destroy destruction (i.e. Death's future work of destroying mankind) by destroying ourselves.'

1032—1035. Contrast 169—73 (with notes).

1045. *reluctance*, struggling.

1046—48. Cf. 96, "the mild Judge"; and 1094—96.

1053, 1054. He means that the curse in 198—208 applied more to the ground than to himself; so he says quibblingly that it 'glanced' off him and 'fell to the ground,' e.g. like an arrow that just grazes the object aimed at.

1065. *this mountain*; see the note on IV. 134.

1066. *shattering.* Cf. *Lycidas*, 5, "Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year"; where *shatter* is one of Milton's many felicities of alteration, displacing the prosaic word *crop*.

locks. Cf. Lat. *comæ* with its two senses, 'hair' and 'foliage.' See Horace, *Odes* IV. 7. 2 (*arboribusque comæ*).

1068. *shroud*, shelter.

1069. *this...star*, the sun; 'the day-star' (cf. "diurnal"), as it was sometimes called in contrast to the other heavenly bodies. Cf. *Lycidas*, 168, and Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, "While the bright day-star rides his glorious round," Grosart's ed., I. 143. (But commonly "day-star" meant the morning-star, Lucifer.)

1070. *how*, i.e. *to see* how; understood from *seek* in 1067.

1071. *foment*, keep warm. M. uses the word in allusion to its (ultimate) derivation from Lat. *fovere*, 'to warm'; cf. Lat. *fomes*, 'tinder, touchwood.' Editors cite *Æneid* I. 174—76.

They are to try to reflect the sun's rays in some mirror-like substance so as to kindle dry leaves and grasses, etc.

1072, 1073. "He seems to suppose that in the collision of two bodies, as two flints or a flint and steel, it is the air that yields the fire" (Keightley). *attrite*, worn by friction; Lat. *attritus*. The idea is Lucretian.

as late; referring to the changes in the elements (651 *et seq.*).

1075. *tine*, kindle. *thwart*, flashing across the sky. Probably he alludes to one of the theories as to the origin of fire on earth which Lucretius gives, V. 1091—94, viz. that it came through the thunderbolt and lightning.

1081. *praying*; conditional. *of grace*, for mercy, pardon.

1085. *native home*; cf. 206—208.

1091. *frequenting*, filling (Lat. *frequentare*). Cf. *frequent*= 'crowded' (*frequens*), I. 797.

1098—1104. For a similar instance of repetition (a figure imitated from the classics) cf. IV. 641—56, VII. 26 (note), *Comus*, 221—24.

prostrate fell. It is curious that the next book begins

"Thus they, in lowliest plight, repentant *stood*
Praying."

BOOK XI.

1, 2. *stood praying.* Either this means 'continued praying,' or M. has forgotten X. 1099. In *The Christian Doctrine*, II. 4, he cites 2 *Chronicles* xx. 5, and *Luke* xviii. 13, as illustrations of standing to pray (*P. W.* V. 34, 35). See IV. 720.

the mercy-seat above. Cf. a beautiful passage in the treatise *Of Reformation in England*, II.: "had God been so minded, he could have sent a spirit of mutiny amongst us [the English and Scots]...but he, when we least deserved, sent out a gentle gale and message of peace from the wings of those his cherubims that fan his mercy-seat" (*P. W.* II. 406). See XII. 252—54.

3. *prevenient grace.* Cf. the *Collect*, "We pray thee that thy grace may always prevent and follow us."

3—5. An allusion to *Ezekiel* xi. 19, "and I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them an heart of flesh" (see also xxxvi. 26). *the stony*; an example of the frequent substantival use of adjectives in M.

5—8. An allusion to *Romans* viii. 26, "the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered." M. had used the same reference many years before; cf. *Eikonoklastes*, 16: "Though we know not what to pray as we ought, yet he with sighs unutterable by any words, much less by a stinted liturgy, dwelling in us makes intercession for us."

8. *yet*; referring back to line 1—'though they were in lowly plight, *yet* was their demeanour not mean.' *port*, bearing; as in IV. 869.

10—14. The Greek story of Deucalion and Pyrrha, his wife, corresponds to the Scriptural account of the Flood (cf. *Coriolanus*, II. 1. 102, *The Winter's Tale*, IV. 4. 441). They were the only survivors from the Deluge, and they consulted the sanctuary of Themis, goddess of custom and equity, how the race of man should be re-

stored. Ovid tells the tale, *Metamorphoses* I. 260 *et seq.*, and M. is thinking of his version.

Bishop Hall has the quaint couplet (*Satires*, V. 3):

"O happy dayes of old Deucalion,
When one was landlord of the world alone."

11. *fables.* Cf. I. 197, note, II. 627, *S. A.* 500.

14. *stood.* In Ovid's account (375, 376), *procumbit uterque Pronus humi.*

14—16. M. is glancing at his own description of the Limbo or Paradise of Fools, the region into which foolish men who think to reach Heaven by wrong means are, just "at foot of Heaven's ascent," blown clean away by a violent gust. See III. 485—89.

flew up; cf. *Hamlet*, III. 3. 97, 98. So in *Eikonoklastes*, 16, speaking of the disadvantage (as he thought) of using a set form of prayers in worship, M. says: "The prayer having less intercourse and sympathy with a heart wherein it was not conceived, saves itself the labour of so long a journey downward [i.e. into the heart], and flying up in haste on the specious wings of formality, if it fall not back again headlong, instead of a prayer which was expected, presents God with a set of stale and empty words."

17. *dimensionless*, i.e. as being spiritual, not material.

17—20. M. has followed *Revelation* viii. 3, 4 very closely; cf. also ix. 13, and *Ps.* cxli. 2.

28. *manuring*, tending, cultivating; cf. IV. 628.

31. *sighs...mute.* It has been noted that the expression *muta suspiria* occurs in Statius, *Thebais* XI. 604.

33. "And if any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and he is the propitiation for our sins," 1 *John* ii. 1, 2.

40, 41. Cf. X. 76, 77.

44. Alluding to *John* xvii.; cf. especially verses 11 and 21—23.

50—53. Everything in Eden being pure would reject the pollution in Adam. There may be a reference to *Leviticus* xviii. 25, "the land is defiled...and itself vomiteth out her inhabitants."

56. *of incorrupt*, from the state of being incorrupt; for the idiom, see IV. 153, X. 720, XII. 167.

60. *eternize*, make everlasting; in VI. 374, the word has its commoner Elizabethan sense 'to immortalize,' especially with poetry.

64. Cf. XII. 427.

67. *Synod*, meeting; see VI. 156. The word has retained its ecclesiastical associations.

73—76. Cf. VI. 60 (where the "ethereal trumpet from on high"

sounds the signal of march to the hosts of Heaven against Satan and his followers), XII. 227—30, and the third *Elegy*, 60 (*Pura triumphali personat æthra tuba*).

The Biblical references are to the giving of the ten commandments to Moses on Sinai, *Exod.* xix. 16—19, and to "the last trump," mentioned in the New Testament, e.g. in 1 *Cor.* xv. 52. M. qualifies ("perhaps") his suggestion that the trumpet may be the same. The whole passage is anticipated in the *Nativity Ode*, 155—64.

74. ***in** Oreb.* Contrast I. 6, 7, where, as regards the form *Oreb*, not *Horeb*, Mr Beeching compares the similar case, *Ebrew* instead of *Hebrew*, in *S. A.* 1308.

77. *regions*, realms of air; cf. "the airy region thrilling," *Nativity Ode*, 103; see VII. 425.

78. Pope (*Cecilia's Day*, V.) recollected Milton.

The amaranth is a type of immortality, because *ἀμάραντος* ('unwithering'), and therefore placed by M. in Heaven. See the fine passage in III. 353—59, where he tells us that this flower once flourished in Eden "by the tree of life," and then, after man's offence, "to Heaven removed." Cf. Tennyson, *Romney's Remorse*:

> "Ah, my white heather only grows in heaven,
> With Milton's amaranth."

79. Cf. III. 357, 358, note.

80. Cf. the "sweet societies" of "the saints above" in *Lycidas*, 178, 179.

86. *defended*, forbidden.

90. *contrite*, as always in M.; cf. "Be penitent, and for thy fault contrite," *S. A.* 502. The accent shows the influence of the Latin.

91—93. Keightley thought that there was a break in the sense, or that some word had been omitted. But the meaning seems to be, 'I know man's variableness after my influences cease to work in him.'

93—98. *Genesis* iii. 22, 23.

99. Michael had not yet been chosen for the discharge of any duty in the action of the poem, as had Gabriel (bk. IV.) and Raphael (bk. V.). But he had been mentioned in bk. VI. as playing a great part in the battle in Heaven, and it was natural therefore that some share in the actual conduct of the story should be assigned to him (Newton).

Michael's name occurs in both Milton's first lists of *dramatis personæ* (see the *Introduction*), whereas neither list has Gabriel or Raphael.

105. *remorse*, pity; in Shakespeare the usual sense is 'pity, tenderness of heart.' Cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, IV. 1. 20, "show thy mercy and remorse." So in I. 605, IV. 109.

106. *denounce*, announce, proclaim, with the notion of hostility or menace. Cf. 815, and II. 106.

111. *excess*, transgression; cf. III. 696.

118—22. *Genesis* iii. 24; cf. XII. 590—93, 626—36.

128, 129. The description of the Cherubim accords with the account in the vision of Ezekiel (see chaps. i. and x.). For their office as the sentinels of *Paradise Lost*, see p. 681.

double, because the Latin divinity Janus was commonly represented with two faces; cf. Vergil, *Æn.* VII. 180, *Janique bifrontis imago*. In the *Areopagitica* M. speaks of "the temple of Janus, with his two controversial faces," *P. W.* II. 96. Janus sometimes appears as *quadrifrons*, i.e. with four faces.

130—33. *Argus*, the hundred-eyed monster who was set by Hera (Juno) to watch over Io; some of his eyes watched while the others rested. Hermes (Mercury) soothed him to sleep with music, and killed him. Cf. the fine passage describing the approach of Dulness, at the end of *The Dunciad*:

> "As one by one, at dread Medea's strain,
> The sick'ning stars fade off th' ethereal plain;
> As Argus' eyes by Hermes' wand opprest,
> Closed one by one to everlasting rest;
> Thus at her felt approach, and secret might,
> Art after art goes out, and all is night."

Dante describes the eyes of Argus as the pitiless eyes which could keep awake longer than others (*Purgatorio*, XXXII. 64—66). Milton applies the story of Io watched by Argus in his treatise *Of Reformation in England*, II. (*P. W.* II. 391).

more wakeful than to; an imitation of the Greek use of a comparative followed by ἢ ὥστε with the infinitive—in which idiom ὥστε is sometimes omitted.

to drowse charmed, to drowse under the charm of the pipe, as had Argus. Cf. the end of the preface to *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*: "the Jews...thought it too much license to follow freely *the charming pipe* of him who sounded and proclaimed liberty and relief to all distresses"—i.e. Christ; and *P. R.* II. 363.

Arcadian, because "famous Arcady" (*Arcades*, 28) was the ideal poets' land of "pastoral" life; cf. the title of Milton's poem, not to mention Sidney's *Arcadia*.

pastoral reed; the shepherd's pipe or syrinx which Hermes was said to have invented, after he invented the lyre. The Dauphin in *Henry V.* III. 7. 16—19, in his extravagant praise of his horse, says: "the earth

sings when he touches it; the basest horn of his hoof is more musical than the pipe of Hermes."

opiate rod; his wand or *caduceus*, made of olive-wood and entwined with two serpents (cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, II. 3. 13, 14), which conferred sleep on whomsoever he wished; described in *The Faerie Queene*, II. 12. 41. Cf. Jonson, *Love's Triumph*:

> "The rod and serpents of Cyllenius (i.e. Hermes)
> Bring not more peace than these";

and Sir Thomas Browne, *Christian Morals*, II. xiii.: "The Egyptians were merciful contrivers, who destroyed their malefactors by asps, charming their senses into an invincible sleep, and killing as it were with Hermes's rod."

Keightley notes that *opiate* is probably a reminiscence of Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I. 716, where the rod is *medicata*, i.e. steeped in drugs. The word does not come elsewhere in M., except in the MS. of *Comus*, 696, where "the Lady" calls the magic draught of Comus his *hel brewd* [i.e. Hell-brewed] *opiate*, for which M. substituted *brewd enchauntments*.

133—36. *meanwhile*. This is the last day of the action of *P. L.*, which Newton makes to cover eleven days.

135. The Greek Leucothea, the white or bright (λευκός) goddess, was identified by the Romans with their deity Matuta or Mater Matuta, the goddess of the dawn. Lucretius, V. 655, speaks of Matuta ushering in the dawn; this office M. transfers to Leucothea (for whom see also *Comus*, 875).

140. i.e. which feeling (viz. of joy) made him address Eve again. But Keightley takes it quite differently—'which feelings of hope and joy his words renewed in, brought back to, the mind of Eve.'

155. *Genesis* iii. 15; see X. 179—81, XII. 148—51, 233—35.

157. "And Agag said, Surely the bitterness of death is past," 1 *Samuel* xv. 32.

159, 160. Alluding to *Gen.* iii. 20, "And Adam called his wife's name Eve; because she was the mother of all living." Cf. IV. 475, 492 The name is said to mean 'life.'

162. *sad demeanour meek*; Milton's favourite word-order; see I. 733 (note).

172. *now*, i.e. since the time when the judgment was pronounced upon Adam, *Genesis* iii. 17—19.

174, 175. Newton compares 1 *Henry IV.* III. 1. 221, 222:

> "The hour before the heavenly-harness'd team
> Begins his golden progress in the east."

182. *subscribed*, agreed, assented; the metaphor of signing a document. Cf. *S. A.* 1535.

182—90. Illustrations of the deterioration in the Universe; see X. 651, note, and cf. X. 706—12.

182—207. In IX. 782—84 (see note) Milton makes Nature "give signs of woe" when Eve plucks the forbidden fruit; and when Adam eats thereof similar portents ensue, 1000—1004. Here the omens are symbolical: the *two* birds and *two* beasts represent the human pair; and the direction of their flight—"to the eastern gate"—foreshadows the banishment from Eden. Keightley notes that in *Æneid* I. 393 Vergil makes the number of swans twelve to denote the twelve vessels that had escaped from the storm. Wordsworth refers to this passage of Milton in his poem *The Redbreast and Butterfly*.

183. *eclipsed*. An eclipse was traditionally of evil omen; cf. I. 597. In his *History of Britain* M. says, "The same year was seen an eclipse of the sun in May, followed by a sore pestilence," *P. W.* V. 287. The vessel in *Lycidas* was "built in the eclipse," 101.

184—86. Cf. *Æneid* XII. 247—56, where the eagle, *fulvus Jovis ales*, carries aloft the swan, and lets it fall again—the incident being regarded as an omen by the armies.

185. *the bird of Jove*; cf. *Cymbeline*, IV. 2. 348, "I saw Jove's bird, the Roman eagle"; and the same play, V. 4. 113, "Mount, eagle, to my palace crystalline" (the speaker being Jupiter).

stooped, i.e. having swooped down to strike at his prey; cf. *Cymbeline*, V. 4. 115, "the holy eagle stoop'd," and V. 3. 42. It was a technical term in falconry; cf. *The Taming of the Shrew*, IV. 1. 194. So in the *Essay on Man*, III. 53, 54:

> "Say, will the falcon, stooping from above,
> Smit with her varying plumage, spare the dove?"

tour; so spelt in the First Ed., and some editors have thought that it means 'wheeling motion,' from *tour*, 'a circuit.' But it seems to me more probable that M. meant *tower*; it would be an effective description, by metaphor, of the proverbially lofty flight of the eagle. Cf. *L'Allegro*, 43, where the lark sings "From his watch-*tower* in the skies." That the spelling of *tower* is irregular in M. appears from comparison of II. 635, where the First Ed. has *touring high* (said of Satan's flight), with *P. R.* II. 280, where the First Ed. has *high towring* (said of the lark).

190. *eastern gate*. Cf. XII. 638, 639, the words of which echo this verse. M. describes the gate in IV. 543—48.

196. *too secure*, i.e. feeling too certain of.

203—207. The brilliance is that of the Heavenly host led by Michael, which is descending on the western region of Paradise.

205, 206. "It is not improbable that Milton had in mind the

frequent scenery of this kind exhibited in the masks of his time" (Todd), i.e. to counterfeit the appearance of clouds and similar phenomena. See the notes on I. 710—17, IV. 768.

213—15. See *Gen.* xxxii. 1, 2. *pavilioned*, encamped; cf. Milton's paraphrase of *Psalm* iii.:

"*encamping* round about,
They pitch against me their *pavilions.*"

216—20. See 2 *Kings* vi. 13—17. *flaming*, i.e. with "the chariots of fire round about Elisha," the "one man" of line 219.

219. *levied war*; see II. 501, note.

220. *war unproclaim'd.* "The severe censure on this makes me fancy that Milton hinted at the war with Holland, which broke out in 1664, when we surprised and took the Dutch Bourdeaux fleet, before war was proclaim'd; which the Whigs much exclaimed against" (Warburton).

Hierarch; the title is applied to Raphael in v. 468.

227. *of us...determine*, i.e. make an end of us.

234, 235. Raphael is called "the sociable Spirit" in v. 221. "Among the angels, the virtue of Raphael is mild and placid, of easy condescension and free communication; that of Michael is regal and lofty, and, as may seem, attentive to the dignity of his own nature" (Johnson).

242—44. Cf. the description in v. 280—85 of the wings of the angel Raphael.

242. i.e. more vivid ("livelier") than any purple from Melibœa (a town on the coast of Thessaly in Magnesia). Vergil mentions the *purpura Melibœa* in *Æneid* v. 251; cf. also Lucretius II. 500.

grain of Sarra = Tyrian purple. *Sarra* was the old name of Tyre, famous for its dyes procured from a shell-fish; cf. Vergil, *Georg.* II. 506, *Ut gemma bibat et Sarrano indormiat ostro.*

243. *worn by kings*; cf. "regal ornament," v. 280 (note).

244. *Iris had dipt the woof.* Iris was the classical goddess of the rainbow, and the verse is a poetical way of saying that the vest was brilliant as with the hues of a rainbow. M. had used the same fancy in *Comus*, 83, where the Attendant Spirit speaks of his "sky-robes spun out of Iris' woof." See, too, the first reading (1645 edition) in the *Nativity Ode*, 143, 144.

Pope could blend Miltonic passages with great skill; cf. his account of the sylphs or air-spirits in *The Rape of the Lock*, II. 63—68:

"Loose to the wing their airy garments flew,
Thin *glittering textures* of the filmy dew,

Dipt in the richest *tincture of the skies*,
Where light disports in ever-mingling dyes,
While ev'ry beam new transient colours flings,
Colours that change whene'er they wave their wings."

With this description cf. *P. L.* v. 283, 285, 592. See also *The Rape of the Lock*, II. 84.

247, 248. i.e. the sword ("with huge two-handed sway," VI. 251) with which, in the fight against the rebellious angels, Michael encountered and wounded Satan; see VI. 250—53, note.

as in a...zodiac, as though it were one of the constellations contained in the zodiac—an allusion to the flashing of the sword. This seems to me to be the meaning; cf. the use of *zodiac* in XII. 255, but for which we might, perhaps, interpret it here in the sense 'girdle' (to which the sword would be attached).

249. *state*, stately bearing.

250. *inclined*. Editors show that this literal use is common in the Italian writers and occurs in Spenser, e.g. in *The Faerie Queene*, V. 9, 34.

254. i.e. disappointed of his prey *for* many days (*seizure* being passive). Keightley noted that the language of the lines is mainly legal; cf. the phrase 'to defeat the law,' *Henry V.* IV. 1. 175, 176, and *Hen. VIII.* II. 1. 14.

259—62. Repeated, almost, from 48, 49, 96—98.

"It is a decree pronounced solemnly by the Almighty, and certainly it would not have become the Angel who was sent to put it in execution, to deliver it in any other words than those of the Almighty. And let me add, that it was the more proper and necessary to repeat the words in this place, as the catastrophe of the poem depends so much upon them, and by them the fate of Man is determined, and *Paradise* is *lost*" (Newton). He shows that the repetition of the words of messages and the like is common in Homer. "Jupiter delivers a commission to a Dream, the Dream delivers it exactly in the same words to Agamemnon, and Agamemnon repeats it a third time to the Council, though it be a tautology of five or six verses together."

264. *gripe*, seizure, spasm; cf. IV. 408, VI. 543.

267. *discovered*, revealed.

retire; the Cambridge MS. shows that in *Comus*, 376, M. first wrote "solitarie sweet *retire*" (noun), and substituted "sweet retired solitude."

268—85. Parallels have been noted in Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 1453 *et seq.*, and Euripides, *Alcestis* 244. But speeches of farewell are apt to have a family likeness.

270. *native*, "for she had commenced her existence in Paradise"

(Keightley); whereas Adam, created elsewhere, was placed in Eden. Cf. VIII. 300 *et seq.*, and *Gen.* ii. 7, 8.

272. i.e. to spend the time granted as a respite *from* that day.

275. *visitation*; properly 'a visit,' here 'the thing visited,' i.e. the flowers. Another example of Milton's use of the abstract for the concrete, whether actively or passively (as here).

278. *rank*, set in order: the metaphor, perhaps, of a general inspecting troops. Cf. *Arcades*, 59, where the Genius of the Wood visits his plants—"I...Number my ranks, and visit every sprout."

290—92. Cf. XII. 615—18. The line bears some resemblance to the passage in Lyly's *Euphues* which editors quote in illustration of *Richard II.* I. 3. 275—80, viz. "that every place was a country to a wise man, and all parts a palace to a quiet mind" (Plato). There is probably a reference in XII. 646 to this scene in *Richard II.*

293. *damp*, depression of spirits. We find the adjective in the sense 'depressed'; cf. I. 523. So the verb in the *Areopagitica*, "this [i.e. the censorship of books] was it which had damped the glory of Italian wits," *P. W.* II. 82.

298—300. Cf. *S. A.* 1565—68, where the Messenger shrinks from telling Manoa (the father) the news of Samson's death.

307. The jingle of sounds, *knowing...known*, suggests IV. 830, and *S. A.* 1081, 1082.

309. *who all things can.* The verb *can*, 'to know how to,' i.e. 'to be able,' was not then, as now, a mere auxiliary. In Shakespeare it governs, but rarely, an accusative; cf. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II. 4. 165, "all I can is nothing," and *The Phœnix*, "the priest...That defunctive music can." Perhaps these are accusatives of respect: e.g. here the idiom may be 'who is powerful in respect of all things.'

310. *weary.* Cf. Horace's use of *fatigare* = 'to importune,' *Odes* I. 2. 26.

316, 317. Cf. passages like *Psalms* civ. 29, lxvii. See XII. 106—109, and *S. A.* 1749.

325, 326. For Adam the altars would serve as actual reminders (*in memory*), for his descendants as memorials: it is the distinction between personal experience and historical tradition. But it seems to me possible that the true reading is "in memory *and* monument," a single phase qualified by "to ages." Todd shows that the two words are often combined, much in this way, and there are other places in M. where *or* appears to have taken the place of *and* through some error. Cf. *S. A.* 182, "To visit *or* bewail"; and again in 545 ("gods *or* men," 2nd ed.) and 1653. Here the mistake might have been caused by the fact that the two preceding lines, and the following one, begin with the

same letter. Milton's blindness introduces an element of uncertainty in questions of text.

"We find from various parts of the book of *Genesis*, that the patriarchs raised *altars*, where God had appeared to them. See xi. 7, xii. 25. To this custom of the primitive and patriarchal ages Milton seems to have alluded" (note in Todd).

332, 333. Cf. *Exodus* xxxiii. 23. Newton thought that 333 might be an echo of Statius, *Thebais* XII. 817, *Sed longe sequere et vestigia semper adora.*

336—38. *Psalm* cxxxix.; *Jeremiah* xxiii. 24; *Acts* xvii. 28, 29.

339. *gave...to...rule.* Cf. I. 736, III. 243.

347—50. M. always speaks of Eden as set on a hill; cf. 282, 283, IV. 134 (note).

356—58. Cf. *Daniel* x. 14, where the angel says to the prophet, "Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days: for yet the vision is for many days." The whole idea of the vision was probably suggested to Milton by the vision of his descendants vouchsafed to Æneas in the last book of the *Æneid.*

Johnson says: "Of episodes, I think there are only two [in *Paradise Lost*]—contained in Raphael's relation [v., VI.] of the war in Heaven, and Michael's prophetic account of the changes to happen in this world. Both are closely connected with a great action; one was necessary to Adam as a warning, the other as a consolation." Addison had noted that the "vision" in bks. XI., XII. is designed to modify the feeling of Adam's failure which the close of the poem leaves; for though Adam himself has fallen, yet "he sees his offspring triumphing over his great enemy, and himself restored to a happier Paradise."

The "Mount of Vision" in *The Dunciad*, III., whence "Bays" (Colley Cibber) surveys in a dream the realms of Dulness and her triumphs, is one of the most elaborate of the Miltonic parodies in Pope.

366. *mortal passage*, passage from mortality; cf. *Comus*, 10, "after this mortal change," i.e. after death.

367, 368. Similarly M. "made Eve retire upon Raphael's beginning his conference with Adam" in bk. VIII. 40—44 (Thyer).

369. Cf. VIII. 452—77.

374. *obvious*, i.e. turned to meet the evil.

376, 377. Cf. *Ezekiel* viii. 3, and xl. 2, "In the visions of God brought he me into the land of Israel, and set me upon a very high mountain." The phrase means 'visions sent by God'; see XII. 121, 611. One of Milton's subjects for a tragedy based on British history was: "Edwin by vision promis'd the kingdom of Northumberland on promise of his conversion..." (Cambridge MSS.).

380. *the amplest*; the First Ed. omits *the*.

381—84. *that hill*. Its name is not mentioned in Scripture. In *P. R.* III. 251 *et seq.* (the scene of the Temptation), Milton is thought to mean Mt Niphates (III. 742) in Armenia. That passage should be compared with the list of names here, where the geographical sweep, however, is much vaster.

388—411. Many poets have delighted in the enumeration of proper names—Milton not least. Cf. I. 396—411, 582—87. Editors note that "Tasso, whose *Godfrey* is no very imperfect model of a regular epick poem, has in his fifteenth canto employed thirty or forty stanzas together, in a description of this sort; which had no necessary connection with his general plan" (Newton). Collins borrowed the trick of Oriental names; cf. his *Persian Eclogues*, III. and IV.

388. Strictly *Cathay* was identical with China, and *Cambaluc*, its capital, was the same as Pekin (390). See X. 292, 293, note. In the *Areopagitica* M. writes *Cataio*, *P. W.* II. 69.

Cambaluc, built by Kublai Khan, was the capital of the Mongol Emperors of China, from about 1264 to 1368. The name is a corruption of the Mongolian *Kaan-Balıgh*, 'the city of the Khan,' and Pekin is still called 'the city of the Khan' by many Asiatic races. The name should be written and accented *Cămbăluc*: *Cámbălu*, as M. and Longfellow have it, was a popular form, where the wrong accent was due to the Italian version of Marco Polo's *Travels* (through which mediæval Europe first heard of Cathay and Cambaluc); the French (i.e. the original) MSS. of the *Travels* give the correct accent *Cămbăluc*.

389. *Samarchand*, in Central Russian Asia; once the capital of Timur (i.e. *Temir*) whose grave is there. Its earlier name was *Marachanda*. It lies about 100 miles from the river Oxus.

Temir, the great Oriental conqueror, Timur, the subject of Marlowe's two tragedies of *Tamburlaine*; he lived 1336—1405. Commonly called Tamerlane (a corruption of *Timur i Leng*, 'the lame Timur').

390. *Paquin*, i.e. Pekin, the capital of China. *Paquin* is the form in Hexham's *Mercator*; Heylyn writes it "*Pequin* or *Pagnia*." *Sinæan*; the geographer Ptolemy calls the ancient inhabitants of China *Sinæ*. The word appears to be a corruption of *Tsin*, the title of the great dynasty from which the country got its name *Tsina* (or *China*).

391. These names represent India, Lahore being in the Punjaub, while Agra is the capital of the N.W. provinces. *Mogul* = Arabic *Mughal* = *Mongol*. The real founder of the Mughal empire in India, Akbar the Great (died 1603), made Agra his capital; later the seat of government was transferred to Lahore. The juggler in Jonson's

Masque of Augurs says, in his affected English, that he can show the audience "de Tartar cham," and "de groat king of Mogull."

392. Here the survey has passed to the East Indies, "the golden Chersonese" being the peninsula of Malacca, "thought by some," says Heylyn, "to be Solomon's *Ophir*"; but see 400, note.

393. *Ecbatana* (as M. writes in *P. R.* III. 286), in ancient Media, was the summer capital of the kings of Persia down to the Greek conquest (i.e. about 330 B.C.), as Susa was their winter residence.

394. *Ispahán*, or *Isfahan*, became the capital of Persia in the reign of the Shah Abbás the Great, who ruled 1586—1628. It was very celebrated in the 17th cent.; many European merchants and artificers settled there. Heylyn (who writes *Hispaan*) says that the circuit of the city-walls was nine miles.

394, 395. *Moscow* (then the capital of Russia) is mentioned among the Asiatic names because it was "considered as belonging to Asia in the early part of the seventeenth century, and so included in the maps of Asia of that period" (Masson). One of Milton's last works was a *Brief History of Moscovia*; the name of the city is there spelt *Mosco*. *Ksar* is a corruption of Lat. *Cæsar*; hence identical with Germ. *Kaiser*.

Sultan, i.e. of Turkey. *Bizance* = Byzantium, Constantinople.

396. *Turchestan-born*. The Turkish tribe, which founded the Ottoman empire, came from Central Asia (i.e. Turchestan), whence they were driven by the Mongols early in the 13th century.

nor could his eye not ken. The vision is directed now to Africa—first on its eastern coast.

397, 398. The empire meant is Upper Ethiopia (see IV. 282, note) or Abyssinia; *Negus*, 'king,' was the hereditary title of the monarch of the country. *Ercoco*, now generally spelt *Arkeeko*, is a port on the Red Sea, at the northernmost (i.e. "utmost") point of Abyssinia.

398. *less*, i.e. lesser than, inferior to, Abyssinia.

399. *Mombaza* (or *Mombas*) and *Melinda* are on the east coast of Africa, a little north of Zanzibar, *Quiloa* or Keelwa being a little south of it, on a small island. All three were then noted centres of trade, chiefly Portuguese. Heylyn speaks of the "commodius haven" of Melinda.

It may have been in Milton's thoughts that this part of the world was not without poetical, indeed epic, associations, perhaps better known then than now. For Camoens had described the voyage of Vasco da Gama up the east coast of Africa, and some of Milton's readers would know the *Lusiads* through the translation by Milton's

Cambridge contemporary and successor in the post of Latin Secretary, Sir Richard Fanshawe.

400. *Sofala*; on the same coast, but further south; won by the Portuguese in 1505, the district of Sofala still forms part of their colonial province of Mozambique. M. is alluding to the town of Sofala (lying on the island of Chiloane in the estuary of the river Sofala) which in the 17th century was famous as a mercantile port. Strictly, the name should be accented *Sofála*, though M. makes it *Sofalá*.

Ophir; whence Solomon's fleet brought gold and precious stones, 1 *Kings* ix. 28, x. 11. According to *Genesis* x. 29, 30, Ophir was in southern Arabia, and not on the east side of Africa. One modern theory connects it with Abyssinia. Speaking of Sofala, Heylyn says, "This Country for its abundance of Gold and Ivry, is by some thought to be that Land of *Ophir* to which Solomon sent"; he rejects the view, adding, "of this opinion Ortelius in his *Thesaurus* was the first Author." Another incorrect theory identified Ophir with the peninsula of Malacca; cf. Josephus, *Antiquities*, VIII. vi. 4, "Solomon gave this command, that they should go...to the land that was of old called Ophir, but now the *Aurea Chersonesus*, which belongs to India, to fetch him gold." In *Of Reformation* M. alludes to the "mines of Ophir" as proverbial sources of wealth, *P. W.* II. 418. Cowley has the line, "Though Ophir's starry stones met everywhere her eye" (*The Garden*). The name came to be used as a synonym for pure gold; cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Christian Morals*, I. xxviii.: "There is dross, alloy, and embasement in all human tempers; and he flieth without wings, who thinks to find ophir or pure metal in any." He was among those who identified Ophir with Malacca (*Vulgar Errors*, II. 2).

401. A glance at the map will show that the states of Congo and Angola (Portuguese since the 17th century) are on the west coast of Africa, practically on a level with Quiloa.

402. *thence*, i.e. still keeping to the west coast.

The *Atlas Mountains* are a range in northern Africa, between the Great Desert and the Mediterranean, their chief heights being in Morocco and Algiers.

403, 404. The five territories here mentioned formed part of the country vaguely called *Barbary*, the seaboard of which lay along the Mediterranean, and westwards was bounded by the Atlantic. There is still a small town of *Fez* in Morocco; its name, says Heylyn, is an Arabic word for gold. *Sus*, or *Susa*, is now Tunis.

Marocco; spelt so in the First Ed., both here and in I. 584. Heylyn

mentions a town of *Tremisen* (with a province of the same name) lying inland to the south of Algiers.

403. *Almansor*, 'the victorious,' calif of Bagdad; he reigned from 754 to 775; his conquests extended over the whole of North Africa.

405. He just glances at Europe "as concentrated all in all in Rome" (Masson)—of which, and of her empire, there is an elaborate description in *P. R.* IV. 31—85.

406. *in spirit*, i.e. not with his eyes, because America was on the opposite side of the globe (Newton).

407. *Montezume*; spelt *Motezume* in the First Ed. The ordinary form *Montezuma* is the Spanish form of the Aztec name *Moteuczoma*. M. is referring to the Emperor Montezuma, subdued by the Spanish general Cortes, 1519—20.

408. *Cusco*, i.e. Cuzco, in the centre of Peru (the word *Cuzco* meaning 'centre'); it was formerly the capital of the empire of the Incas, whose last native sovereign, Atahuallpa—in the Spanish form, Atabalipa—was conquered by the Spaniard, Pizarro, 1532—33.

richer; in the lines *Ad Patrem* M. glances (94) at the *Perüana regna* as proverbial for wealth.

409—11. In the 16th and 17th centuries a popular belief obtained that in the north-east of South America there existed a region of fabulous wealth, termed by the Spanish *El Dorado*, 'the Golden.' A Spaniard named Martinez said that he had been cast adrift on the coast of Guiana, and had made his way to a city Manoa, the roofs and walls whereof were made of precious metals. It was to discover this region that Sir Walter Raleigh ascended the Orinoco in 1585. The belief may have originated in the stories brought home by Spanish travellers of the riches of their conquests in South America.

409. *unspoiled*, i.e. "not yet reached and plundered, like Mexico and Peru, by Europeans" (Keightley).

410. *Guiana*, between the rivers Amazon and Orinoco; the greater portion is now divided between Venezuela and Brazil.

great city, i.e. Manoa. *Geryon's sons*, the Spanish; Geryon being the Spanish king whose oxen Hercules carried off (*Æneid* VIII. 202, 203).

411, 412. Newton pointed out that Tasso had made the same archangel, Michael, perform the same service for Godfrey in *Jerusalem Delivered*, XVIII. 93. Other parallels might be cited from Homer and Vergil, e.g. *Æn.* II. 664—66, where Venus clears the mist away for Æneas.

413. *promised clearer sight*. Cf. Satan's words to Eve, IX. 705—709.

414—19. Probably M. is thinking of his own blindness. According to his nephew Edward Phillips, he damaged his sight by constant use of specifics.

414. *euphrasy*, the plant 'eye-bright'; from εὐφραίνειν, 'to cheer.' According to the old doctrine of the *Signatures* (see the *Preface* to *S. A.* and cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Vulgar Errors*, II. 6), the efficacy of a plant or mineral was indicated by its similarity in colour or shape to the part of the body diseased: *euphrasy* has a flower with an eye-like mark: hence its use as a remedy for dim sight, which it was thought to clear. Cf. Hood's *Midsummer Fairies*, 114:

"With fairy euphrasy they purged my eyes
To let me see their cities in the skies."

purged; cf. a couplet in Pope's *Messiah*, 39, 40:

"He from thick films shall purge the visual ray,
And on the sightless eyeball pour the day."

rue, a herb that was supposed to have many valuable qualities, e.g. as a specific against venomous bites. Keightley quotes from Gerard's *Herball* (1598) to the effect that rue "if boiled and kept in pickle, like samphire, when eaten 'quickeneth the sight,' and also that 'applied with honey and the juice of fennell, it is a remedy against dim eyes.'" The popular name of rue, viz. "herb of grace" (cf. *Hamlet*, IV. 5. 181, 182), may have been due to the esteem in which the plant was held on account of these medicinal properties; but perhaps it was so called as symbolising the grace of repentance (i.e. from *rue*, 'to repent').

Metaphors drawn from the eyesight come naturally to Milton—e.g. "if we will but purge with sovereign eyesalve that intellectual ray which God hath planted in us" (*Of Reformation*, I.); and "some eye-brightening electuary of knowledge and foresight" (*The Reason of Church Government*, II.).

416. *Psalm* xxxvi. 9.

418. *mental sight*; cf. III. 51—55, where M. contrasts the light of the eyes with that of the soul. The blind Samson was "with inward eyes illuminated," *S. A.* 1689. See the *Appendix*, pp. 682, 683, on Milton's blindness.

419—22. *Daniel* x. 8; *Revelation* i. 17.

427. *sinn'd thy sin*; the expression is Scriptural; cf. *Exodus* xxxii. 30; 1 *John* v. 16 (Newton).

429—47. The story of Cain and Abel, *Genesis* iv.

430, 431. *Genesis* iv. 2. *tilth*, tilled land; commonly *tilth* is active in sense='husbandry, cultivation.' Cf. Cotgrave's definition, "labouring, ploughing, or breaking up of the ground."

433. *sord*; a dialect form of *sward*, A.S. *sweard*, 'a skin or

surface.' In *The Winter's Tale*, IV. 4. 157, the First Folio prints *greene-sord*. Newton restored the proper reading, *sord*, for which *sod* had been substituted in some texts (Todd).

436. *unculled*, not carefully picked out; contrast 438.

439. *inwards*, the inward parts; used so in *Othello*, II. 1. 306.

441, 442. *Gen.* iv. 4 only says, "And the Lord had respect unto Abel and to his offering"; but the verse is usually explained as M. has interpreted it. Cf. Gideon's offering, *Judges* vi. 21; Elijah's, 1 *Kings* xviii. 38; Solomon's, 2 *Chron.* vii. 1: each was "consumed" with fire from heaven, in sign of acceptance.

448, 449. "This is very properly made the first vision, and is so much enlarged upon, as it is of Adam's immediate descendants" (Newton).

457. *fact*, deed; cf. IX. 928.

458, 459. Alluding to *Hebrews* xi. 4.

477—93. This notion of the "cave" of Death, crowded with personified shapes of evil and disease, is purely conventional: many such pictures have been painted by poets. See II. 959—67.

We may remember that the fourth draft (see *Introduction*) of *Paradise Lost* contained "a mask of all the evils of this world"; some of the diseases here mentioned might have been among them. Gray's sombre spirit inclined towards these gloomy abstractions, and the Miltonic influence is strongly felt in the last stanzas of his Eton *Ode*; cf. especially lines 61—70 and 81—90; also *The Progress of Poesy*, 42—45.

479. *a lazar-house*; a hospital for lepers, *lazar* coming from the name of the beggar in *Luke* xvi. 20. The traveller Hentzner, who visited England in Elizabeth's reign, noted that the English suffered much from leprosy, and that there were many 'lazar-houses.'

485—87. Three lines not in the First Ed.; inserted in the Second, "to swell the horrour of the description.... Pope says they are three admirable lines" (Newton).

485. *phrenzy*; commonly spelt so in M.

486—88. *moon-struck madness*, i.e. *lunacy*, so called from the supposed effect of the moon (Lat. *luna*) in causing or increasing madness. Cf. *Othello*, v. 2. 109. *atrophy*, Gk. ἀτροφία, a disease in which the body wastes away through not being nourished by the food taken (Gk. ἀ-, 'not,' and τρέφειν, 'to nourish'). *pining*=causing to pine, i.e. active in sense, as in XII. 77. *marasmus*, the disease of consumption; Gk. μαρασμός, 'a wasting, withering.'

491. The "dreadful dart" of Death is mentioned in II. 672, 786.

492. *oft invoked*; cf. Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 797, 798:

ὦ θάνατε, θάνατε, πῶς ἀεὶ καλούμενος
οὕτω κατ' ἦμαρ οὐ δύνᾳ μολεῖν ποτέ;

and Horace, *Odes* II. 18. 38—40.

shook; following its object *dart*. "I hate inversions, but this line is strong" (Tennyson). He remarked on the fine effect of the monosyllable *shook* and the pause after it.

494. *deform* = Lat. *deformis*, 'hideous, unsightly'; cf. II. 706. The *Century Dictionary* quotes Wyclif, *Gen.* xli. 19, "other seuen oxen... defourme and leene." In *S. A.* 699 we find *deformed* = 'deforming,' 'that which makes unsightly.'

496, 497. The couplet, as editors note, is made up of reminiscences of Shakespeare. Cf. *Macbeth*, v. 8. 30—32:

"*Though* Birnam wood be come to Dunsinane,
And thou opposed, being *of no woman born*,
Yet I will try the last,"

and the same scene, 17, 18:

"Accursed be that tongue that tells me so,
For it hath cow'd *my better part of man*!"

So in *Henry V.* IV. 6. 28—32:

"The pretty and sweet manner of it forced
Those waters from me which I would have stopp'd;
But I had not so much of man in me,
And all my mother came into mine eyes
And gave me up to tears."

Cf. too the words of Laertes over Ophelia's dead body (*Hamlet*, IV. 7. 186—90).

504—506. M. has in mind Seneca's *Vitam nemo acciperet, si daretur scientibus*. Cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Christian Morals*, III. xxv.: "When the Stoic said that life would not be accepted, if it were offered unto such as knew it, he spoke too meanly of that state of being which placeth us in the form of men."

So Drummond in *A Cypress Grove*: "O! who, if before he had a being he could have knowledge of the manifold miseries of it, would enter this woeful hospital of the world, and accept of life upon such hard conditions?" Also Donne, *Devotions* (Cambridge ed.), p. 68.

508, 509. *Genesis* i. 26, "And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." *erect*; see VII. 506—10, note.

518, 519. *his image*, i.e. Appetite's. Eve's main inducement (he says) to eat of the fruit was appetite; this agrees with the account in IX. 740, 741.

531. Alluding to the maxim of the ancients, *μηδὲν ἄγαν—ne quid nimis*. The praises of a temperate life are often on Milton's lips. The

theme inspires a fine passage in *Comus*, 762—79. In *Il Penseroso*, 46, he invokes "Spare Fast, that oft with gods doth diet"; and in the sixth *Elegy* (59, 60), tells Diodati that the poet who would handle grave matters and rival Homer must be ascetic in his life (*ille quidem parce... vivat*). No doubt, in the present passage, as in *S. A.* 553—57, M. is thinking of his own habits. A "temperate man," says Aubrey; and again: "very healthy and free from all diseases...till towards his latter end" (*Life* of M.).

535—37. Perhaps a reminiscence, as Newton thought, of Cicero, *De Senectute* 19, *quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vix evelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adulescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas.*

542—46. M. is probably glancing at his own ill-health in later life. There is a similar allusion in VI. 462—64, and *S. A.* 698—700. "He died of the gowt struck in" (Aubrey). Cf. Johnson's *Life* of M. Aubrey says that he bore his suffering very cheerfully.

544. Todd quotes a passage in which Burton in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* reckons the chief cause of melancholy to be "old age, which, being cold and dry, and of the same quality as Melancholy is, must needs cause it, by diminution of spirits and substance." M. often refers to the old physiology of the four "humours," of which melancholy (the black bile) was one; see *Comus*, 809, 810, *S. A.* 600.

551, 552. The First Ed. had, somewhat abruptly, "Of rendering up. *Michael* to him repli'd." There is an allusion here to *Job* xiv. 14.

553, 554. "My father often quoted these lines, 'He that loveth his life...'" (*Life of Tennyson*).

permit to Heaven; cf. Horace's *Permitte divis cetera—Odes* I. 9. 9.

556—73. Referring to the descendants of Cain; see *Gen.* iv. 20—22. In 560 "*who* moved" means Jubal, "the father of all such as handle the harp and organ," *Gen.* iv. 21. See Dryden's *Song for St Cecilia's Day*, 16—24, and Marvell's *Music's Empire*, the last stanza of which contains, I cannot help thinking, an allusion to Milton.

560. The organ was Milton's favourite instrument; he had been taught to play it by his father. See the accurate account of its mechanism in I. 707, 708.

561. *volant touch.* Todd aptly compared Dryden's lines in *Alexander's Feast*:

> "Timotheus, plac'd on high
> Amid the tuneful quire,
> With flying fingers touch'd the lyre;
> The trembling notes ascend the sky,
> And heavenly joys inspire."

We may add Thomson's lines in *The Castle of Indolence*, I. 40, on an Æolian harp:

"From which, with airy flying fingers light,
Beyond each mortal touch the most refined,
The god of winds drew sounds of deep delight,
Whence, with just cause, the harp of Æolus it hight."

Cf. too Dryden. *Æneid*, VI. 879, 880, and Collins, *The Passions*, 88, 89.

562. *instinct*, instinctively.

563. *transverse*, across, i.e. across the keys of the instrument.

fugue. In the tractate *On Education* a "skilful organist plies his grave and fancied descant [cf. IV. 603] in lofty fuges," *P. W.* III. 476. A *fugue* (Ital. *fuga*, 'a flight') is a form of musical composition. The whole passage has often been cited as a striking instance of Milton's accuracy in the use of technical terms of music. Indeed, the MSS. of his early poems show that he was conscious of a tendency to carry this use too far. Thus an earlier draft of the Ode *At a Solemn Music* had, in place of the existing lines 19, 20, the curiously technical couplet:

"by leaving out those harsh chromatick Jarres
of sin that all our musick marres."

Again, in *Comus*, 243, comparison of the MSS. shows that he first wrote "And *hold a counterpoint* to all heavns harmonies"—afterwards changed to "And *give resounding grace* etc."

564. *one who*, i.e. Tubal-Cain, "an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron," *Gen.* iv. 22.

573. i.e. cast in moulds ("fusil"), or carved.

573—92. Referring to the descendants of Seth. According to Jewish tradition they dwelt in the mountains near to Paradise (i.e. "on the *hither* side"), whereas Cain went out to "the east of Eden," *Gen.* iv. 16. They are said by Josephus and other writers to have been addicted to the study of physics and astronomy; cf. the *Antiquities*, I. ii. 3, "They (i.e. the Sethites) were the inventors of that peculiar sort of wisdom which is concerned with the heavenly bodies, and their order." This tradition M. glances at in 578.

581, 582. *Genesis* vi. 1, 2.

582—97. This passage may be compared with *P. R.* II. 153—71, and 362—65. "Milton seems to have taken [these particulars] from the Oriental writers" (Newton).

584. In I. 449 the Syrian women lament for Adonis "in amorous ditties."

586, 587. M. repeats himself in *P. R.* II. 161, 162:

"Skill'd to retire, and, in retiring, draw
Hearts after them tangled in amorous nets."

In his first *Elegy*, 60, he had spoken of the *Aurea quæ fallax retia tendit Amor*. Bowle notes that Ariosto has the phrase *amorosa rete* (*Orlando Furioso*, I. 12); probably M. remembered it; he knew Ariosto's work well. There may be a reminiscence of Milton in Tennyson's *Madeline*:

"all my heart entanglest
In a golden-netted smile."

Milton's influence is almost as conspicuous in Tennyson's early poems as in Keats.

587. *fast*; misprinted *first* in a number of the early 18th century editions (Todd).

588, 589. The star Hesperus is called *stella Veneris*. Cf. IV. 605, VIII. 519, 520.

591. *Hymen*, the classical god of marriage; cf. the invocation in *L'Allegro*, 125, 126:

"There let Hymen oft appear
In saffron robe, with taper clear,"

i.e. the "nuptial torch" (590), which, strictly, had to be pine-wood. Cf. the *Masque of Hymen*, "entered Hymen...in his right hand a torch of pine-tree," where, in the note, Ben Jonson cites Ovid—*Expectet puros pinea tæda dies*. See also Milton's *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, 17—20. The colouring here (590—92) is classical; editors quote various parallels from the classics.

595. *symphonies*, harmonious sounds. The word, which now signifies a special form of musical composition, in M. means no more than 'harmony' (Gk. *συμφωνία*). Cf. Cotgrave, "*Symphonie:* Harmony, tunable singing," and Bullokar (1616), "Symphonie, consent in Musick."

607, 608. *the tents of wickedness*. *Psalm* lxxxiv. 10.

612. i.e. acknowledged none of his gifts; for the position of *none*, cf. V. 538. So sometimes in Shakespeare. Cf. *Twelfth Night*, III. 4. 262, "satisfaction can be none but by pangs of death."

614. Michael has just said that Cain's descendants would beget a beauteous race: here he appeals to the testimony of Adam's own eyes; the "female troop" are that race.

620. *troll*; properly 'to roll'; cf. the phrase 'to troll the bowl,' i.e. to circulate it (in the game of bowls). Keightley quotes from Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* X. 664, "Neptune's imp...trolled down at one side of the way an apple." But commonly *troll* was used in phrases like 'troll a catch' (in music); cf. *The Tempest*, III. 2. 126, "Let us be jocund: will you troll the catch?" and Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, I. 2, "I'll troll ballads." The notion there is 'to run

over glibly, fluently.' Probably, therefore, M. means that these "goddesses" are voluble of speech.

621—25. "The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair," *Gen.* vi. 2. "It is now generally agreed, that this passage is to be understood of the sons of Seth" (Newton). See v. 447, note.

624. *trains*, snares, wiles.

625—27. In Milton, as in Shakespeare, the quibbling use of words often expresses grim sarcasm: these lines contain two instances in point —"swim" and "world." See also 756, 757. Todd noted that the figurative sense of *swim*='revel' was not uncommon; cf. IX. 1009, note.

627. Cf. IX. 11, "That brought into this world a world of woe." Phrases like "a world of care" (*Richard III.* III. 7. 223), "world of wealth" (*Henry VIII.* III. 2. 211), meaning 'much of,' are frequent in Shakespeare.

631. *paths indirect*; cf. 2 *Henry IV.* IV. 5. 184—86:

> "God knows, my son,
> By what by-paths and indirect crook'd ways
> I met this crown."

indirect; then a strong word—'wrong, unfair.'

632, 633. An expression of Milton's own opinion. Unhappy in his first marriage, which led to the composition of his bitter pamphlets on *Divorce*, and in the ill-behaviour of his daughters, he seldom let pass an opportunity for invective against women. See IX. 377, 823, notes, and *S. A. passim* (especially 1010—60).

There is probably a quibble here, an old derivation of *woman* being *woe to man!*

635, 636. Again M. himself is the speaker. His conception of the relative position of man and woman is summed up in a sentence that occurs more than once in his prose-works—"woman was made for man." Cf. IV. 295—99, note.

638—73. Obviously modelled on the description of the shield of Achilles, *Iliad* XVIII. 478 *et seq.* Cf. the use that Vergil makes of the same passage in *Æneid* VIII. 608—731, describing the shield which Venus brings to Æneas, figured with representations of the greatest scenes in the history of Rome.

642. *bold emprise.* Todd notes that the phrase occurs in *Comus*, 610, and often in Spenser; an echo, perhaps, of the first line of Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*: "Le cortesie, l'audaci imprese, io canto."

643. Repeated from II. 531, "Part curb their fiery steeds," where M. is describing (cf. *Iliad* II. 773, *Æneid* VI. 642) the "heroic games" of the rebellious angels after the Council at Pandemonium.

646—55. Editors compare *Iliad* XVIII. 527 *et seq.*

651. *makes.* The First Ed. has *tacks*; perhaps a misprint. M. never uses the word; it would scarce give any sense here.

660, 661. Clearly from *Iliad* XVIII. 503—506. *haralds*, i.e. heralds. For councils (in Scripture) held "in the city-gates," see *Genesis* xxxiv. 20.

665. *one rising*, i.e. Enoch. *of middle age*; Enoch was 365 years old when translated to Heaven—"i.e. not half the full age attributed to the oldest patriarchs" (Masson).

669. *exploded*, hissed.

672. *sword-law.* "This was probably intended by the poet as a reflection on the dangerous doctrine of his antagonist, Hobbes; who wished to establish the false notion, that right is founded on might" (Todd). He compares *Richard III.* v. 3. 311, "Our strong arms be our conscience, swords our law."

684. Milton's own "ill-mated" first marriage had strongly influenced his life and opinions; see x. 898—906, notes.

687, 688. *prodigious*; cf. II. 624, 625. The reference is to *Gen.* vi. 4, "There were giants in the earth in those days."

690. *valour...virtue*; a glance at the fact that primarily *virtue* meant 'valour,' Lat. *virtus*.

694, 695. Keeping the punctuation of the original, I think that the sense is—'and to be styled great conquerors shall be held the highest pitch of triumph for glorious deeds accomplished.' This makes *of triumph* depend on *highest pitch* understood from 693, and *for glory done* depend on *of triumph*: *triumph* signifying the honour which a man gets in return for glorious achievements. To "*do* glory" is a curious phrase in this sense—Shakespeare uses it differently in *Sonnet* 132—and Bentley proposed 'for glory *won*.'

Newton interprets the passage: 'To overcome.....shall be held the highest pitch of glory, and *shall be* done for glory of triumph, to be (i.e. so as to be) styled great conquerors.' But the ellipse *shall be* is awkward.

698, 699. Cf. the distinction suggested in *Lycidas*, 70—84, between earthly fame and true Heavenly fame.

700—709. *Genesis* v.; *Jude* 14, 15.

706. A variation on III. 522. He assumes that Enoch's translation to Heaven resembled that of Elijah (2 *Kings* ii. 11). Cf. *P. R.* II. 16, 17, and his first *Epigram*, *Qualiter ille.....Liquit Tŏrdanios turbine raptus agros.*

708. *climes*, regions; a common use in M. Cf. I. 242.

715. *luxury*; a much stronger word then than now. In Shake-

speare it always means 'lust, lasciviousness'; so *luxurious* = 'lustful'; cf. *Of Reformation*, II., "the luxurious and ribald feasts of Baal-peor." *Luxuria* and *luxuriosus* were used thus in the Latin of the Church Fathers, and *lussuria* by Dante; cf. the *Inferno*, v. 55. He speaks of *Cleopatras lussuriosa* (63).

717. *fair*; cf. IX. 606, note.

719. *reverend sire*; *Lycidas*, 103.

723. *triumphs*, public shows or festivities.

723—25. See 1 *Peter* iii. 19, 20. Dunster observed that in several details of the account of Noah in these lines M. has followed the *Antiquities* of Josephus, bk. I. chap. iii.

728—53. *Genesis* vi., vii. There are occasional echoes in the passage of Ovid's description of the Deluge (*Metamorphoses* I.); e.g. "sea without shore" in 750 suggests Ovid's *deerant quoque litora ponto*, I. 292. Thomson followed Milton; cf. *Spring* (describing the Deluge):

"A shoreless ocean tumbled round the globe."

738. *the south-wind*; the precursor of rain.

743. "*Cieling* may be thought too mean a word in poetry; but Milton had a view to its derivation from *cœlum*, *cielo* (Italian), 'heaven.'" The same consideration probably had determined its use by other poets.

745. *swum*; see IX. 74, note.

752. *stabled*, had their lairs; cf. *Comus*, 534, "stabled wolves," i.e. wolves in their haunts. From Lat. *stabulum* = 'lair,' as in *stabula alta ferarum*, *Æneid* VI. 179.

753. *bottom*, vessel; cf. *Twelfth Night*, v. 1. 60, "With the most noble bottom of our fleet"; and *The Merchant of Venice*, I. 1. 42, "My ventures are not in one bottom trusted."

763, 764. A common sentiment. Cf. *Comus*, 362, "What need a man forestall his date of grief?"; or Landor, *Gebir*, VI.:

"Oh! seek not destined evils to divine,
Found out at last too soon."

765, 766. *Matthew* vi. 34, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." *dispensed*, i.e. distributed *so as to be* the burden.

772. *evil...sure*. For the omission of the preposition *of*, cf. *S. A.* 1408.

773, 774. *neither...and*. Rightly explained by Newton as an imitation of the Latin idiom *neque...et* ('not only not...but also'). He quoted from Cicero, *De Oratore—homo neque meo judicio stultus, et suo valde sapiens*. Exactly parallel is the sentence cited by Todd from *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, "the Jews, who were *neither* won with the austerity of John the Baptist, *and* thought it too etc."

779. For *wander* as a transitive verb cf. *P. R.* II. 246. So *roam* in I. 521, and *rove* in *Comus*, 60.

798, 799. Milton's favourite idea (for which he might have quoted the authority of Aristotle), that in the history of every nation moral corruption and loss of political liberty go hand in hand: that a people which is corrupt ceases to care for freedom. Cf. *S. A.* 268—70:

> "But what more oft in nations grown corrupt,
> And by their vices brought to servitude,
> Than to love bondage more than liberty!"

The thought is often insisted upon in his prose-works. See II. 255—57, note, and XII. 90 *et seq.*

800. For the accent, *contést*, cf. IV. 872, *S. A.* 461, 865.

801—805. Interpreted by most editors as a political reference: many Puritans, as M. knew, had silently acquiesced in the Restoration. Cf. his covert attack in *S. A.* 1464—66 on the Presbyterians. "Hypocrisy Milton, in various parts of his poem, has branded as the most abominable of crimes" (Dunster).

804, 805. The point whereon Comus and "the Lady" dispute (710—80).

808—18. A picture of Milton himself in the lonely last years of his life; perhaps he meant it as such. The "dark age" (from his point of view) represented that in which the Restoration had been brought about; the "wicked ways" were those of the courtiers of Charles II.; the "wrath to come" stood for the second Revolution which he foretold more plainly in *S. A.* See V. 899, VII. 26, 27 (notes).

821. *devote*; cf. III. 208. An entry in the Cambridge MSS. shows that M. contemplated writing a "tragedy" on "The flood."

823. *select*, set aside.

824. *cataracts*. In *Gen.* vii. 11, the Heb. word rendered by *windows* in the A. V. (or *flood-gates*, margin) is translated καταῤῥάκται in the Septuagint, *cataractæ* in the Vulgate. The word is appropriate of tropical rain and water-spouts (Newton).

829—35. It was a generally held opinion that Paradise was obliterated by the Flood; but the particular explanation here given of its removal appears to be of Milton's own invention.

831. *horned*, branching into horns, i.e. channels, as a river does when it meets some obstacle. Probably we get the same notion in the Lat. *tauriformis* as applied to rivers; cf. Horace's *tauriformis Aufidus*, *Odes* IV. 14. 25, and Vergil, *Georg.* IV. 371, 372. Todd noted that the same phrase *horned flood*, in the same sense, occurs in Ben Jonson, *Fox*, III. 7, and Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, II. 5 (of which work Milton's own annotated copy survives. See II. 583, note).

833. Probably the Euphrates is meant—"*the great river*, the river Euphrates," *Gen.* xv. 18. The Tigris is less likely. *the...Gulf*, i.e. the Persian Gulf; called "the Persian bay," *P. R.* III. 273.

835. *orcs*, a kind of whale; Ben Jonson speaks of "Proteus' herds, and Neptune's orcs" in the *Masque* of *Neptune's Triumph*.

clang; used, like Lat. *clangor*, of the cries of birds in VII. 422.

840. 'To *hull*' is 'to toss or drive on the water, like the hull of a ship without sails.' Cf. Gervase Markham's *Sir Richard Grinuile*, "Then casts he Anchor hulling on the maine"; and *Twelfth Night*, I. 5. 217, "Will you hoist sail, sir?...No, I am to hull here a little longer." Sir Thomas Browne may have remembered Milton when he wrote: "In this virtuous voyage of thy life hull not about like the ark, without the use of rudder, mast, or sail, and bound for no port" (*Christian Morals*, I. i.).

842—49. Cf. the account in VII. 285—306 of the subsidence of the waters after the Creation of the earth.

"The circumstances [here] are few, but selected with great judgment. In this respect, Milton greatly excels the Italians, who are generally too prolix in their descriptions, and think they have never said enough whilst any thing remains unsaid" (Thyer).

842. "And God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters asswaged," *Gen.* viii. 1. M. would naturally select the north as the parching, drying wind; see II. 489, 594, 595, notes; cf. *Proverbs* xxv. 23. He may, too, have recollected Ovid's account of the reappearance of the earth, *nimbis Aquilone remotis* (Newton).

The north-east is typically the sky-clearing wind of poetry; cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, XXVIII. 79—84.

846. *their*; referring to *wave*. M. may have dictated *waves*, or treated *wave* as a collective noun (and so avoided writing *its*).

848—67. There are continual references to *Genesis* viii.

851. "And the ark rested...upon the mountains of Ararat," *Genesis* viii. 4. Cf. Josephus, "After this the ark rested on the top of a certain mountain in Armenia," *Antiquities*, I. iii. 5.

858. *his*. "In *Gen.* viii. 9 the dove is feminine" (Keightley).

866. *three*, red, yellow and blue (according to the belief then held); cf. 879. Now the rainbow is resolved into seven colours.

listed, striped, streaked; from *list*, a strip (of cloth, etc.). Cf. Tennyson, *Vivien*, "Trees that shone white-listed through the gloom."

867. *covenant*; *Genesis* ix. 11—17. "The compact that God made with Noah, that the world never shall be drowned again," *Paradiso*, XII. 17, 18.

870. *thou, who*. In the First Ed. *thou that*.

880, 881. Some editors place a note of interrogation at the end of 879, and explain 880, 881 thus—"*are they* (i.e. the streaks) distended ...or do they serve?" The advantage of this is that it supplies a direct alternative to "*or* serve"; on the other hand the ellipse in 880 is

awkward, and the line sounds, I think, more natural if taken as a statement, not as a question, from Adam. 'What (he asks) mean those streaks spread over the heaven? is it that they serve to bind? etc.' The second question is a kind of after-thought, introduced by *or*, though no regular alternative has preceded.

as the brow. The notion is that of a knitted brow relaxing its wrinkled lines, i.e. the frown, expressive of anger or thought. M. uses the same idea to suggest the influence of music; cf. *Il Pen.* 55—58:

> "And the mute Silence hist along,
> 'Less Philomel will deign a song,
> In her saddest sweetest plight,
> Smoothing the rugged brow of Night";

and *P. R.* II. 163, 164:

> "Such object hath the power to soften and tame
> Severest temper, smoothe the rugged'st brow"

(*rugged* in either case meaning 'wrinkled').

886—901. A combination of Scriptural passages. Cf. *Gen.* vi. 6, 9, 11, 12; viii. 22; ix. 11—17; 2 *Peter* iii. 12, 13. *late*, lately.

889. Cf. VII. 453, "each in their kind."

895. The Scriptural phrase *man and beast* (*Psalm* xxxvi. 6, *Jeremiah* xxi. 6) includes the birds (Pearce).

BOOK XII.

1—5. These five lines were added in the Second Ed., as a "transition," when bk. X. (of the First Ed.) was divided into the present XI.—XII.; just as, at the same time, the first three verses of VIII. were inserted, when VII. (of the First Ed.) was divided into what are now VII.—VIII. In the First Ed. the line in Michael's speech, "Both Heaven and Earth etc.," which forms the close of the present XI., was followed, without any break, by "Thus thou hast seen" (6).

1. *bates*; printed so in the First Ed., and the sense must be 'slackens,' i.e. *abates*, his course. Some editors read *baits*, which is used in *S. A.* 1538; there, however, the word is spelt *baits* in the First Ed.—an argument against altering the text here.

The word *bait*, 'to stop on a journey for refreshment' (cognate with *bite*), is not very dignified now, but it may not have been open to this objection in Milton's time. Thus Sidney calls sleep "The baiting-place of wit, the balm of woe"; and Donne, in his *Progress of the Soul*, describing the progress of a soul to Heaven, says: "She stays not in

the Air...she baits not at the Moon," i.e. does not stop there. Here it suits the metaphor of the whole line.

8—10. Till then all that Adam saw appeared in visions (XI. 377).

13—24. A picture of the world in the 'Silver Age,' when the government was patriarchal ("under paternal rule"); that of iron soon (24) begins (Richardson).

18. *labouring*, cultivating. Used actively in *S. A.* 1298, with the sense 'causing to labour.' As a transitive verb in Shakespeare it means 'to effect by labour'; cf. "he would labour my delivery," *Richard III.* I. 4. 253.

24. *one*, i.e. Nimrod. In what follows M. is giving expression to his own republican feelings, and his dislike of a monarchy. Nimrod, he says, was the first to claim sovereign power over his fellow-men: and then Nimrod is depicted in the most unfavourable light, so that we may infer that the institution (i.e. monarchy) which had such an evil originator must be itself evil.

Milton's Common-place Book (see IX. 200), among some remarks on the origin of monarchy, has the entries:

"The Lordly Monarchy first among men.—In Assyria under the power of Nimrod called a great Hunter, an Hebraisme for a Great Theife.—Before his time was no sovereign." (Camden Society's 2nd ed., p. 42.)

25. *of proud, ambitious heart.* In the *Purgatorio*, XII. 34—36, Nimrod is classed with Satan as a type of pride.

28. *dispossess.* These compounds with *dis-* as a negative prefix, implying 'to deprive of,' are very common in M.; cf. *dispeople*, *disexercise*, *disenthrone* (II. 229).

30—35. The description of Nimrod in *Gen.* x. 9, "He was a mighty hunter before the LORD," has been explained in two ways: literally, according to the obvious sense of the English rendering; figuratively, as meaning that he was a great conqueror; this is implied by the preceding verse, which speaks of his beginning to found an empire, while the Hebrew translated "hunter" would appear, from other passages, to have been applicable to a warrior making raids on his enemies. It is under the second aspect that M. regards Nimrod—as a tyrannous ruler extending his empire and persecuting all who resisted: men, not beasts, were his prey. See the entries quoted above and *Eikonoklastes*, II: "the bishops could have told him [Charles I.] that Nimrod, the first that hunted after faction, is reputed by ancient tradition the first that founded monarchy" (*P. W.* I. 405). Compare the picture of him that Josephus draws: "a bold man, and of great strength of hand....He changed the government into a tyranny, seeing no other way of turning

men from the fear of God, but to bring them into a constant dependence upon his own power," *Antiquities*, I. iv. 2. I think that in the whole of this passage concerning Nimrod and the Tower of Babel Milton had Josephus' narrative in his mind. Dryden makes Nimrod the first of great persecutors; cf. *The Hind and the Panther*, I. 282, 283:

"Thus persecution rose, and farther space
Produced the mighty hunter of his race."

Similarly Pope (*Windsor Forest*, 61, 62):

"Proud Nimrod first the bloody chase began,
A mighty hunter, and his prey was man."

One of the chieftains of Diabolus in *The Holy War* (end) is "Captain Nimrod," leader of "the Tyrannical" band.

34. M. glances at the two interpretations which have been given of the phrase "before the Lord": (1) 'in defiance of God,' which is certainly in accordance with Josephus' account; (2) 'under God,' i.e. "as usurping all authority to himself next under God, and claiming it *jure divino*" (Newton), just as in Milton's own day "the divine right of kings" had been put forward so strongly. The second view seems very improbable.

36. Alluding to the incorrect notion that *Nimrod* is connected with the Heb. root *mârad*, 'to rebel.' More probably, the name is Assyrian. Of course, it suits Milton's sarcastic purpose to imply that the first king in history was himself but a rebel. It is as though he were flinging back the charge so often brought against his own political party, that they were rebellious in their resistance to Charles I.

38—62. Cf. the account of the building of the Tower of Babel in *Gen.* xi. 2—9. M. follows the original very closely. The Bible does not directly associate Nimrod with the building of the Tower of Babel; it only states (*Gen.* x. 10) that Babel was one of his capitals. The view which M. has followed here (as in the last chapter of *Eikonoklastes*) is a later belief, given by Josephus (*Antiquities*, I. iv. 2); Dante has it in the *Inferno*, XXXI., *Purgatorio*, XII., and *Paradiso*, XXVI. The tradition of Nimrod's connection with Babel or Babylon survives in the name of the great temple-tower *Birs-Nimrud*, remains of which still exist.

41, 42. Cf. Josephus (speaking of the Tower), "it was built of burnt brick, cemented together with mortar, made of bitumen, that it might not be liable to admit water," *Antiquities*, I. iv. 3.

The place meant by M. is Hit, anciently Is, possibly the Ahava of *Ezra* viii. 15; "from time immemorial the chief source of supply of bitumen [see X. 298, note] to Babylonia." It is known to the natives as "the mouth of hell," and local names are always of great antiquity; M. must have got the name from the work of some traveller, probably

Sandys (see note on 143, 144). Hit was captured by the British on March 9, 1918, and there was a great deal of information about it in Dispatches at the time. Classical poets speak of the "jaws" (*fauces*) of Avernus, i.e. an opening to the under-world; cf. Vergil, *Æn.* VI. 201; *Georg.* IV. 467.

52, 53. Cf. 2 *Chronicles* xviii. 22. See II. 190, 191, note.

55. Sylvester (*Du Bartas*) describes the confusion of Tongues as "a jangling noise." Dante puts unintelligible words in Nimrod's mouth, in allusion to the Confusion of Tongues; see the *Inferno*, XXXI. 67—81.

62. Cf. *Gen.* xi. 9, "Therefore is the name of it called Babel," where the margin has, "That is, *Confusion.*" Cf. also Josephus, *Antiquities*, I. iv. 3, "The place wherein they built the tower is now called *Babylon*; because of the confusion of that language which they readily understood before; for the Hebrews mean by the word *Babel*, Confusion." It appears, however, that "the native etymology (of *Babylon*) is *Bab-il*, 'the gate of the god *Il*,' or perhaps more simply 'the gate of God'" (Smith's *Bible Dict.*).

73, 74. "This being not asserted in Scripture, but only supposed by some writers, is better put into the mouth of Adam, than of the Angel" (Newton).

Compare the reasons for the building of the Tower that Josephus gives: "He (Nimrod) said he would be avenged on God, if he should have a mind to drown the world again; for that he would build a tower too high for the waters to be able to reach! and that he would avenge himself on God for destroying their forefathers," *Antiquities*, I. iv. 2.

76—78. The knowledge of physics which the lines reveal is not very appropriate in the mouth of Adam (Keightley).

77. *pine*; a transitive verb; cf. XI. 486, and *Richard II.* v. 1. 77.

78. *breath...bread.* For Milton's use of these verbal quibbles and jingling sounds, see I. 642, XI. 625—27, notes.

81. *affecting to subdue*, aiming at subduing; commonly used, like Lat. *affectare*, with a direct accusative of the thing aimed at. Cf. III. 206, "affecting Godhead."

83—90. For the association of freedom with reason cf. III. 108—10 and IX. 351, 352.

84. *right reason*; cf. VI. 42, note.

85. *twinned*, i.e. closely united, as if they were twins; reason is the very counterpart of liberty. Shakespeare several times uses the verb *twin* in much the same way—to express close connection, as in *Coriolanus*, IV. 4. 15, or close resemblance, as in *Cymbeline*, I. 6. 35, "the twinned stones upon the beach" (i.e. exactly alike). Editors compare *Timon of Athens*, IV. 3. 3—5.

95, 96. The form in which the thought is conveyed seems a reminiscence of *Matthew* xviii. 7, "it must needs be that offences come." In IV. 393, 394 M. calls necessity "the tyrant's plea."

97. *decline*; used of deterioration. Cf. *Hamlet*, I. 5. 50.

100, 101. See the note on XI. 798, 799.

101—104. *irreverent son*, i.e. Ham, the father of Canaan. Cf. *Gen.* ix. 21—25, especially verse 25, "And he [Noah] said, Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren."

111. *one peculiar nation*. Cf. passages like *Deut.* xiv. 2, *Ps.* cxxxv. 4. M. discusses this point in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 17.

113. The allusion is to Abraham. *faithful*; see 152.

114. *on this side*, i.e. eastward of; cf. *Joshua* xxiv. 2, 3. The word *'ibrī*, whence *Hebrew*, which was first used of Abraham (*Gen.* xiv. 13), signifies 'living across,' i.e. across, or east of, the Euphrates. It was the term applied by the Canaanites to the Jewish immigrants into Canaan.

115. *bred up*. M. infers this from *Joshua* xxiv. 2, where we are told that "Terah, the father of Abraham...served other gods." Cf. *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 17, "He called Abraham from his father's house...who was even an idolater at the time" (*P. W.* IV. 321).

117. i.e. during the life-time of Noah. According to the chronology given in *Gen.* ix. and xi., Noah lived many years after the birth of Terah; and we have just seen, from *Josh.* xxiv. 2, that Terah worshipped false gods.

118. Cf. *S. A.* 1140, "My trust is in the Living God"; the phrase is frequent in the Bible; cf. *Heb.* iii. 12, 1 *Tim.* iv. 10.

120, 121. *Genesis* xii.; *Acts* vii. In *visions* (see XI. 377) the highest type of revelation was thought to be made; we often find the word contrasted with *dream*. Cf. *Comus*, 453—58; so in Cowley's *Essays* (p. 21, Pitt Press ed.), "I fell at last into this vision; or if you please to call it but a dream, I shall not take it ill, because the father of poets tells us, even dreams, too, are from God" (where the Homeric reference is the same as in 611). See *Numbers* xii. 6.

127, 128. "By faith Abraham.....went out, not knowing whither he went," *Heb.* xi. 8.

128. *I see him, but thou canst not*. A variation on the method of narration adopted in book XI. (423). The wording is like Oberon's "That very time I saw, but thou [Puck] couldst not," *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 1. 155.

129. Haran was the place where Abraham received the command from God to journey to Canaan (*Gen.* xii. 1—4). But M. is thinking of *Acts* vii. 2—4, where it is said that "The God of glory appeared

unto our father Abraham" *before* he came "out of the land of the Chaldæans."

130. *Ur*; the capital of southern Chaldea, and a great commercial mart; it then lay close to the mouth of the Euphrates, as at that time the waters of the Persian Gulf extended much further inland than now. But from the reference to Haran we may conjecture that M. supposed Ur to be in Upper Mesopotamia, i.e. at least 400 miles north of its real site. In this he followed a view formerly held by many scholars, and suggested by *Acts* vii. 2—4, the Scriptural passage, as we have said, on which, mainly, this couplet is based. An old theory identified Ur with Orfah=the Greek Edessa, in northern Mesopotamia.

130, 131. M. speaks as though Abraham's journey were continuous, and his stay at Haran a mere episode, whereas the Scripture implies that he dwelt there some time (*Gen.* xi. 31, *Acts* vii. 4).

passing...the ford; this must refer to the crossing of the Euphrates; but Haran, or Charran (the *Carræ* of the famous Parthian victory), was on the western bank of the Euphrates. We must remember that in the 17th century scholars had to depend on very imperfect maps, travellers' narratives and such-like doubtful evidence.

132. *servitude*, servants: abstract for concrete.

135—51. In these lines M. first traces the journey of Abraham to the Promised Land (cf. *Gen.* xii. 5, 6); then sketches in outline the geographical position and extent of the Land, glancing at the number of Scriptural texts which suit his purpose; and finally shows what was the scope of the promise made to Abraham.

139—41. The four boundaries are: (1) the town (or district) of Hamath, in Upper Syria, lying in the valley of the Orontes; afterwards called *Epiphaneia* by Antiochus Epiphanes, and now again known as *Hamah*; expressly mentioned as the northern limit of Canaan in *Numb.* xxxiv. 7. 8. (2) The Desert of Zin, forming part of the southern frontier of the Holy Land (*Numb.* xxxiv. 3). (3) Mt Hermon, 'the lofty peak'; the most conspicuous mountain in Palestine, and the great landmark of the Israelites. In Scripture Hermon is associated with, not the eastern but, the northern boundary; cf. *Ps.* lxxxix. 12, "The north and the south thou hast created them: Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name." Perhaps this was why M. afterwards added that the Jordan was the "true limit eastward." (4) The "western sea," i.e. the Mediterranean; cf. *Numb.* xxxiv. 6, "And as for the western border, ye shall even have the great sea for a border: this shall be your west border."

143, 144. Mt Carmel is one of the most striking geographical features of Palestine, being the only headland which breaks the coast-line.

double-founted; probably an allusion to the old belief that the Jordan, in its upper course, was formed by the union of two streams thought to give the river its name; these were the *Dan* and the *Jor*, and their supposed place of confluence lay near Cæsarea Philippi. In reality, *Jordan* is from a Heb. root 'to flow down, descend,' and the sources of the river must be looked for in the water-shed of Libanus on the one hand, and of Mt Hermon on the other. Sylvester, however, had mentioned its "double source," and, as Todd pointed out, the traveller George Sandys speaks of it as "seeming to arise from *Jor* and *Dan*, two not far distant *fountaines*."

Probably Sandys was Milton's main authority for the topography of Palestine. His *Travels*, first published in 1615, were very popular, often reprinted, and often quoted. They contain a vivid and detailed account of the Holy Land. Milton mentions Sandys in *Of Reformation in England*, *P. W.* II. 380, and borrowed from him (almost certainly) the account of the rites of Moloch in the *Nativity Ode*, 204—10, and *P. L.* I. 392—96; and there is reason for thinking that in *Samson Agonistes* the description of the amphitheatre in which the catastrophe of the play occurs was inspired by a passage of the same writer. It is quite likely therefore that Sandys was responsible for *double-founted* here.

145, 146. *true limit*. The Jordan is mentioned as the eastern boundary of Canaan in *Numb.* xxxiv. 12. Nine tribes and a half of the Israelites dwelt west of it, only two tribes and a half (Manasseh) on the eastern bank. The river is constantly spoken of as a boundary; cf. such phrases as 'over Jordan,' 'beyond Jordan.'

his sons; the allusion is to 1 *Chronicles* v. 23. *Senir* is the Amorite name for Mt Hermon; cf. *Deut.* iii. 9. But in the verse of *Chronicles* just referred to, Senir and Hermon are distinguished, so that *Senir* may also have been applied to some range of hills running off from the great mountain in an eastern direction; and this, apparently, was Milton's idea; cf "long ridge," which would be a very inappropriate description of Hermon. We know that Manasseh spread eastward far beyond their original territory—even over the deserts between Palestine and the Euphrates.

151—63. Cf. *Gen.* xvii. 5; also *Gal.* iii. 9, "So then they which be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham." The historical allusion in the lines is, of course, to Jacob's going down to Egypt at the bidding of Joseph—*Gen.* xlv., xlvi.

158. Cf. Vergil's *septemgemini trepida ostia Nili* (*Æn.* VI. 801). The allusion to its seven mouths is frequent.

167. *of guests he makes them slaves*; on this classical idiom see the notes on IV. 153, VIII. 433.

172. "And they spoiled the Egyptians," *Exod.* xii. 36.

173—190. *Exodus* vii.—xii.

173. *denies*, refuses; cf. *King Lear*, II. 4. 89, "Deny to speak with me?"

180. *emboss*, cover with swellings; cf. *As You Like It*, II. 7. 67, "embossed sores," and *King Lear*, II. 4. 227, "A plague-sore, an embossed carbuncle." Cf. Fr. *bosse*, 'a lump.'

182. *rend*. Cf. *Hamlet*, II. 2. 508, 509,

"the dreadful thunder
Doth rend the region" (i.e. air).

185—88. An echo of I. 338—43. Cf. also Sylvester, *Du Bartas* (Grosart's ed., I. 189):

"Then the *Thrice-Sacred* with a sable Cloud
Of horned *Locusts* doth the Sun becloud."

188. *palpable*; see the note on II. 406.

191. *the river-dragon*, i.e. Pharaoh. The First Ed. has *this* instead of *the*. Compare *Ezekiel* xxix. 3, "Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers." *Dragon* (=*draco* in the Vulgate, and δράκων in the Septuagint) is the translation in several places of the Heb. word *tannīn*, applied to any monster; cf. *Job* vii. 12 ("whale") and *Ps.* xci. 13, where the R.V. substitutes "serpent" for "dragon."

197. Cf. VII. 293, and Milton's paraphrase on *Ps.* cxiv., "Why turned Jordan toward his crystal fountains?"; also that on *Ps.* cxxxvi., "The floods stood still, like walls of glass."

200. *Saint*. M. is very fond of this word, perhaps because *Saints* was the name by which many of the Republican Independents called themselves, in allusion to the sense 'holy man' in the Epistles of St Paul.

201—14. *Exod.* xiii. 21, 22, xiv.

207. *defends*, forbids; cf. XI. 86. "This is the common sense of *defend* in our ancient laws and statutes" (Todd).

210. *craze*, break, smash; only here and in *S. A.* 571.

211. A reminiscence of I. 338.

214—19. *Exod.* xiii. 17, 18. The march of the Israelites was—first, from Rameses to Succoth; thence to Etham; and then southwards, through the wilderness east of the Red Sea. Their *readiest way* from Succoth would have been by the north-east route, along the coast of the Mediterranean; but this would have brought them into the country of the warlike Philistines. In 215 *from the shore* refers, obviously, to the Red Sea. In 216 *the wild Desert* seems to be a general term comprehending all the desert parts through which they

advanced to Canaan, such as the wilderness of Shur and Sin and Sinai.

220. See XI. 798, 799 (note), and cf. the passage quoted there from *S. A.* 268—71. We have the opposite sentiment in II. 255—57.

220—22. *more sweet*, i.e. than liberty; the sense, I think, is—'noble men and ignoble alike—if untrained in arms—prefer life to freedom, except in cases where mere rashness transports them from their usual characters.'

224—26. Alluding to the "seventy of the elders of Israel," whom Moses was directed to associate with himself in the government of the Israelites (*Exod.* xxiv., *Numb.* xi. 16—24), in which Council some scholars have seen the beginnings of the Jewish *Sanhedrim*. There may also be a glance at *Exod.* xviii., where, on the advice of Jethro, Moses delegates his judicial authority in minor cases to the tribal heads, who "judged the people at all seasons."

227—38. *Exod.* xix., xx. See XI. 73—76, note, and cf. Milton's *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, 3: "Did God for this come down and cover the mount of Sinai with his glory, uttering in thunder those his sacred ordinances out of the bottomless treasures of his wisdom and infinite goodness?" *P. W.* III. 220.

grey, i.e. with smoke and clouds (*Exod.* xix. 16, 18), says Newton; but perhaps it is only an 'epithet of adornment,' like 'hoary' (i.e. with age).

228. *he descending*. Needlessly changed to *him* by Bentley. M., however, varies the idiom; see VII. 142 (note).

229. *trumpet's*; in the First Ed. *trumpets*; the passage in *Exodus* shows that the singular is required (Bradshaw). See I. 59, note.

233. i.e. of the Seed destined to bruise. For the inversion of order see I. 206, note.

238. *what they besought*. So the Second Ed.; the First reads "he grants *them their desire*."

239—41. Cf. 310, 311, note.

241, 242. "For Moses truly said unto the fathers, A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren, like unto me," *Acts* iii. 22, where the reference is to *Deut.* xviii. 15—19.

249. *prescript*, command; cf. "the prescript of this roll," *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. 8. 5. So in *S. A.* 308.

250. *cedar*. Some suppose that M. was thinking of the Temple and had forgotten that shittim-wood was employed in the construction of the Tabernacle. But may not M. have thought that the wood called *shittim* was some kind of cedar (though scholars now identify it with the acacia)?

253, 254. Referring to the two images of Cherubim, overlaid with

the Jews very strongly). Jason obtained the office from the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes, *circa* 175 B.C.; afterwards it was transferred to Menelaus, 172 B.C. The conflicts that arose between the rival high-priests gave Antiochus an excuse for assaulting Jerusalem and plundering the Temple, 170 B.C. Two years later, 168 B.C., his troops again occupied the city; the Temple was desecrated; "an idol altar" was set up, and the Jews were forbidden the observance of their own religion. These events are related in 1, 2 *Maccabees*, and by Josephus.

Indirectly, lines 353—55 are an attack, like 507—37, on the clergy.

356, 357. *they*=the Asmonean family, in whose line the office of high-priest descended, B.C. 153—B.C. 35. The first of the race to assume the title of king was Aristobulus I., B.C. 107. Their sovereignty ended with the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey, 63 B.C.

David's sons. The last ruler of Israel who could claim direct descent from David was Zerubbabel, under whose leadership the Jews returned from the Babylonish Captivity in 536 B.C. The names of his descendants we are told in the genealogies of Christ (given from somewhat different points of view) by Matthew and Luke. That of Matthew "exhibits the successive heirs of the kingdom (of David) ending with Christ," i.e. it shows us to whom Milton refers when he speaks of "David's *sons*," the rightful heirs, though not "regarded."

358. *a stranger*, i.e. Antipater an *Idumean* (the Greek form of *Edomite*), who was made governor of Jerusalem by Pompey in 61 B.C., and afterwards procurator of Judæa by Julius Cæsar, 47 B.C. His second son was Herod the Great, who was appointed king of Judæa by the Roman Senate in 38 B.C. During his reign Christ was born.

360. *barred*; he purposely uses a legal term.

360—67. This passage should be compared with the *Nativity Ode*, and the similar account of Christ's birth in *P. R.* I. 242—54. The verbal resemblances are numerous. *Matthew* ii.; *Luke* ii.

364. *solemn*; "sent in solemnity.... This single word *solemn* expresses the importance of the message" (Richardson).

366, 367. *thither*, i.e. to Bethlehem; and M. speaks as though the song of the angels was heard there—not merely "in the field."

squadroned, in troops; cf. the *Nativity Ode*, 21.

369—71. The literary form of the passage is primarily from Vergil, *Æneid* I. 287, *Imperium oceano, famam qui terminet astris*. The theological idea is that of the "glorious reign of Christ on earth with his Saints, so often promised in Scripture, even until all his enemies shall be subdued" (*The Christian Doctrine*, I. 33). In this theological work Milton states his belief at length, quoting the passages of Scripture on

which it rests, such as *Isai.* ix. 7, *Dan.* vii. 13, 14, 22, *Luke* i. 32, 33, *Mat.* xix. 28, *Rev.* ii. 25—27.

The editor of *The Christian Doctrine* in Bohn's edition of Milton's prose-works says:

"The Millenarians or Fifth Monarchy men of the 17th century were sufficiently numerous to occupy a place in the history of Milton's times. It appears from this treatise that he himself was far from holding the extravagant and fanatical opinions which characterised the greater part of this sect." He held, in common with certain of the Fathers and later theologians, the belief expressed in the sentence quoted above. It is glanced at in VII. 157—61, and inspires, as the editor of the *Doctrine* points out, one of the finest passages of his prose, viz. the close of the treatise *Of Reformation in England.*

373. Cf. the picture of Dalila in *S. A.* 728, "Like a fair flower surcharged with dew, she weeps."

379, 380. *Luke* i. 28.

383. *capital*, deadly, fatal; cf. "my capital secret," *S. A.* 394. Some editors think that in each passage there is a quibble on this and the other sense—'pertaining to the head,' Lat. *caput*. The word is always a dissyllable, *cap'tal*, in M.

386—88. Cf. *P. R.* I. 173—75, where the song is raised in Heaven:

"Victory and triumph to the Son of God,
Now entering his great duel, not of arms,
But to vanquish by wisdom hellish wiles!"

392. i.e. 'whose fall did not disable him from giving thee, etc.'

393. *recure*, heal; not elsewhere in M., but common in Elizabethan E. Cf. *Venus and Adonis*, 465, "A smile recures the wounding of a frown." So *unrecuring*='incurable,' *Titus Andronicus*, III. I. 90.

401. *appaid*, satisfied, paid; often in Spenser; cf. *The Faerie Queene*, II. 12. 28, "For she is inly nothing ill apayd." Shakespeare has it once—*Lucrece*, 914.

403, 404. "Love is the fulfilling of the law," *Rom.* xiii. 10; and verse 8.

406. "It is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree," *Gal.* iii. 13, the reference being to *Deut.* xxi. 23; that passage, however, seems to imply crucifixion after death, i.e. as a mark of disgrace. It was not only among the Jews that crucifixion was held in the utmost horror; many passages show that the Romans regarded it as the greatest of degradations—a *servile supplicium* from which citizens and even freedmen were exempt. See Juvenal VI. 219.

410. *to save*; probably dependent on *believe*: 'who shall *believe his merits*—not their own works, though done in conformity with the law—

to save them.' The passage is commonly explained so, but it is obviously very awkward, as the verb *believe* has already taken two different constructions.

415—17. "The enemies of Adam were *the law that was against him*, and the *sins of all mankind* as springing originally from him, and therefore in some sense chargeable upon him. The author, in this passage, alludes to *Col.* ii. 14" (Newton).

420, 421. *Romans* vi. 9.

424. *thy ransom*; so the First and Second Eds.; "Adam is here spoken of, not as a single person,...[but] as one who was representative of the whole human race" (Pearce). Cf. again 428. Many later texts change *thy* to *the*.

427. *faith...works*. Cf. XI. 64.

434. *a death like sleep*; the "temporal death" of the redeemed is not an everlasting state, but a "sleep" from which there shall be an awakening (1 *Cor.* xv. 51). Milton discusses the question in *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 13, from which it is clear that by "*temporal* death" he signified the death of the body.

The reading *death-like sleep* is a mere tampering with the text.

435. *wafting*, passage; cf. II. 1042.

442. *in the profluent stream*. "It was the poet's opinion that baptism should take place in running water" (Keightley). The passage in which M. expressed this view occurs in his treatise on *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 28, in which he speaks of baptism as a sacrament "wherein the bodies of believers who engage themselves to pureness of life, are immersed in running water [*in profluentem aquam*], to signify their regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and their union with Christ."

446—65. Cf. *Gal.* iii. 7, 16; *Rom.* iv. 16; *Colos.* ii. 15; *Ephes.* iv. 8—10, i. 20, 21; *Luke* xxi. 27, xxiv. 26; *John* v. 28, 29; *Rev.* xi. 18, xx. 2.

452. Scan *triúmphing*, as in I. 123; so sometimes in Shakespeare.

454. *Prince of air*. This title of Satan is illustrated by *P. R.* I. 39—47, where he summons an assembly of his followers "in mid air," and addresses them thus:

> "O ancient Powers of Air, and this wide World;
> (For much more willingly I mention Air,
> This our old conquest, than remember Hell,
> Our hated habitation) well ye know," etc.

See *Appendix*, p. 676.

458—63. Cf. III. 323 *et seq.*

460. "To judge the quick and the dead," *Apostles' Creed.*

467. *period*, end, conclusion. "The period of thy tyranny approacheth," 1 *Henry VI.* IV. 2. 17.

477—93. Many texts are alluded to: e.g. *Rom.* v. 20; 2 *Cor.* iv. 15; *Luke* xxiv. 49; *Gal.* v. 6 ("faith which worketh by love"); *John* xiv. 18, 23, xv. 26, xvi. 3; *Ephes.* vi. 11 ("put on the whole armour of God"), 13 and 16 ("to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked"); and *Ps.* lvi. 11.

495. Cf. *S. A.* 663, 664.

497—502. *Acts* ii.

505. Cf. *S. A.* 597, "My race of glory run, and race of shame." It is St Paul's favourite metaphor of athletes competing on the *stadium* (*Heb.* xii. 1; 1 *Cor.* ix. 24).

507—11. "For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock," *Acts* xx. 29. There is the same allusion in IV. 193 (see note); and in the *Sonnet* on Cromwell he speaks of the "hireling wolves, whose Gospel is their maw."

This passage (507—37), though it nominally traces (from Milton's point of view) the history of the Church from Apostolic times, is perhaps primarily directed against the Church of England; similar charges are scattered *passim* through Milton's prose-works. A close parallel is the long piece (113—31) of invective, thinly disguised under pastoral allegory, in *Lycidas*. Time had intensified Milton's opinions.

We have seen in many places Milton's anti-ecclesiastical bias; a fresh and characteristic illustration has been noted recently by Professor Firth. He shows that in his *History of Britain* Milton deliberately "avoided the ecclesiastical side of British and Saxon history," and refused to supplement the meagre political records at his disposal by "drawing upon the fund of information which his authorities supplied about the religious life of the times. The development of a scientific interest in the monuments and institutions of the past was one of the characteristics of 17th century England, but so far as it showed itself in researches into ecclesiastical antiquities Milton took no interest in the movement."

511. M. often taunts the clergy with avarice and desire of preferment. Cf. *An Apology for Smectymnuus*, "they, for lucre, use to creep into the Church undiscernibly," *P. W.* III. 164.

511—14. In his prose-works M. frequently depreciates the writings of the Fathers: the "traditions" of the Church as to doctrine and forms, are in his eyes "a broken reed" (*Areopagitica*).

superstitions; see III. 451—54, note.

516, 517. *to join secular power*. "On this subject he had been particularly copious in his tract *Of Reformation in England*" (Todd).

Compare Dante's condemnation of the usurpation of temporal power by the Papacy; see the *Purgatorio*, XVI.

519, 520. In *The Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings out of the Church* M. says, "the Scriptures (are) translated into every vulgar tongue, as being held, in main matters of belief and salvation, plain and easy to the poorest: and such no less than their teachers have the Spirit to guide them in all truth" (*P. W.* III. 24).

522—24. *laws which*; laws which are neither laid down in the Scripture, nor dictated by the natural instincts of good men towards piety. In *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* (preface) Milton speaks of "a law not only written by Moses, but charactered in us by nature," *P. W.* III. 182. See *Jeremiah* XXXI. 33.

525, 526. "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," 2 *Cor.* iii. 17. Cf. *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 27, "liberty must be considered as belonging in an especial manner to the Gospel, and as consorting therewith" (*P. W.* IV. 398).

527. "The temple of God is holy, which temple ye are," 1 *Cor.* iii. 17. Cf. the fine allusion in *Macbeth*, II. 3. 73. So in *Comus*, 460, 461.

532, 533. *John* iv. 23.

534, 535. Showing Milton's dislike of ceremonies in worship.

539. *Romans* viii. 22.

539—41. There is an underlying political reference: M. never hesitates to foreshadow the ultimate overthrow of the Royalists against whom he and his party had struggled. We have a similar, but clearer, attack on his enemies in *P. R.* II. 42—48. See also XI. 808—18, note.

540. Newton noted that in *Acts* iii. 19, "when the times of refreshing shall come," the Gk. word *ἀνάψυξις*, translated by "refreshing," is rendered by *respiratio* in one of the Latin Versions of the Bible (though the Vulgate has *refrigerium*), and has the sense *respiratio* in the Septuagint in *Exodus* viii. 15.

545—47. *Matt.* xxiv. 30; 2 *Thess.* i. 7, 8. See the *Nativity Ode*, 163, 164, and the end of the treatise *Of Reformation in England*, in which M. looks forward to "that day, when thou, the eternal and shortly-expected King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world," *P. W.* II. 419; also *The Christian Doctrine*, I. 33.

547—51. Cf. III. 333—35, XI. 900, 901. "This notion of the Heavens and Earth being renewed after the conflagration, and made the habitation of Angels and just men made perfect, was very pleasing to Milton" (Newton).

554, 555. The time measured by the Archangel is that during which this world lasts.

565—68. *Ps.* cxlv. 9; *Rom.* xii. 21, "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good"; and 1 *Cor.* i. 27. "There is the sense of Scripture, if not the very words" (Newton).

569, 570. Cf. IX. 31, 32 and *S. A.* 654.

571. *Mors janua vitæ.*

581—84. Alluding to 2 *Pet.* i. 5—7, 1 *Cor.* xiii.

582. *answerable*, corresponding with; cf. IX. 20, *S. A.* 615, and the *Areopagitica*, "a virtue answerable to your highest actions."

583—85. *love...charity.* Cf. the *Tetrachordon*, "Christ having... interpreted the fulfilling of all through charity, hath in that respect set us over law, in the free custody of his love," *P. W.* III. 323.

587. The thought is anticipated in IV. 75, where Satan says of himself, "Which way I fly is Hell; myself am hell." Cf. too IV. 20—23. It is one of those world-thoughts which occur independently to many minds. This for instance is a close parallel from Fitzgerald's *Omar Khayyám*:

> "I sent my soul through the Invisible,
> Some letter of that After-life to spell:
> And by-and-by my soul returned to me,
> And answered, 'I myself am Heav'n and Hell.'"

Cf. also the famous lines, I. 254, 255.

588, 589. *this top of speculation*, this hill whence we have looked as from a watch-tower (Lat. *specula*). Cf. the description of it in XI. 377—80, and *P. R.* IV. 236, "Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount." Shakespeare uses *speculation* = 'the act of watching,' *Henry V.* IV. 2. 31.

592, 593. See XI. 120—22.

602. "And all the days that Adam lived were nine hundred and thirty years: and he died," *Gen.* v. 5.

608. Contrast the *Argument* of the book where Adam "wakens Eve."

611. Cf. *Iliad* I. 63, καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστι; "the application is very elegant in this place, as Adam's was a *vision*, and Eve's a *dream*; and God was in the one, as well as in the other" (Newton). See the passage from Cowley cited *ante* (120, 121, note).

615. Newton pointed out the allusion to Vergil, *Ecl.* III. 52, *in me mora non erit ulla.* Eve has laid to heart the words of Michael, XI. 290—92.

627. *station*, post of watching; Lat *statio*, a military term = 'a picket, guard.'

629, 630. M. used the simile in IX. 179, 180, comparing Satan's stealthy course through the garden to "a black mist low-creeping."

marish, marsh; an old word, said to be used often in the translations of Ariosto and Tasso, and by Spenser and Drayton.

632. *advanced*, raised aloft, like a flag; cf. v. 588. Shakespeare often applies it to a sword, perhaps by metaphor; cf. *Coriolanus*, I. 6. 61, "Filling the air with swords advanced and darts."

633. The allusion (*Genesis* iii. 24) occurs in *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, 13, where he is arguing against those who condemn divorce because it did not belong to the earliest times of Jewish history: "But still they fly back to the primitive institution, and would have us re-enter paradise against the sword that guards it" (*P. W.* III. 243). Cf. too Marvell's lines (with their happy reminiscences of *Richard II.* II. 1. 40 *et seq.*) in his beautiful country-poem, *Upon Appleton House*, written not long after the Civil War:

> "Oh thou, that dear and happy isle,
> The garden of the world erewhile,
> Thou Paradise of the four seas,
> Which Heaven planted us to please,
> But, to exclude the world, did guard
> With watery, if not flaming sword—
> What luckless apple did we taste,
> To make us mortal, and thee waste?"

634. *fierce as a comet*. Dunster observed that the simile may be an echo of Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, which speaks of the entrance to Eden as guarded by

> "A waving sword, whose body shined bright,
> Like flaming comet in the midst of night."

In II. 708—11 M. compares the figure of Satan, at his meeting with Death, to a comet. *which*; referring to the sword.

635. *vapour*, heat; cf. Horace's *siderum vapor*, *Epodes* III. 15. *Libya* is typical of a hot clime; for the position of *air* between the two qualifying words, see XI. 162. *adust*, scorched, Lat. *adustus*. Bowle noted that Tasso (VII. 52) describes a comet shining *per l'aria adusta*. M. often mentions Tasso in his prose.

636. *parch*; M. uses it of the drying, withering effect of either cold (cf. II. 594, 595, *Lycidas*, 13) or heat—as here.

637, 638. A reminiscence of *Gen.* xix. 16, "And while he (Lot) lingered, the men laid hold upon his hand, and upon the hand of his wife...and they brought him forth." The destruction of the cities of the plain was one of the themes on which Milton thought of founding a poem.

638—40. *the eastern gate*. See XI. 118—20, and cf. the account of the gate, IV. 542—48.

640. *subjected*, lying below, Lat. *subjectus*; so the adjective *subject* in Spenser; cf. *The Faerie Queene*, I. 11. 19, and III. 7. 4.

643. Most editors explain *brand* to mean 'sword,' a sense it often bore in O. E., from the flashing of a sword-blade. Cf. Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, V. 1. 8, "When so he list in wrath lift up his steely brand." The old use of *brand* = 'sword' is revived in Tennyson; cf. the *Morte d'Arthur*, where the word is used several times of King Arthur's sword Excalibur, e.g. "So flash'd and fell the brand Excalibur." Curiously, *brand* = 'fire-brand' does not occur anywhere in Milton's poetry, except in the MS. of *Comus*, 384, where "the noontyde brand" is a synonym for "the mid-day sun," afterwards substituted.

646. Editors compare *Richard II.* I. 3. 206, 207 (Mowbray's parting words):

> "Farewell, my liege. Now no way can I stray;
> Save back to England, all the world's my way."

648, 649. One of the subjects entered in the Cambridge MSS., under the heading "tragedies," is "Adam in Banishment."

This couplet has been much discussed since Addison proposed to omit it on the inadequate grounds that the lines strike a note of sadness, whereas an epic is supposed to require a cheerful ending, and that they are less impressive than the preceding couplet. Peck proposed to transpose 646, 647 and 648, 649, making the poem conclude with "and Providence their guide." Bentley, by way of crown to his emendatory toils, composed a distich, "as close as may be to the author's words, and entirely agreeable to his scheme." But the lines stand in the First and Second Eds., and are therefore as authentic as any other part of the poem; and, apart from their entirely Miltonic style, their calm beauty is appropriate to the feeling of mingled resignation and reluctance with which we may suppose that the exiles left their Paradise. Pearce justly notes that this feeling, indeed, corresponds precisely with the injunction (XI. 117) laid on Michael. Shakespearian tragedy usually ends on a quiet note.

APPENDIX.

A.

THE COSMOLOGY OF *PARADISE LOST*.

PARTS of *Paradise Lost* are not easily understood without some knowledge of Milton's conception of the Universe. I shall attempt therefore to set forth some of the main aspects of his cosmology: to explain, in fact, what he means by constantly recurrent terms such as 'Empyrean,' 'Chaos,' 'Spheres,' and the like.

It is in book V. that he carries us back farthest in respect of time. The events described by Raphael (from line 563, onwards) precede not only the Creation of the World, but also the expulsion of the rebels from Heaven. And at this era, when the seeds of discord are being sown, we hear of two divisions of Space—Heaven and Chaos: Heaven lying above Chaos.

In book VI. the contest foreshadowed in book V. has begun. Now a third region is mentioned—Hell (VI. 53—55): a gloomy region carved out of the nethermost depths of Chaos. Its remoteness from Heaven may be inferred from I. 73, 74. Milton's working hypothesis, then—his general conception of space and its partitionment prior to the Creation—may be expressed roughly thus: above[1], Heaven; beneath, Hell; between, a great gulf, Chaos.

Let us see what he has to say concerning each.

Heaven, or the Empyrean[2], is the abode of the Deity and His angelic subjects. It is a vast region, but not infinite. In X. 380 Milton speaks of its "empyreal bounds"; in II. 1049 of its "battlements[3]"; in VI. 860 of its "crystal wall." These fence Heaven in

[1] i.e. from the point of view of this World, the position of which we shall see.

[2] The terms are synonymous. *Empyrean*=Lat. *empyræus*, from Gk. ἔμπυρος. The notion was that the Empyrean was formed of the element of fire (πῦρ). Compare *Batman vppon Bartholome* (1582), a work which is a sort of encyclopædia of the beliefs and "science" (so to speak) current in the Elizabethan time:

"*Cælum Empereum* is the first and highest heaven, the place of Angells, the Countrey and habitation of blessed men. And hath that name *Empireum* from *Pir*, that is fire...not for burning, but for light and shining...and is the highest dwellyng-place of God" (p. 122).

[3] Cf. Lucretius' *flammantia mœnia mundi* (I. 74) and Gray's "flaming bounds of Space" (*Progress of Poesy*).

from Chaos. When Satan voyages through space, in quest of the new-created World, he kens far off the crystal line of light that radiates from the empyreal bulwarks, marking where runs the severance betwixt Heaven and Chaos (II. 1034—37). In the wall of Heaven are the "everlasting gates" (VII. 565) opening on to Chaos (V. 253—56, VII. 205—209). The shape of Heaven Milton does not determine (II. 1048); perhaps it is a square (X. 381). Its internal configuration and appearance he describes in language which reminds us of some lines (574—76) in book V. May not the Earth, says Raphael,

"Be but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein
Each to other like, more than on Earth is thought"?

Milton expands this idea, and developing to the utmost the symbolical, objective presentment of the New Jerusalem in the *Revelation*, depicts a Heaven scarce distinguishable from an ideal Earth[1]. In fact, his Heaven and his Garden of Eden have much in common; so that Satan exclaims, "O Earth, how like to Heaven!" (IX. 99). Thus the Heavenly landscape (if I may describe it in Miltonic language) has its vales, wood-covered heights and plains (VI. 70, 639—46); it is watered by living streams (V. 652); and fair with trees and flowers[2] —immortal amaranth and celestial roses (III. 353—64), and vines (V. 635). Daylight and twilight and "dim Night" are known there (V. 627—29, 645, 685, VI. 1—15). And soft winds fan the angels as they sleep (V. 654, 655).

These angelic beings, divided according to tradition into nine Orders, each with particular duties, perform their ministries and solemn rites (VII. 149) in the courts of God (V. 650) and at the high temple of Heaven (VII. 148). Their worship is offered under forms which recall, now the ritual of the Temple-services of Israel, now the inspired visions of St John. They celebrate the Deity who dwells invisible, throned inaccessible (III. 377) on the holy mount (VI. 5), howbeit omnipresent, as omnipotent, throughout Heaven and all space: round whose throne there rests a radiance of excessive brightness, at which even Seraphim, highest of Hierarchies, veil their eyes (III. 375—82).

It has been objected that Milton's picture is too material. But he himself takes special pains to remind us that the external imagery under which he represents his concepts is symbolical, not literal—adopted merely as a means of conveying *some* impression of that which is intrinsically indescribable. The truth, I believe, is that he has applied to Heaven the descriptions of 'Paradise' in the apocalyptic

[1] The Earth deteriorates after the fall of man (X. 651 *et seq.*).
[2] This is a descriptive detail most conspicuous in early Christian apocalyptic works.

literature of the first centuries of Christianity. The *Revelation of Peter* (dating perhaps from early in the second century A.D.) affords an illustration of these descriptions. St Peter is represented as asking our Lord where are the souls of the righteous dead—"of what sort is the world wherein they are and possess glory? And the Lord showed him [me] a very great space outside this world shining excessively with light, and the air that was there illuminated with the rays of the sun, and the earth itself blooming with unfading flowers, and full of spices and fair-flowering plants, incorruptible and bearing a blessed fruit: and so strong was the perfume that it was borne even to us[1] from thence. And the dwellers in that place were clad in the raiment of angels of light, and their raiment was like their land: and angels encircled them[2]."

The second region, for which Chaos seems the simplest title, is also variously called "the wasteful Deep" (II. 961, VI. 862), "the utter Deep" (VI. 716), "the Abyss," "the vast (or "main") Abyss" (I. 21, III. 83, VII. 211, 234). Here rules the God of Chaos with his consort Night (II. 959—63). According to the long description in book II. 890 *et seq.*, this region is an illimitable ocean, composed of the embryon atoms (*semina rerum*) whereof all substances may be formed—whereof Hell and the World are afterwards formed. It is a vast agglomeration of matter in its primal state, "neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire[3]." Here prevails eternal anarchy of storm and wind and wave and stunning sounds. In VII. 210, 211, the Messiah and His host stand at the open gate of Heaven and look forth on to Chaos; and what they behold is an Abyss "Outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild."

The creation of Hell, we may perhaps assume, just precedes the fall of the angels[4]. It has been prepared for their punishment when,

[1] i.e. St Peter and the other disciples who are with our Lord on the Mount of Olives. See *The Gospel according to Peter, and the Revelation of Peter* (Cambridge University Press ed., 1892), pp. 48, 49.

[2] Dr James (whose version I have just quoted) gives a similar passage from a rather later work, the *History of Barlaam and Josaphat*, wherein the Paradise of the just is revealed in a vision as "a plain of vast extent, flourishing with fair and very sweet-smelling flowers, where he saw plants of all manner of kinds, loaded with strange and wondrous fruits, most pleasant to the eye and desirable to touch. And the leaves of the trees made clear music to a soft breeze and sent forth a delicate fragrance, whereof none could tire...And through this wondrous and vast plain [he passed] to a city which gleamed with an unspeakable brightness and had its walls of translucent gold, and its battlements of stones the like of which none has ever seen. And a light from above...filled all the streets thereof: and certain winged hosts, each to itself a light, abode there singing in melodies never heard by mortal ears."

[3] Cf. the description of Chaos in Spenser's *Hymne in Honour of Love*, 57—84.

[4] Cf. the English *Faust-book* (1592) where Faustus asks when Hell was made and Mephistophiles replies—"Faustus, thou shalt know, that before the fall of my lord Lucifer was no hell, but even then was hell ordained" (Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, III. 185).

after the proclamation in v. 600—15, they have revealed their rebellious spirit. To form Hell a part of the abyss has been taken. In II. 1002, 1003, Chaos complains that his realm has been encroached upon by Hell—"stretching far and wide beneath." Round Hell runs a wall of fire (I. 61, 62); overhead spreads a fiery vault or cope (I. 298, 345, 346). At the descent of the angels Hell lies open to receive them (VI. 50—55); then the roof closes (VI. 874, 875), and they are prisoners. Henceforth the only outlet from Hell into Chaos is through certain gates, the charge whereof is assigned to Sin (II. 643 *et seq.*). At her side, as protector, stands Death, ready with his dart to meet all comers (II. 853—55). To please Satan (her sire), Sin opens the gates. Afterwards she cannot shut them; and all who will may pass to and fro between Hell and Chaos. Later on (when the bridge from Hell has been made) this change becomes terribly significant. As to the inside of Hell, we hear of a pool of fire (I. 52, 221); dry land that burns like fire (I. 227—29); and drear regions of excessive cold and heat, intersected by rivers (II. 574 *et seq.*). Here again the picture is largely traditional, owing, no doubt, much to Dante, who in turn owed much to the apocalyptic descriptions before mentioned.

Immediately after the expulsion of Satan the World is created (VII. 131 *et seq.*). By "the World" is meant the whole Universe of Earth, seas, stellar bodies and the framework wherein they are set. The Son of God goes forth into the abyss (VII. 218 *et seq.*), and with golden compass marks out the limits of this World; so that Chaos is again despoiled of part of his realm (as he laments, II. 1001—1006). The new World is a globe or hollow sphere, suspended in the abyss, and at its topmost point fastened by a golden chain (see II. 1051, note) to Heaven. In II. 1004—1006 Chaos tells Satan of this Universe:

> "another world,
> Hung o'er my realm, linked in a golden chain
> To that side Heaven from whence your legions fell."

The length of this chain, i.e. the distance of the World from the Empyrean, is not stated, I believe; but the distance was not—comparatively—very great (II. 1051—53, VII. 618).

Also, between the globe (again, on its upper side, i.e. that nearest to the Empyrean) and the gate of Heaven there stretches a golden stair; used by good angels for descent and ascent when they are despatched to Earth on any duty such as that which Raphael discharges in books V.—VIII. This stair (suggested by Jacob's dream?) is not always let down (III. 501—18). And hard by the point where the golden stair touches the surface of the globe there is—in later times, after the fall of man—another stair (or rather bridge), which leads, not upward to the

Empyrean, but downward to Hell: i.e. it extends over the portion of Chaos that intervenes between Hell and the World (II. 1024—33, X. 282 *et seq.*). This bridge[1], the work of Sin and Death, is used by evil angels when they would come from Hell (its gates being open) to Earth—"to tempt or punish mortals" (II. 1032).

Hence a good angel and an evil, visiting mankind simultaneously, the one descending the golden stair, the other ascending the bridge, will meet at this point of the surface of the globe. And to enter the globe, i.e. to get through its outer surface to the inside, each must pass through the same aperture in the surface, and descend by the same passage into the interior: as Milton explains in book III. There he describes how Satan journeys through Chaos, till he reaches and walks[2] on the outer surface of the World (III. 418—30). But how to pass to the interior? The surface is impenetrable, and there seems to be no inlet. Then suddenly the reflection of the golden stair which chances to be let down directs his steps to the point where the stair and the bridge come into contact with the globe, and here he finds what he seeks—an aperture in the surface by which he can look down into the interior. Further, there is at this aperture a broad passage plunging right down into the World—being, really, a continuation of the golden stair. Thus Satan, standing on the bottom step of the stair, and looking straight up, sees overhead the gate of Heaven; and looking straight down, sees the interior of the globe, leagues beneath (III. 526 *et seq.*).

Similarly on the seventh day of the Creation the angels, gazing from Heaven's gate down the stair and down the broad passage which continues the stair, see, as Satan did, into the new-made World (VII. 617—19):

"not far, founded in view
On the clear hyaline, the glassy sea[3]."

In short, at the point in the surface of the globe nearest to the Empyrean, there is a choice of ways: the stair leading to Heaven; the bridge to Hell; and the broad passage to the interior of the World:

[1] In the English *Faust book*, 1592 (Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, III. 194), Mephistophiles says: "We have also with us in hell a ladder, reaching of exceeding highth, as though the top of the same would touch the heaven, to which the damned ascend to seek the blessing of God, but through their infidelity, when they are at very highest degree, they fall down again into their former miseries." With the last part of this extract cf. *P. L.* III. 484 *et seq.* It seems to me highly probable that Milton studied the *Faust-book* (which was immensely popular), as well as Marlowe's dramatic adaptation of it; see II. 596—603, V. 671, notes.

[2] i.e. like a fly moving up a lamp-globe (Masson).

[3] i.e. the Crystalline Sphere.

"in little space
The confines met of empyrean Heaven
And of this World, and on the left hand Hell
With long reach interposed; three several ways,
In sight, to each of these three places led[1]."

And descending the broad passage what would an angel find in the interior of the globe? What is this globe as Milton, following the astronomy of his[2] time, has described it?

The globe as then conceived may best be likened (in Plato's comparison[3]) to one of those puzzles or boxes in which are contained a number of boxes of gradually lessening size: remove the first, and you shall find another inside, rather smaller: remove the second, and you shall come on a third, still smaller: and so on, till you reach the centre—the kernel, as it were, round which the different boxes were but successive shells. Now, of the globe of the World the Earth (they said) is the kernel (is it not often called 'the centre[4]'?); and—a stationary body itself—it is encased by numerous shells or Spheres: the number of the Spheres being a subject of dispute and varying in the different astronomical systems. Milton, accepting[5] for the purposes of his epic the Ptolemaic system as expanded by the astronomer Alphonsus X. of Castille, recognises ten Spheres. A Sphere, it should be noted, is merely a circular region of space—not necessarily of solid matter. Indeed, of the ten Spheres only one, the *Primum Mobile*, appears in Milton's description to consist of some material substance. Seven of them are the Spheres of the planets, i.e. the orbits in which the planets severally move.

[1] x. 320—24.

[2] I do not mean to imply that the Ptolemaic system was still generally believed in at the time when *P. L.* was published, but that it satisfied Elizabethan writers, of whom Milton was the last.

"On the slowness with which the Copernican theory was diffused, and especially Bacon's opposition to it, see Whewell's *History of the Inductive Sciences*, I. 404—12, ed. 1847. Copernicus died in 1543, and his opinions were introduced into England mainly through Giordano Bruno, who came over about 1583" (note in Clarendon Press ed. of *The Advancement of Learning*, p. 294).

[3] See the Myth of Er in the *Republic* 617, 618; and the note on *Arcades*, 64, where the passage is translated.

[4] Cf. perhaps I. 686; and certainly *The Winter's Tale*, II. I. 102, *Troilus and Cressida*, I. 3. 85.

[5] He was evidently familiar with the Copernican system (cf. IV. 592—97, VIII. 130—40, notes); and the question has been asked why he did not follow it in the poem. The Copernican theory was new, without a scrap of literary association and with no poetic terminology: whereas the Ptolemaic view and its delightful fictions as to the Spheres, their harmonies, and the like, had become a tradition of literature, expressed in terms that recalled Marlowe and Shakespeare and Jonson and the *sacri vates* of English verse. To surrender this poetic heritage merely out of deference to science had been impossible pedantry—a perverse concession to the cold philosophy that "empties the haunted air and unweaves the rainbow" (*Lamia*).

The order of the Spheres, which fit one within the other[1], is, if we start from the Earth as the stationary centre[2] of the Universe, as follows: first, the Spheres of the planets successively—the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn; then, outside the last of these (i.e. Saturn), the Firmament or Cælum Stellatum, in which are set the 'fixed stars'; then, outside the Firmament, the Crystalline Sphere; and last, the *Primum Mobile* enclosing all the others. Compare the famous lines (481—83) in book III. describing the passage of the souls of the departed from Earth to Heaven:

> "They pass the planets seven, and pass the fixed,
> And that crystalline sphere whose balance weighs
> The trepidation talked, and that first moved."

It remains to note three or four points in these lines. Milton treats the Sun and Moon as planets (v. 171—77, x. 651—58). Compare *Troilus and Cressida*, I. 3. 89, "the glorious planet Sol," and *Antony and Cleopatra*, v. 2. 240, 241:

> "now the fleeting moon
> No planet is of mine."

The 'fixed stars' are referred to four times in the poem—but only once (v. 176) with the word 'star' added: in the other places (III. 481, x. 661) they are called simply "the fixed" or "fixed" (v. 621). Though they are unmoved their Sphere revolves round the Earth, moving from East to West, completing a revolution in twenty-four hours, and carrying with it the seven inner Spheres[3]. The rapid motion of this Sphere is glanced at in v. 176 ("their orb[4] that flies"). The Crystalline Sphere and the *Primum Mobile* were not included in the original Ptolemaic system. They were added later, to explain certain phenomena which the earlier astronomers had not observed, and for which their theories offered no explanation. Thus the supposed swaying or "trepidation" of the Crystalline Sphere was held to be the cause of the precession of the equinoxes. This Sphere is described as a vast expanse of waters (see the note on VII. 261—74). It encircles the eight inner Spheres. The original notion may perhaps be traced to the waters "above the firmament" in *Genesis* i. 7. Compare the picture in VII. 270, 271 of the World

> "Built on circumfluous waters calm, in wide
> Crystalline ocean."

[1] Cf. Marlowe's *Faustus*, VI. 38, 39:

> "As are the elements, such are the spheres,
> Mutually folded in each other's orb."

[2] Cf. VIII. 32, "the sedentary Earth"; it is "self-balanced" (VII. 242) = "upon her centre poised" (v. 579).

[3] These have separate motions of their own.

[4] 'Orb' and 'Sphere' are interchangeable terms—when it suits Milton.

The main purpose that this "ocean" serves is to protect the Earth from the evil "influences" of Chaos; those "fierce extremes" of temperature which might penetrate through the outside shell (the *Primum Mobile*) and "distemper" the whole fabric of the Universe, did not this wall of waters interpose (VII. 269—73). The whole idea is well illustrated by the following passage from a curious old work entitled *The Treasurie of Auncient and Moderne Times* (1613):

"Aboue the Firmament, is the Heauen Christaline, or watry, which learned men are of the minde, that it was created by God aboue the other Heauens: to the ende that it might mitigate the great heat which the other Heauens acquired by their motions, and by the Stars being in them."

Keightley says that this Sphere was also known as the "Glacial."

Last comes the *Primum Mobile*[1], the "first[2] convex" of the World, i.e. the outside case of our box or puzzle. It is made, as we saw, of hard matter; but for its crust of substance Chaos would break in on the World, and Darkness make inroads (III. 419—21). The first moved itself, it communicates motion to the nine inner Spheres. In Elizabethan literature allusions to it are not infrequent: we will conclude by giving three. Compare Spenser, *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*:

> "these heavens still by degrees arize,
> Until they come to their first Movers bound,
> That in his mightie compasse doth comprize,
> And carry all the rest with him around";

and Marlowe, *Faustus*[3]:

> "He views the clouds, and planets, and the stars,
> The tropic zones, and quarters of the sky,
> From the bright circle of the horned moon
> Even to the height of *Primum Mobile*";

and Bacon, *Of Seditions and Troubles*: "for the motions of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under *Primum Mobile*."

[1] Dante's *primo giro* (*Purgatorio*, I. 15); see also the *Paradiso*, I. 123 and XIII. 24, where he makes the *Primum Mobile* represent the swiftest motion, and XXX. 107. He uses the expression "the First Mover" (*lo Motor primo*) in a different sense, viz. as a synonym of "The Almighty" (*Purgatorio*, XXV. 70).

[2] III. 419. To Satan coming from Chaos it is the first; in our calculation, as we started from the Earth, it is the last.

[3] Scene VI. *chorus*, 5—18, in the third Quarto, 1616; the passage is not in the two earlier editions of 1604 and 1609 (Ward).

B.

ON THE CHARACTER OF MILTON'S SATAN.

I have reserved for this *Appendix* notice of some points in Milton's delineation of the character of Satan. First, as to the rank which Milton assigns to him before his revolt, and the cause of that revolt. Milton speaks of Satan as an archangel[1]—"if not the first Archangel" (v. 660): that is, he is inclined to give Satan pre-eminence over all angelic beings. But this pre-eminence is not emphasised so much as we might have expected.

The immediate cause of the rebellion in Heaven is the proclamation that all should worship the Messiah as their Head (v. 600—15). Satan resents the command, conceiving himself "impaired" (v. 665) thereby; and he makes its pretended injustice a means of drawing away a third part of the angels from their allegiance. They are equal, he says, to the Messiah: self-begotten, not created: not liable to pay worship; and so, playing on their pride, he wins them (v. 772—802, 853—69). Meantime, in his own heart an even stronger motive is at work; to wit, ambition to be himself equal to the Deity—nay, superior. He not only disclaims submission to the Son: he strives "against the throne and monarchy" (I. 42) of the Almighty Himself; and it is as the foe rather of the Father than of the Son that the great archangel is set before us in *Paradise Lost*.

Touching both matters there was much tradition, whereof it may be interesting to cite two or three illustrations from popular works[2] with which Milton is likely to have been familiar. To take, for example, the English *Faust-book*: Faustus asks: "But how came lord and master Lucifer[3] to have so great a fall from Heaven? Mephistophiles answered, My lord Lucifer was a fair angel, created of God as immortal, and being placed in the Seraphims[4], which are above the Cherubims, he would have presumed upon the Throne of God...upon this presumption the Lord cast him down headlong, and where (i.e. whereas) before he was an angel of light, now dwells in darkness[5]."

[1] Contrast the first extract from the *Faust-book*, later on.

[2] I choose three works each of which may, I think, be regarded as a *résumé* of many of the current traditions of demonology. Two of the books—the *Faust-book*, 1592, and Scot's *Discourse on Devils*, 1584—were extremely popular, and personally I believe that Milton had studied both. Scot devotes several chapters to "Lucifer and his fall." The third work—Heywood's *Hierarchie*, 1635—is very serviceable to an editor of *Paradise Lost*.

[3] A common name of Satan.

[4] The highest of the Hierarchies. We may note the forms 'Seraphims,' 'Cherubims.'

[5] Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, III. 184.

Later on Faustus returns to the subject, enquiring "in what estimation his lord Lucifer was, when he was in favour with God": also touching his form and shape: to which Mephistophiles replies, "My lord Lucifer...was at the first an angel of God, yea he was so of God ordained for shape, pomp, authority, worthiness, and dwelling, that he far exceeded all the other creatures of God, and so illuminated that he far surpassed the brightness of the sun, and all the stars...but when he began to be high minded, proud and so presumptuous, that he would usurp the seat of God's Majesty, then was he banished[1]."

The *Faust-book*, it will be seen, agrees with Milton on both points; while, as regards one of them—Satan's rank—it is more explicit than *Paradise Lost*. Equally explicit is Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* (1635). There (p. 336) we read that of the angels Lucifer was first-created and chief:

> "As he might challenge a prioritie
> In his Creation, so aboue the rest
> A supereminence, as first and best."

Heywood mentions Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel, and adds (p. 337) that great as they were,

> "Yet aboue these was Lucifer instated,
> Honor'd, exalted, and much celebrated."

Reginald Scot goes even further, remarking[2] that according to the teaching of some divines Satan even after his fall exceeded in power any of the angelic host. It seems to me therefore something strange that Milton did not unequivocally invest Satan with superiority over all the angels.

As to Satan's motive Heywood[3] differs from Milton, making jealousy of mankind the cause; while Scot writes[4]: "Our schoolemen differ much in the cause of *Lucifer's* fall [some alleging one thing, some another, while] others saie, that his condemnation grew hereupon, for that he challenged the place of the Messias." This accords more with *Paradise Lost*, v. 661—65.

For Milton Satan is the type of pride. The type was already fixed. As an epithet of Lucifer 'proud' had passed into a proverb. Thus Gower said[5]:

> "For Lucifer with him that felle
> Bar pride with him into helle.
> There was pride of to grete cost
> Whan he for pride hath heven lost";

and Marlowe[6]:

[1] Thoms, III. 187.
[2] Nicholson's ed., p. 425.
[3] p. 339. [4] p. 423.
[5] *Confessio Amantis*, book I.
[6] *Faustus*, III. 67—69.

"*Faust.* How comes it, then, that he is prince of devils?
Meph. O, by aspiring pride and insolence;
For which God threw him from the face of heaven";

and Greene[1]:

"proud Lucifer fell from the heavens,
. . . . . .
Lucifer and his proud-hearted friends
Were thrown into the centre of the earth."

Dante had made him *il primo superbo*—that is, the archetype of all pride (*Paradiso*, XIX. 46; see also XXIX. 55—57).

Milton therefore did not wholly conceive or create the character of the arch-rebel. Tradition, literary no less than theological, prescribed the dominant idea in that nature: enough if Milton developed the idea in harmony with the design of his poem. This he did. He depicts Satan as an embodiment of the spirit of pride and ambition[2]: not the ambition which is an honourable desire of praise—that last infirmity of noble mind—but the fevered lust for power which springs from overmastering self-esteem. In Satan this spirit of egotism is the poison that permeates his whole being, vanquishing and vitiating all that is good in him.

For at the outset of the action of *Paradise Lost* Satan has much that is noble and attractive in his nature. To have made him wholly evil had repelled, and lessened the interest of the poem, which turns, in no slight degree, on the struggle between the good and evil elements in him. Indeed, this very pride is not without its good aspect. Herein lies the motive power that nerves him at every crisis to face insuperable difficulties; to cherish immortal hope—though hope of revenge; and to adventure "high attempts."

On the other hand, it is this same spirit that drives him onward to his final fall. If at any moment he is minded to repent and submit—through pity for the friends whom he has ruined, or mankind whom he schemes to ruin, or himself—through sense of his ingratitude (IV. 42—45) towards the Almighty—whatever the motive—relentless, resistless egotism sweeps aside compunction, and denies him retreat. To sue for grace were to humble himself in the eyes of his followers and in his own: which must not be (IV. 79—86).

Steadily does Milton keep this idea before us. There is no possibility of missing or mistaking his intention. The very word 'pride' recurs[3] like some persistent refrain, ringing clearest at the great crises, the fateful moments when the action of the epic enters on a fresh stage. There are moments of relenting: as when in the fourth book (27 *et seq.*)

[1] *Friar Bacon*, IX. 59, 65, 66.
[2] Cf. Satan's own words in IV. 40.
[3] Cf. I. 36, 58, 527, 572, 603—with many other examples.

Satan looks down upon Eden from his resting-place on Mount Niphates, and a brief while is inclined to give up his attempt and seek re-admission into Heaven; or as when in the ninth book (455—72) he sees Eve in the Garden and is touched by her beauty and innocence, and disarmed of his ill thoughts. Always, however, the end is the same: "the hot hell" of pride in his heart breaks anew into flame; and he goes forward to his work[1]. Had not pride led him to undertake it?

Satan's resolve to compass the fall of man is prompted by several feelings—each a phase of self-esteem. There is jealousy. Man has usurped his place—dispossessed him and his followers. At sight of Adam and Eve he exclaims (IV. 358—60):

> "O Hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold?
> Into our room of bliss thus high advanced
> Creatures of other mould, Earth-born perhaps!"

The same feeling finds expression in almost the same words later on (IX. 148, 149). That others should receive favour from the Almighty —and, as he thinks, at his expense—wounds his pride.

Again, there is desire to assert his supremacy by undertaking an office from which the mightiest of his followers recoil in fear. Nowhere does Satan stand forth so eminent and sublime "with monarchal pride" as in the scene in the second book where he proffers himself for the great enterprise. The counsel of Beelzebub has been applauded by all (386—89): but who will carry it out? None dare: and then Satan, proclaiming his readiness, once more confirms his sovereignty. Here too pride has ruled.

But the strongest motive remains: desire

> "To wreak on innocent frail Man his loss
> Of that first battle, and his flight to Hell[2]."

"To spite the great Creator" (II. 384, 385) he will bring ruin on the earth and its inhabitants: which, if not victory, were revenge. The notion flatters his self-conceit. It is born of the old pride. And Milton dwells on it with fitting insistence[3].

Is Satan the 'hero' of *Paradise Lost*? We might think so did we not read beyond the first four books. But to trace his history in the poem to its inglorious close is to dispel the impression. Milton can scarcely intend that we should regard as 'hero'—as worthy of sustained admiration—one who passes from the splendour of archangelic being to the state of a loathsome reptile[4]. The hideous metamorphosis in X. 504—32 is the necessary contrast to those scenes at the beginning of the epic in which the great rebel does appear in heroic grandeur: and we must look on both pictures. If *Paradise Lost* narrates the fall of man, it

[1] Cf. Mr Stopford Brooke's admirable *Study* of Milton, p. 148.
[2] IV. 11, 12. [3] Cf. VI. 905, 906. [4] Cf. Satan's words in IX. 163—71.

narrates too—and no less clearly—the fall of man's tempter. The self-degradation of Satan is complete: outward and inward: of the form and of the spirit: a change—ever for the worse—of shape and mind and emotion.

There is the outward sign. Before his expulsion he is pre-eminently a lustrous being, clothed with ethereal radiance and glory—so much does his name "Lucifer" argue[1]. And afterwards he retains something of this "original brightness," though much has passed from him (I. 97, 591—94). But gradually what was left decreases in proportion as the evil in him prevails: so that Uriel perceives the foul passions that dim his face (IV. 124—30), while Gabriel marks his "faded splendour wan" (IV. 870), and the Cherub Zephon taunts him therewith (IV. 835—40). Equal is his loss of physical force. On the fields of Heaven he does not fear to meet Michael in combat (VI. 246 *et seq.*): in the Garden of Eden he doubts himself a match for Adam:

> "Foe not informidable! exempt from wound,
> I not; so much hath Hell debased, and pain[2]
> Enfeebled me, to what I was in Heaven."

In fact, he is glad that he has to deal with the woman—not the man (IX. 479—88).

Nor this because of lost strength alone. He shuns the "higher intellectual" of Adam (IX. 483), who would be better able than Eve to see through his arguments and so resist temptation. He is conscious of his own decline in intellect. The strong intelligence which inspires his speeches in the first two books has degenerated, by perverse use, into mere sophistical slyness, a base cunning—even as wine may lose its savour and turn to vinegar. He is no more the mighty-minded archangel: he is naught but the serpent—"subtlest beast of all the field." Lastly, every impulse in him towards good has died out. The element of nobility that redeemed his character at the outset from absolute baseness has been killed. In evil he moves and has his being, so that himself confesses "all good to me becomes bane"; and in destroying lies his sole delight (IX. 114—30).

Hardly therefore shall we believe that Milton meant us to see in the fallen and ever-falling archangel the hero of *Paradise Lost*. One feels, rather, that there is a break at the end of the fourth book and that thenceforth the continuity of Satan's characterisation is truer to theology than poetry. The hero, if there be one, is Adam, in whom suffering works a purification that promises nobler things to come; or Messiah.

[1] Cf. VII. 131, note, and the second extract from the *Faust-book*, and Marlowe, *Faustus*, V. 155:

> "beautiful
> As was bright Lucifer before his fall."

[2] See I. 55, VI. 327, notes.

C.

PARADISE LOST, I. 361—75; II. 274, 275, 397—402.

These[1] passages (with several in *Paradise Regained*) are illustrated by the following in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, I. iv. 3: "The fall of the angels was pride. Since their fall, their practices have been the clean contrary unto those before mentioned. For being dispersed, some in the air, some on the earth, some in the water, some[2] among the minerals, dens, and caves, that are under the earth; they have by all means laboured to effect a universal rebellion against the laws, and as far as in them lieth utter destruction of the works of God. These wicked spirits the heathens honoured instead of gods, both generally under the name of *dii inferi*, 'gods infernal'; and particularly, some in oracles[3], some in idols[4], some as household gods, some as nymphs: in a word, no foul and wicked spirit which was not one way or other honoured of men as God, till such time as light appeared in the world and dissolved the works of the Devil." The interest of this passage is that Hooker identifies the fallen angels (1) with the heathen—more especially classical—deities, (2) with the dæmons supposed to inhabit the four[5] 'elements.' This twofold identification accords with the apparently universal belief of mediæval writers. The precise steps whereby it was reached cannot perhaps be determined; but the process may have been on this wise.

The belief in the existence of dæmons is as old as Hesiod's time; cf. the *Works and Days* 121—26. It is found *passim* in Greek philosophy. The character attributed to these dæmons varies in the different authorities. In a rough generalisation we may say that they were regarded as semi-divine powers intermediate between gods and men. Their dwelling-place also varies: Æschylus (*Persæ* 628) describes them as χθόνιοι; Plato[6] (*Cratylus* 398 A) as ὑποχθόνιοι. The theory which assigns the air as their special abode, and which is brought forward very prominently in *Paradise Regained*, dates from Neo-

[1] I have to thank Mr R. D. Hicks for many of the references used in this sketch; in fact, all the classical material in sections C and D is derived from him.
[2] Cf. Plato's δαίμονες ὑποχθόνιοι.
[3] Cf. the second passage quoted later on from Zeller.
[4] Alluding perhaps to *Ps.* xcvi. 5—see later.
[5] Hooker omits the dæmons of fire (= Philo's τὰ πυρίγονα?).
[6] He is quoting Hesiod, *l. c.* (where, however, our texts have ἐπιχθόνιοι).

Pythagorean writers[1]. Now the tendency of Greek popular superstition and of later philosophy was to merge these dæmons in the gods: a tendency traceable as far back as Democritus[2]. He (says Zeller[3]) "may be regarded as the first who, mediating between philosophers and the popular religion, entered upon the course so often pursued in after times, viz. that of degrading the gods of polytheism into dæmons." This course is carried further by the Neo-Pythagoreans—for whom, "as for the other philosophers of that time, dæmons take the place of the popular gods in all cases where what is attributed to the gods was found irreconcileable with a purer conception of the divinity, and yet was not altogether to be denied. Divination[4] proceeded from them, expiations were made to them: Timæus Locrus even affirms that the gods committed to them the government of the world" (Zeller[5]). And this identification of gods and dæmons is completed in Philo Judæus[6] and Rabbinical writers. Not to multiply proofs, we may take a single illustration which will readily occur to most readers, viz. 1 *Cor.* x. 20, where St Paul (influenced, I presume, by Rabbinical teaching and Greek philosophy) expressly, and appropriately since he is writing to Greeks, calls the divinities of the Gentiles δαιμόνια[7]. The notion may be traced in many patristic works.

The next step is the identification of the dæmons with the fallen angels. This is made by Philo, who treats the dæmons as intermediaries or messengers (ἄγγελοι) between God and the world, and says that they are the beings whom Moses calls angels—οὓς ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι δαίμονας, ἀγγέλους Μωϋσῆς εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν, ψυχαὶ δ' εἰσὶν κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα πετόμεναι[8]. This identification is also a Rabbinical doctrine. It suffices for our purpose again to recall St Paul's words in *Ephes.* ii. 2, where Satan, chief of the fallen angels, is termed "the prince of the power of the air," i.e. lord of the dæmons of the air.

The dæmons, then, having been identified on the one hand with the heathen gods, and on the other with the fallen angels, the identification of the fallen angels with the heathen gods naturally followed. Hence

[1] i.e. from the first century B.C. onwards. "They imagine the dæmons to be souls dwelling in the space between the earth and the moon, and occupying, alike in virtue of their nature and their abode, a place intermediate between gods and men"—Zeller (*Philosophie der Griechen*, III. 2, p. 138); he cites various Neo-Pythagoreans, summarising their views thus.

[2] *Circa* 420 B.C.

[3] *Pre-Socratics*, English trans., II. p. 289.

[4] Cf. Hooker, *ante*; *Nat. Ode*, 175 (note); *P. R.* I. 430, 431, where the Saviour says to Satan (prince of the dæmons), "all oracles by thee are given."

[5] *Philosophie der Griechen*, III. 2, p. 139.

[6] B.C. 30—A.D. 40 (*circa*).

[7] The same word is used in the Septuagint in *Psalm* xcvi. 5, where the A.V. has "idols." Cf. Hooker, *ante*, and *P. L.* I. 375.

[8] *De Gigant.* 285 A (263, 7).

it is common to find all three treated as the same in patristic and mediæval works. This is Hooker's view; it is also Milton's. The identity of the fallen angels and the heathen gods is stated so explicitly in *P. L.* I. 361—75 that it were superfluous to dwell on the point. The identity of the fallen angels and the dæmons[1] is less emphasised in *P. L.* (but see II. 274, 275, 397—402, notes). In *P. R.* it is conspicuous. As a signal illustration *P. R.* II. 121—26 may be instanced.

D.

PARADISE LOST, I. 515—17.

What are we to understand by the expressions "the middle air" (*P. L.* I. 516) and "the middle region of air" (*P. R.* II. 117), the meaning of which would appear to be the same? Most editors are silent on the subject; some interpret "middle"='between heaven and earth.' This view, though possible, does not appear to me wholly satisfactory, and I venture to offer another—that Milton alludes in both places to a theory, evidently current at that time, of the division of the air into three regions, and that "middle region" is really a quasi-scientific term (*media regio*) which would be perfectly intelligible to all scholars of the 17th century. As to the history of this threefold division: the first hints of it that fell in my way were the passage in the *Adamus Exul* of Grotius and one in Jonson's *Masque of Hymen* (*ad fin.*). The combined evidence of these led to the conclusion that the threefold partition must have been a conception then recognised: not indeed a classical conception, but experience had often shown that in such matters Milton's views are post-classical, what one may vaguely call 'mediæval.' The kindness of Mr R. D. Hicks enables me to throw some light on a doctrine which, in my opinion, fits the two Miltonic passages with extreme appositeness. Of the references with which Mr Hicks has supplied me space will admit but two or three.

First, then, the following extracts from the works of Bartholomæus Keckermann[2], the German *savant*, are important as coming from what may be considered a compendium of contemporary science. Keckermann is speaking of the divisions of the air; and he remarks that there are two main theories as to its partition—the older and less correct which

[1] i.e. the dæmons of all four 'elements,' not of air alone.

[2] *D. Bartholomæi Keckermanni Dantiscani operum omnium quæ exstant Tomus Primus. Genevæ. Apud Petrum Aubertum.* MDCXIV.

postulates two regions, the modern and more accurate which recognises three. He says: *Aristoteles atque adeò veteres Physici locum aeris dividunt in πρότερον & δεύτερον, id est, primum & secundum, sive superiorem & inferiorem...Recentiores autem accuratius paulò totum illud spacium* (sic) *aereum partiti sunt in tres partes sive regiones...Perfectior sive accuratior distinctio aeris est in tres regiones, nempe in Supremam, Mediam & Infimam.* The genesis of this doctrine he traces thus: *Distinctio ista...ab interpretibus Aristotelis primum tradita fuit, nempe ab Averroe*[1], *a Themistio*[2] *& Simplicio*[3], *& deinde latius explicata ab Alberto*[4] *M. & aliis Scholasticis, idque potissimum eo fine, ut doctrina meteorum clarior atque illustrior fieret* (as for sundry other reasons[5]). He discusses at some length the characteristics of each region; and though we are most concerned with what he has to say of the middle region (*media*)—his remarks being founded on what Albertus had written—we may just note that he represents the upper region (*suprema*) as the driest and hottest, and the lowest region (*infima*) as hot, through radiation from the surface of the earth heated by the sun's rays, but also moist. Now as to the *media regio* he writes (1) that it is peculiarly cold—(*a*) because vapours collect there from land and sea, (*b*) because of its reaction (*ἀντιπερίστασις*) against the heat of the upper and lower regions; (2) that, beginning where the sun's rays lose their power—its lowest point earthwards—it reaches to the tops of the loftiest mountains —its highest point heavenwards. The diameter of this belt of air is computed by some at seven English miles.

Keckermann has referred above to his authorities; let us glance at Albertus Magnus. In his *Commentary* on the *Meteora* Albertus has a chapter[6] headed, *Quare non sunt nubes in superiori regione aeris, sed in media tantum.* Here, after discussing the upper and lower regions, he adds, *est autem in medio duarum regionum, scilicet superioris æstuosæ, & inferioris calidæ & humidæ, tertia aeris zona sive regio...quæ est valde frigida et excellentis frigiditatis.* And then he goes on to explain how vapour gathers there—*infra altissimos montes*—and condenses and forms clouds, so that this middle region is the gathering place for rain[7]. Later[8] he writes to the same effect—*tria sunt aeris interstitia, infimum*

[1] A.D. 1120—98.
[2] A.D. 330—90.
[3] *Circa* A.D. 536.
[4] A.D. 1193—1280.
[5] Cf. *op. cit.* col. 1446.
[6] *Liber* I., *Tractatus* I., *Caput* VIII.
[7] Cf. the passage in Jonson; it is a description of some scenery used in the *Masque of Hymen*, which represented "the three regions of air": the middle region "all of dark and condensed clouds, as being the proper place where rain, hail, and other watery meteors are made"; or as Averroes puts it—*in quo fiunt pluvia et nix et grando* (*Meteorologicorum Lib.* I., *Cap.* IV.).
[8] *Liber* II., *Tract.* I., *Cap.* III.

& medium & supremum...medium frigidum excellenter & humidum. Now let us summarise the results of these descriptions of the *media regio*, and see how they apply to the Miltonic "middle region."

(1) The *media regio* is the place of clouds and heavy vapours; cf. *P. R.* I. 39—41, where Satan

> "in mid air
> To council summons all his mighty peers,
> Within thick clouds and dark tenfold involved,"

and *P. R.* II. 117, where Satan ascends "Up to the middle region of thick air." Cf. also the piece *In Quintum Novembris*, 12, where M. makes this region the gathering-place of storms: *Hic tempestates medio ciet aëre diras* (the subject of the verb being Satan); and his Latin academic "prolusion" *De Spherarum Concentu*, where he mentions *media aëris regio*.

(2) It is peculiarly cold; and 'cold' is the precise epithet used in *P. L.* I. 516. Cf. *The Death of a Fair Infant*, 16, "Through *middle* empire of the *freezing* air."

(3) It extends to the top of high mountains; and Mount Olympus is the dwelling-place of the deities who "rule the middle air," *P. L.* I. 515, 516. Cf. the *Vacation Exercise*, 41, 42.

(4) It is capped by another, perhaps broader, belt of air; and in *P. L.* I. 517 Milton expressly sneers at the "highest heaven" of the classical deities as not being so very high after all—which, according to the whole system of this theory, is true enough.

It appears to me therefore that the explanation suggested fits the passages at every turn. I imagine that to many of Milton's readers, as to many of the spectators of Jonson's *Masque*, the notion of the three regions was perfectly familiar[1]. From the frequency of Milton's own references to it we may infer that it appealed to his imagination.

E.

PARADISE LOST, I. 582—87.

The enumeration of proper names is a favourite device with M., as with many other poets, notably Vergil. Cf. the *Nativity Ode*, one of his earliest poems (1629), *P. L.* XI. 388—411, *P. R.* III. 270 *et seq.* The

[1] It has been pointed out to me that this conception of the *media regio* is expounded in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, a work so familiar to Milton; see Grosart's ed., I. 31. For another illustrative passage, cf. Burton's *Anatomy*, ninth ed., I. 380.

charm of such passages lies in the musical sound of the names, in their historical or literary associations, and in the impression of vague remoteness and mystery that they convey. Bentley, however, with something more than his usual infelicity as a critic of M., omitted lines 579—87 (from "what resounds" to "Fontarabbia") as being "Romantic Trash—a heap of barbarous Words." Even Keightley opined that the names are chosen "somewhat at random": whereas, in truth, each has been carefully selected by M. for its associations.

In "all who since" Milton is thinking—mainly—of the great Italian poems of chivalry with their accounts of contests between the Christians ("baptized") and Saracens ("infidel"—see 763—66, note): e.g. Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore*, 1481—see the *Areopagitica*, *P. W.* II. 64; Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, 1495, recast by Berni, 1541—see *P. R.* III. 338—43; Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, 1516, of which there was a famous English version by Sir John Harington, 1591—see the extract from Ariosto in *Of Reformation*, *P. W.* II. 383; and Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. In a letter from Florence (1638), and elsewhere, M. manifests his delight in Italian literature.

Aspramont (583) is situate 6 miles north of Nice. In Hexham's *Mercator* (1636) I find it marked in the map of Provence, and again in that of Italy. The castle belonging to the great family of the Counts of Aspramont may still be seen. Probably the literary allusion is to the *Orlando Furioso*, XII. 43, where Aspramont is mentioned as the scene of a feat of arms performed by Orlando; and M. may have known an Italian poem, entitled *L'Aspramonte* and published at Venice in 1532—itself, possibly, based on the French 'Chanson de Geste' *Aspremont*, which deals with Charlemagne's conquest of Apulia. In any case, it is pretty clear that 'Aspramont' was a name familiar to readers of mediæval romances of chivalry: and does not Scott tell us of jousts at the castle of Aspramont for the hand of the 'Lady of Aspramonte' (*Count Robert of Paris*)? Also, as M. in his journey to Italy, rejecting the route by Marseilles to Genoa which Sir Henry Wotton recommended (see *Comus*), passed through Nice (so he says in the *Defensio Secunda*), he may conceivably have visited the famous castle, and viewed the scene of the exploits of Orlando and other knights. The notion that Asprement in the Netherlands is meant need only be mentioned to be dismissed.

Montalban, or Montauban, is another famous name. It was the castle, in Languedoc, of the Knight Renaud, the Rinaldo of Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore* and Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*. In the English romance "The Foure Sonnes of Aymon" (published by Caxton, about 1489), Montalban is constantly mentioned as the scene of conflicts be-

tween Charlemagne's troops and Renaud who is besieged there (see the Early English Text Society's ed., pp. 395—422). Rodd in his *Spanish Ballads* (1812) gives one "The Ancient Ballad of Count Claros of Montalban" (and another "The Ancient Ballad of the Battle of Roncesvalles").

In "Damasco" the literary allusion is probably to the *Orlando Furioso*. In Harington's version the 'Argument' to book XVII. says, "Martano at Damasco tilts"; stanzas 12—20 of that book describe the city, with the meeting of the champions there, and stanzas 58—73 their tournaments and jousts. No doubt, too, M. was thinking of Damascus as the scene of battles in times of the Crusades; cf. Greene, *Friar Bacon*, IV. 27, "The virtuous fame discoursèd of his deeds...Done at the Holy Land 'fore Damas' walls," and VIII. 113, "that famous Prince...Who at Damasco beat the Saracens." Note that M. uses the form 'Damasco' here, but 'Damascus' at 468: the one suggests the mediæval, the other the Scriptural, city.

In "Marocco" the wars between the Spaniards and the Moors are meant. The form *Marocco*, given in the original editions here and in XI. 404, is closer to the Arabic form *Marrákush*.

Trebisond, Gk. Trapezus, in Cappadocia, was the seat of the empire of the family of the Grand-Komnenos from A.D. 1204 to 1461, when the city was captured by Mohammed. Writers of the Middle Age and later historians (Gibbon has only a brief allusion, VII. 327) celebrate the extraordinary splendour of the court and magnificence of the city. "Never," says the historian of Trebizond, Professor Fallmerayer, "was there a land more fitted to provide material for romances of chivalry (*Rittergeschichten*)": Trebizond "became in popular romance and in the imagination of the Italians and Provençals one of the most famous empires of the east, and the rallying point of the youth and flower of Asia" (*Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt*). Now the great exemplar of this romance associated with Trebizond (whose splendours would naturally be reflected on Western Europe through an Italian medium) was a heroic novel, *Il Caloandro*, or *Il Caloandro Fedele*, written by Giovanni Ambrosio Marini of Genoa, published at Bologna in 1641 (but I am not sure that this was the 1st ed.), and often reprinted. This work, which had some historical basis, was one of the most famous romances of the 17th cent. Twice translated into French (by Monsieur de Scudéry, brother of the novelist, and by the Comte de Caylus), it may have been Englished—as was another novel by Marini, *The Desperadoes*; and it seems to me quite likely that M. was thinking of it here, or at any rate that many of his readers would think of it. Those who knew the novel would recall the numerous jousts and

tournaments which take place at the court of Trebizond, e.g. the great combat in book XXI. (it is a vast story) between the three champions of the princess Tigrinde and the three representatives of the Persian and Tartar armies—with many similar scenes. It is worth while to add that the author (Cardinal Bessarion) of the curious *Laus Trapezuntis* dwells on its tournaments and games as a special feature of the court; and to remember how Scott makes the Templar say to Rebecca, "I won him (his horse, Zamor) in single fight from the Soldan of Trebizond" (*Ivanhoe*, chap. xliv.).

In line 585 the historical reference is to the Moorish invaders of Spain, the literary to book II. of the *Orlando Innamorato*, where we read how Agramant, 'King of Africa,' assembled his troops at Biserta (the ancient Utica) for invasion of Christendom, landed in Spain, and came up with the army of Charlemagne, when "a bloody battle ensued."

The event to which M. refers in lines 586, 587, was this: Charlemagne, who had entered Spain to attack the Saracens, was retreating into France, A.D. 778; his army had to pass through the defile of Roncesvalles (or Roncesvaux) in N.W. Spain; Charlemagne himself, with main body, had got through the pass, when the rear-guard, through Ganelon's treachery, was attacked in the pass by the Gascons (or Basques), and cut to pieces, among those who perished being the famous Roland, whose death became the subject of numberless 'Chansons de Gestes,' such as the great *Song of Roland* (see Eginhardus, *Vita Caroli Magni*, cap. 9).

Fontarabbia is 40 miles from Roncesvalles: why does M. place the disaster at the former? Some will have it that he chose Fontarabbia because the name has a very pretty sound, and that "by Fontarabbia" was quite accurate enough, in poetry. Some again say that M. followed the historian Mariana and 'other Spanish writers.' Mariana, however, does not mention Fontarabbia at all, but gives the ordinary version, that the battle was at Roncesvalles. There may be some literary allusion not yet traced. Scott happily combines the two names, *Marmion*, VI. 33:

> "O, for a blast of that dread horn,
> On Fontarabian echoes borne,
> That to king Charles did come,
> When Rowland brave, and Olivier,
> And every paladin and peer,
> On Roncesvalles died."

It was at Fontarabbia that Wellington forced his way into France against Soult, over the ford of the river Bidassoa.

M. represents Charlemagne as having fallen in the fight, whereas he lived till 814. Here again Milton's authority is not known; though Mariana does speak of Charlemagne dying through chagrin at his defeat soon after. But perhaps "fell" means 'was overthrown'; as Dante says, "lost the holy emprise" (*Inferno*, XXXI. 16—18).

Montaigne introduces the name *Fontarabie* in a short historical anecdote in his *Essay* (I. xv.) entitled "Of the punishment of Cowardise" in Florio's translation (1603).

It may just be added that "peer"—cf. "peerage"—is the word regularly used of Charlemagne's nobles in the old poems and prose-romances translated from the French; such as Caxton's *Lyfe of Charles the grete of France* (1485) and the *Foure Sonnes of Aymon* (1489, Caxton), both reprinted by the Early English Text Society. Cf. *Huon of Burdeux*, where it is said that at the battle of Roncesvalles "al y° xii peres of france were slayne, except one" (p. 2).

F.

PARADISE LOST, I. 737.

According to a mediæval belief the Heavenly beings were divided into three Hierarchies, and each Hierarchy was subdivided into three Orders or Choirs. These Orders comprised the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones (θρόνοι), forming the first Hierarchy; Dominations (κυριότητες), Virtues (δυνάμεις) and Powers (ἐξουσίαι), forming the second; Principalities (ἀρχαί), Archangels and Angels, forming the third. This system was deduced, in the main, from St Paul's words in *Ephes.* i. 21 and *Colos.* i. 16. First formulated in the treatise περὶ τῆς οὐρανίας ἱεραρχίας, which was long attributed, though falsely, to Dionysius the Areopagite, the notion had great influence in the Middle Ages; cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, X. 115—17, XXVIII. 98—126. Allusions to it are frequent in Elizabethan writers. Works from which many illustrations of the system might be quoted are:—*Batman vppon Bartholome* (1582), Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), Thomas Watson's *Eglogue* (1590), the *Faust-book* (1587), Spenser's *Fowre Hymnes* (*Heavenly Love and Heavenly Beautie*), Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, I. vi. 3, Drummond, *Flowers of Sion* (*Works*, II. 42, 51), Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, I. lviii., and Heywood's *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels* (1635), which deals with the subject at great length.

Milton accepted[1] the tradition and made it the basis of the whole angelical system of *Paradise Lost*.

Each of the Orders possessed some special quality. The Seraphim were the "burning" lustrous beings; cf. Spenser, *An Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, 95, 96:

"And those eternall burning Seraphins,
Which from their faces dart out fierie light."

This conception, due probably to the false derivation of *Seraphim* from a root signifying 'to burn,' determines Milton's choice of epithets for this Order of Hierarchies. It is a common allusion in the poets; cf. the *Essay on Man*, I. 109, 110 (of the "poor Indian"):

"To be, contents his natural desire,
He asks no angel's wings, no Seraph's fire";

and again 277, 278. So the Seraphim "are represented in medieval art with the colour of flame or crimson."

The Cherubim had a wondrous power of vision: hence their main duty in *Paradise Lost* is to keep watch. See IV. 778—80. And through this power of vision they enjoyed in a peculiar degree the *Visio Beatifica* or faculty of "contemplating" the Deity. In the words of the treatise *περὶ τῆς ἱεραρχίας* they were distinguished *διὰ τὸ θεοπτικὸν αὐτῶν καὶ θεωρητικόν*. And this notion is the key to that difficult line (54) in *Il Penseroso*, "The Cherub Contemplation."

The archangels were, as their name implied, the "chief messengers" of the Almighty and the intermediaries between him and Man. Cf. Reginald Scot, "As for archangels, they are sent onlie about great and secret matters"; and Heywood, "The Archangels are Embassadors, great matters to declare." Hence Milton makes Raphael in book V. and Michael in books XI., XII., each one of the seven archangels referred to in III. 648—53, the bearers of messages and charges from the Almighty to Adam.

One other point in which Milton follows mediæval tradition with regard to the Heavenly beings may be noticed. Descriptions like those in book III. 625—28 and 636—42 are purely traditional. We must compare them with the presentment of angels in works of early Christian art. Poets and painters alike drew upon religious tradition and expressed it by certain conventional details. And this presentment of angelic beings contained a considerable element of symbolism. In *Batman vppon Bartholome*, II. iii., iv., there is a long discourse on the

[1] Thus in *The Reason of Church Government*, I. 2, he says, "the angels themselves...are distinguished and quaternioned into their celestial princedoms and satrapies," *P. W.* II. 442. He several times uses the special terms "Orders" and "Hierarchies"—cf. *P. L.* I. 737, V. 591, VII. 192; while the titles "Seraphim," "Thrones," "Dominations," "Virtues" etc. occur constantly.

attributes which painters assign to angels and on their symbolical significance. The following brief extracts from it illustrate Milton's pictures of Uriel and the "stripling Cherub": "When Angells are paynted with long lockes and crispe haire, thereby is understoode their cleane affections and ordinate thoughts. For the hayre of the head betokeneth thoughts and affections that doe spring out of the roote of thought and minde...And they be painted beardles: for to take consideration and heede, that they passe never the state of youth, neyther waxe feeble in vertues, neither faile for age...Truely they be paynted feathered and winged...[as a sign that] they be lifted up in effect and knowledge, and rauished to the uttermost contemplation of the loue of God."

G.

PARADISE LOST, III. 22—26.

"Drop serene" is a literal rendering of *gutta serena*, the technical Latin term for "complete amaurosis," i.e. amaurosis or disease of the optic nerve in its worst form. It involves total blindness. "Suffusion" (Greek *ὑπόχυμα*, Latin *suffusio*) was also a technical term, employed then by medical writers to denote imperfection or loss of sight in general, whether caused by cataract or by affection of the nervous structure. Blindness of the latter type is sometimes called *suffusio nigra*.

Milton's blindness was probably due to amaurosis, since that disease commonly makes no external change in the eye. Thus he says in the *Second Defence*, "so little do they [his eyes] betray any external appearance of injury, that they are as unclouded and bright as the eyes of those who most distinctly see" (*P. W.* I. 235).

Cf. also his second *Sonnet* to Cyriack Skinner:

"Cyriack, this three years' day these eyes, though clear,
To outward view, of blemish or of spot,
Bereft of light, their seeing have forgot."

His weakness of sight was evidently inherited from his mother. Aubrey in his *Life* of Milton says: "His father read without spectacles at 84. His mother had very weake sight."

Milton undoubtedly believed that his loss of physical eyesight was compensated by increased spiritual illumination:

"So much the rather thou, celestial Light,
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate" (III. 51—53).

With these lines we may compare a sentence in one of his letters:

"why should I not submit with complacency to this loss of sight, which seems only withdrawn from the body without, to increase the sight of the mind within?" (*P. W.* III. 513). He writes to the same effect in the *Second Defence*: "Let me then be the most feeble creature alive, as long as that feebleness serves to invigorate the energies of my rational and immortal spirit; as long as in that obscurity, in which I am enveloped, the light of the divine presence more clearly shines, then, in proportion as I am weak, I shall be invincibly strong; and in proportion as I am blind, I shall see more clearly. O! that I may thus be perfected by feebleness, and irradiated by obscurity. And, indeed, in my blindness, I enjoy in no inconsiderable degree the favour of the Deity, who regards me with more tenderness and compassion in proportion as I am able to behold nothing but himself" (*P. W.* I. 239). Cf. *Samson Agonistes*, 162, 163 and 1687—89; and Wordsworth, *The Excursion*, I. 95.

One of the finest allusions in literature to Milton's affliction is in Gray's lines on him in *The Progress of Poesy*; as the third couplet of them contains a reference to *Paradise Lost*, III. 380—82, they may not inappropriately be cited here:

> "Nor second He, that rode sublime
> Upon the seraph-wings of Extasy,
> The secrets of th' Abyss to spy.
> He pass'd the flaming bounds of Place and Time:
> The living Throne, the sapphire blaze,
> Where Angels tremble, while they gaze,
> He saw; but, blasted with excess of light,
> Clos'd his eyes in endless night."

Dryden seems to have anticipated Gray in the reference; cf. *The Hind and the Panther*, I. 64—69:

> "But gracious God, how well dost Thou provide
> For erring judgments an unerring guide!
> Thy throne is darkness in the abyss of light,
> A blaze of glory that forbids the sight.
> O teach me to believe Thee thus concealed,
> And search no farther than Thy self revealed."

H.

PARADISE LOST, III. 431—39.

The geography of this passage has been criticised adversely on the assumption that "Imaus" must mean the Himálayas. A bird flying from the Himálayas to the sources of the Ganges would not pass over

any part of 'Sericana,' by which, probably, the north-west angle of the Chinese Empire was signified. Masson, to meet the supposed difficulty, argues that the vulture is not said to start from Imaus: it is only "bred" there. But I think that Milton does mean us to regard Imaus as the starting-point of the bird's flight.

"Imaus," however, need not mean the Himálayas in this passage. True, the earlier classical geographers applied "Imaus" to the Himálayas (the names being cognate); but in Ptolemy and later writers the name is transferred to the great chain of mountains, the Bolor range, which runs through Central Asia from North to South, dividing the Chinese Empire from Turkestan. And this later use[1] of "Imaus" appears to have been that recognised by geographers of the 17th century. Perhaps the best known collection of maps issued in England between 1600 and 1650 was the English edition[2] of Mercator's *Atlas*, doubtless known to Milton.

Now, in Mercator's map of *Tartaria* there is marked a chain of mountains called *Imaus Mons*. It extends, roughly speaking, from the north-eastern corner of the modern Afghanistan to the "Frozen Ocean," i.e. Arctic Ocean. Its course is due North and South. When Milton speaks of "Imaus" which bounds the "roving *Tartars*," he means, I doubt not, this *Imaus Mons* which is so conspicuous in Mercator's *Tartaria*. And any one who could consult this rare *Atlas* would perceive at once the accuracy of Milton's description. For the northern part of *Imaus Mons* does "bound" the Tartar, separating his country from Russia; and a vulture starting from this northern part and flying southward to the Ganges *would* pass over the north-west plains of the Chinese Empire. Judged therefore from the 17th century standpoint the geography of the passage is quite correct. Of course, very little was known then about Central Asia. Mercator frankly calls it "that vast and unknown region."

Allusions to the passage occur in the *Dunciad*, III. 76, "He [the Emperor of China] whose long wall the wandering Tartar bounds," and in Thomson's *Autumn*:

> "From Asian Taurus, from Imaus stretch'd
> Athwart the roving Tartar's sullen bounds."

[1] Cf. Pliny's *Natural History*: "Above those, are other *Scythians* called Anthropophagi...within a certain vale of the mountaine Imaus," Philemon Holland's translation, 1601, p. 154.

[2] Hexham's, 1636.

I.

PARADISE LOST, IV. 275—79.

The key to this passage, as Bishop Newton pointed out, is in Diodorus Siculus III. 67—70. Diodorus relates various legends as to the birth of Dionysus or Bacchus; amongst them is the following.

There was a King of *Libya* named *Ammon*. He married *Rhea*, daughter of the god Uranus. By a maiden called *Amaltheia* he had a son. To save the mother and child from the jealousy of *Rhea*, Ammon hid them in a place called *Nysa*, on an island off the Mediterranean coast of Libya, not far from the modern Tunis. It was "girt with the river *Triton*" (περιεχομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ), and a spot of most singular beauty and fertility. Here the infant was brought up in a cave; and Ammon appointed the goddess Athene to guard him "against the plots of his *step-mother Rhea*" (πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς μητρυιᾶς Ῥέας ἐπιβουλάς). The child grew up, showed wonderful wisdom, and having invented wine, became the god of wine. He was named "Dio*nysus*" from *Nysa* his place of nurture.

This monarch *Ammon* is evidently a kind of deity, and Milton identifies him with the god whom the Greeks called *Zeus Ammon* and the Romans *Jupiter Ammon*, and who is commonly associated with the Egyptian sun-god *Amon Ra*. As in several other passages, Milton has followed Diodorus very closely, merely translating one or two sentences; cf. the references to "the river Triton" and "his step-dame Rhea."

Cham, of course, is identical with *Ham*, the name of Noah's son; cf. the Septuagint form of *Ham*, viz. Χάμ, and the Vulgate form, *Cham*. Probably Milton had some patristic authority for the identification of the Scriptural Cham or *Ham* with the "Gentile[1]" deity Ammon, also called *Hammon*[2]: an identification obviously due to the similarity of the names, and strengthened by the traditional account that Egypt[3] was colonised by the descendants of Ham. Tennyson speaks of "the *Chamian* oracle divine," i.e. the shrine of *Cham*, meaning the famous temple of Jupiter

[1] Note "Whom *Gentiles* Ammon call" (IV. 277), i.e. the Greeks and Romans; the implied antithesis between "Gentile" and Biblical shows that "Cham" in 276 refers to a Scriptural character, i.e. Noah's son.

[2] Cf. M. in the *Nativity Ode*, 203, "The *Libyc Hammon* shrinks his horn."

[3] Cf. *Psalm* CV. 23, where Egypt is called "the land of Ham."

Ammon in the heart of the Libyan desert. And this is the allusion in Thomson's lines (*Liberty*, III):

> "the Libyan sands
> Where Ammon lifts amid the torrid waste
> A verdant isle, with shade and fountain fresh."

It may be added that romantic, more or less mythical, island-retreats like "that Nyseian isle" were an indispensable feature of the literary geography of the epic and quasi-epic world. There was, e.g. the "Nilotic isle," Meroe (*Paradise Regained*, IV. 71); "the fairest and most famous" of the islands in the Nile, says Sandys, *Relation*, p. 93. Tasso's isle of Armida belonged to much the same category; and the enchantress Acrasia was similarly secluded, *The Faerie Queene*, II. 12. See also *Comus*, 517.

J.

PARADISE LOST, VII. 1—12.

Milton's invocation is addressed to the Muse of sacred song and inspiration—the Heavenly power which "taught" Moses on Sinai (I. 6—10), and inspired David on Sion (III. 29—32) and the other prophets and singers of Israel. It is to her that he appeals at the beginning of the poem "Sing, Heavenly Muse," and there is a special appropriateness in lines 6—10. Cf. Addison's remark: "His invocation to a work which turns in a great measure upon the creation of the World, is very properly made to the muse who inspired Moses in those books from whence our author drew his subject, and to the Holy Spirit who is therein represented as operating after a particular manner in the first production of nature."

As to the character of this divine power whose existence he postulates, he does not, naturally, speak with definiteness: in I. 17—26 he expressly distinguishes her from the Holy Spirit; in *P. R.* I. 8—17 he *seems* to identify them.

The important point is that for Milton this "Heavenly Muse" is a truly divine power, in whom he believes with a conviction which gives intense reality to his invocations.

With the classical poets (Homer perhaps excepted) the invocation of the Muse was, I suppose, merely a literary convention—a piece of the traditional 'machinery' of poetry: one does not credit Horace with much faith in the Calliope whom he begged to "descend from Heaven."

Milton has faith, and when he asks Urania to aid him he *means* every word of his petition.

It is in virtue too of his assistance by this higher and holier power than the classical poets knew of that he speaks of his poetry as soaring "above" theirs. Compare VII. 3, 4 and I. 12—15, where, addressing the "Heavenly Muse," he says:

> "I
> Invoke thy aid to my adventurous song,
> That with no middle flight intends to soar
> Above the Aonian mount" (i.e. Mt Helicon).

He does not, I think, intend to suggest that he will surpass, say, Vergil as an artist—as a master of style and imagery and other qualities which constitute the art of poetry; but only that he is filled with a higher inspiration to treat of higher things. In fact, his claim is to moral, not artistic, superiority; it resolves itself almost into the difference between Christianity and Paganism. We should remember that in Milton's eyes the poet is a teacher in the first place, a singer in the second: he must write "to God's glory, by the honour and *instruction* of his country," and be "an interpreter and relater of the *best* and sagest things among his own citizens." See the preface to book II. of *The Reason of Church Government*, and cf. the *Introduction* to this volume.

The name "Urania" which he assigns to his Muse means, of course, 'the Heavenly One,' Gk. *οὐρανία*[1]. In classical mythology Urania was commonly regarded as the Muse of astronomy; compare a poem on "The Muses" by Nicholas Grimald:

> "Uranie, her globes to view all bent,
> The ninefolde heauen observes with fixed face[2]."

In these lines Urania evidently typifies astronomy according to the ordinary classical conception of her attributes; and a similar illustration might be cited from Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (Grosart's ed., II. 3). In treating Urania otherwise than as the Muse of astronomy Milton had been anticipated by other poets. Perhaps the earliest was Dante; cf. the *Purgatorio*, XXIX. 40—42: "Now 'tis meet that Helicon for me stream forth and Urania aid me with her choir to set in verse things[3] hard to conceive." Dante had been followed by English poets. Spenser, for example, in *The Teares of the Muses* makes her represent the highest knowledge—"the heavenlie light of knowledge"; while for Drummond of Hawthornden she meant, it would seem, the power of spiritual wisdom, one section of his poems being entitled "Urania, or Spiritual Poems."

[1] See Hesiod, *Theogony* 78.
[2] Tottel's *Miscellany*, 1557, ed. Arber, p. 100.
[3] Cf. Milton's Dantesque use of "things," *P. L.* I. 16.

Influenced, no doubt, by *Paradise Lost*, VII. 1 *et seq.*, Shelley in *Adonais*, II.—IV., and Tennyson in *In Memoriam* regard Urania as the Muse of lofty verse: a conception very similar to Milton's though less distinctively religious. And Wordsworth has two directly Miltonic allusions to Urania; cf. the invocation in *The Recluse*:

> "Urania, I shall need
> Thy guidance, or a greater Muse, if such
> Descend to earth or dwell in highest heaven!"

and the end of his poem on Ossian:

> "such was blind
> Mæonides of ample mind,
> Such Milton, to the fountain-head
> Of glory by Urania led!"

The "Urania" of Matthew Arnold's poem is less easily defined.

K.

PARADISE LOST, VIII. 80—84.

In his note on this passage Professor Masson says: "The fundamental notion of the ancient astronomers was that all the motions of the heavenly bodies were in circles, the strictly circular motion being the most perfect kind.... From very remote antiquity, however, it had been perceived that the simple circular motions of eight or even ten spheres round the Earth, with whatever variety of rates and times among themselves, would not account for all the observed phenomena of the heavens,—would not account, for example, for the fact that the motion of the Sun is faster or slower according to the season (acceleration and retardation), or for the fact that the motions of the planets are sometimes direct, or in the order of the signs of the Zodiac, and sometimes retrograde (progression and regression). To remedy this defect, 'to save these appearances,' two devices had been introduced, that of the *Eccentric* and that of the *Epicycle*.

"Let it be supposed that, while the Earth is the centre of the *Primum Mobile* [i.e. the outermost of the spheres] and consequently of the whole mundane system, the inclosed planetary spheres, or at all events that of the Sun, need not be strictly *concentric*, i.e. need not strictly have this centre, but may be *eccentric*, i.e. may revolve round a point somewhat to the side of the Earth; then, as the Earth would sometimes be nearer to the moving body, and sometimes farther off, the acceleration or retardation of the motion would be sufficiently accounted for.

"Again, let it be supposed that the body of a planet is not fixed strictly in its *cycle*, or the circumference of its wheeling sphere, but moves flylike in an *epicycle*, or small circle revolving round a fixed point in that wheeling circumference; then, according as the planet was in that part of its epicycle which is *beyond*, or in that part which is *within*, its cycle, its motion would for the time be progressive, i.e. *with* its cycle, or retrograde, i.e. *against* its cycle. Actually, by a complicated use of these two devices,...the Ptolemaic astronomers had contrived, with a tolerable approach to completeness, to account for all the phenomena of the solar and planetary motions, but only by such a dizzying intricacy of conceived wheels within wheels ('*centric and eccentric*') and wheels upon wheels ('*cycle and epicycle*') as Milton describes."

There is a great deal about these theories of the *Eccentric* and *Epicycle* in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, II. 2. III, the chapter entitled "a Digression of the Ayre"; see especially pp. 381, 382, 384 in the ninth edition (1800). Like Milton, he ridicules the too-ingenious speculations of astronomers, who, "to solve all appearances and objections, have invented new hypotheses, and fabricated new systems of the World...The World is tossed in a blanket amongst them, they hoyse the Earth up and down like a ball, make it stand and go at their pleasures" (pp. 388, 389).

Compare also Bacon's Essay *Of Superstition*:

"It was gravely said of the prelates in the Council of Trent, where the doctrine of the Schoolmen bare great sway, that the Schoolmen were like astronomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs, *to save the phenomena*[1], though they knew there were no such things; and, in like manner, that the Schoolmen had framed a number of subtle and intricate axioms and theorems to save the practice of the Church." See also his Essay *Of Wisdom for a Man's Self*.

So in *The Advancement of Learning*, II. 8. 5:

"As the same phenomena in astronomy are satisfied by the received astronomy of the diurnal motion, and the proper motions of the planets, with their eccentrics and epicycles, and likewise by the theory of Copernicus, who supposed the earth to move, and the calculations are indifferently agreeable to both, so the ordinary face and view of experience is many times satisfied by several theories and philosophies; whereas to find the real truth requireth another manner of severity and attention" (Clarendon ed., p. 127).

Sir Thomas Browne uses this astronomical metaphor in characteristic fashion:

[1] From σώζειν τὰ φαινόμενα, the technical phrase of astronomers; cf. VIII. 82.

"In philosophy, where truth seems double-faced, there is no man more paradoxical than myself: but in divinity I love to keep the road; and, though not in an implicit, yet an humble faith, follow the great wheel of the Church, by which I move; not reserving any proper poles, or motion from the epicycle of my own brain" (*Religio Medici*, I. vi.).

Compare too his *Christian Morals*, I. xix.: "Hang early plummets upon the heels of pride, and let ambition have but an epicycle and narrow circuit in thee."

For *eccentric*, see the note on v. 623, and compare one of Milton's favourite astronomical metaphors in *The Reason of Church Government*, I. 1:

"Yet is it to be conceived that...our happiness ["of the blessed in paradise"] may orb itself into a thousand vagancies of glory and delight, and with a kind of eccentrical equation be, as it were, an invariable planet of joy and felicity" (*P. W.* II. 442).

L.

PARADISE LOST, IX. 25—41.

It was a subject of discussion among Milton's early critics whether *Paradise Lost* should be called "heroic." The question was first raised by Dryden in the *Discourse on Satire* (1693) prefixed to his translation of Juvenal, thus:

"As for Mr Milton, whom we all admire with so much justice, his subject is not that of an heroic poem, properly so called. His design is the losing of our happiness; his event [i.e. end, termination] is not prosperous, like that of all other epic works; his heavenly machines are many, and his human persons are but two." And, "besides questioning whether 'Paradise Lost' was an heroic poem, Dryden had argued [in the preface to *Vergil*] that the devil was the hero and not Adam[1]."

Addison said: "I shall waive the discussion of that point, which was started some years since, whether Milton's 'Paradise Lost' may be called an heroic poem. Those who will not give it that title may call it (if they please) a divine poem." Addison held that an heroic poem should not end unhappily and that therefore *Paradise Lost*, to this extent, forfeits the title "heroic"; but he argued that the defect was inherent in the subject, and that Milton showed exquisite judgment and invention in remedying it (see the note on XI. 356—58).

[1] C. H. Firth, Johnson's *Life* of Milton, p. 135. Several of the passages in this section are taken from his full note.

Johnson dealt with the objection more summarily:

"The questions, whether the action of the poem be strictly one, whether the poem can be properly termed heroic, and who is the hero, are raised by such readers as draw their principles of judgment rather from books than from reason. Milton, though he entitled 'Paradise Lost' only a 'poem,' yet calls it himself 'heroic song.' Dryden petulantly and indecently denies the heroism of Adam, because he was overcome; but there is no reason why the hero should not be unfortunate, except established practice, since success and virtue do not go necessarily together. Cato is the hero of Lucan; but Lucan's authority will not be suffered by Quintilian to decide. However, if success be necessary, Adam's deceiver was at last crushed; Adam was restored to his Maker's favour, and therefore may securely resume his human rank."

The ordinary conception of an "heroical" poem would have been fulfilled more obviously, at least, if Milton had carried out his design of a poem on King Arthur[1] or King Alfred[2].

M.

PARADISE LOST, x. 658—62.

Dr Masson illustrates the astrological terms in these lines by a passage translated from "an old Latin catechism or text-book of Astronomy (Bebelius, *De Sphæra*, 1582)"; it runs as follows:

"What are the *aspects* of planets? They are such arrangements and distances of the planets as allow them to intercommunicate their influence. How many species of aspects are there? Five—Conjunction, Sextile, Square, Trine, and Diametral or Opposition. What is the first? The first kind of aspects, called Conjunction, is when two stars or planets are conjoined and as it were connected in one line; by the Greeks it is called *Synod*. What is the Sextile aspect? When two planets or stars are distant from each other a sixth part of the Zodiac, viz. two signs or 60°. What is the Square aspect (*quadratus aspectus*)? When two stars look at each other at an interval of three signs, making a quadrant or 90°. What is Trine (*Trigonus*) aspect? When the distance of the stars measures a third of the circle,—that is 120° or four signs. What is the Diametral aspect? It is the opposite configuration

[1] See *Introduction*.

[2] Cf. the Cambridge MSS.: "A Heroicall Poem may be founded somewhere in Alfreds reigne." Curiously enough, of all the subjects enumerated in the MSS., this is the only one to which he applies the word "heroical."

of two luminaries, which are distant from each other 180° or half a circle....

"How are the aspects divided? Into happy and unhappy. Which are the happy and prosperous aspects? The prosperous and benign are the Trine[1] and Sextile. Why are they called happy? Because the rays of the planets, falling obliquely and mutually yielding, infuse and communicate to inferior bodies gentler and less violent influences. What are the unhappy aspects? The unhappy or malignant are Conjunction[2], Square, and Opposition[3]. Why are they called malignant? Because the planets, meeting each other with their rays, mutually collide, and neither can yield to the other on account of the directness of their onset. Therefore they exercise greater force in stimulating and varying seasons, and in mixing the temperaments of animals and the qualities of the air. Whence is this variety of effects known? The effect and variety of configuration were first observed in the case of the Moon, and afterwards transferred to the other planets by artists (*artifices*) who, by great sharpness of intelligence, and more attentive observation, endeavoured to find out and display the causes of events from the very nature of the heavenly motions and the species of the aspects." Dr Masson adds, "Milton, it will be noted, names all the aspects, giving Conjunction its Greek name of *Synod*." Milton had used very similar astrological language in one of his pamphlets on divorce (*Tetrachordon*):

"For nature hath her zodiac also, keeps her great annual circuit over human things, as truly as the sun and planets in the firmament; hath her anomalies, hath her obliquities in ascensions and declinations, accesses and recesses, as blamelessly as they in heaven. And sitting in her planetary orb with two reins in each hand, one strait, the other loose, tempers the course of minds as well as bodies to several conjunctions and oppositions, friendly or unfriendly aspects, consenting oftest with reason, but never contrary" (*P. W.* III. 403).

[1] Cf. Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis*, st. 292:

"Now frequent trines the happier lights among,
And high-raised Jove from his dark prison freed,
Those weights took off that on his planet hung,
Will gloriously the new-laid work succeed" (i.e. make to succeed)

In his note (Clarendon ed., p. 259) Mr Christie gives other illustrations from Dryden (who "was learned in astrology and a firm believer"), e.g. his *Ode to the Memory of Mrs Ann Killegrew*:

"For sure the milder planets did combine
On thy auspicious horoscope to shine
And even the most malicious were in trine."

[2] Cf. 2 *Henry IV.* II. 4. 286, 287. Selden in his *Table-Talk* has a section (XXVI.) on the "Great Conjunction" (of Saturn and Jupiter).

[3] Cf. *Richard III.* IV. 4. 215, "Lo, at their births good stars were opposite," and 402, "Be opposite all planets of good luck."

GLOSSARY.

Milton's diction is essentially Elizabethan: the diction of the Authorised Version (1611) of the Bible and of Shakespeare. *Paradise Lost*, therefore, though published in 1667, is best illustrated from the works of the generation contemporary with Shakespeare. Hence many of the illustrations in the *Glossary* and *Notes* are taken from the writers who may collectively and conveniently be described as Elizabethan.

A marked feature of Milton's diction, as of his style, is his classical bias. He employs many words in their classical sense, just as he employs many classical idioms and figures of speech. This classicism of diction is still more conspicuous in his prose, in which he introduces numbers of long, sonorous words derived from the Latin. Sometimes he invents such words. *Paradise Lost* contains innumerable examples of his classical diction.

Another interesting feature is his partiality for Italianised forms. This is more conspicuous in his verse, perhaps because he felt so strongly, and wished his readers to be reminded of, the spell and fascination of the great Italian epics. By his own statement, he had studied Italian much before he went to Italy. His letters and prose-works reveal his love of it (I do not remember any interesting reference in his works to French literature); and several short poems testify to his very considerable mastery of the language. Instances of his leaning towards Italian are—*ammiral*, *harald*, *Soldan*, *sovran*; *sdein* (IV. 50), *serenate* (IV. 769); *azurn*, Ital. *azzurrino* (*Comus*, 893).

Abassin, IV. 280, 'Abyssinian.' *Abyssinia* is from Arabic *Habesch*, 'mixture, confusion,' a name given to the country by the Arabs on account of the mixed character of its inhabitants. This Arabic word was Latinised by the Portuguese as *Abassia* and *Abassinos*, whence the present form.

abide, IV. 87; cf. *Julius Cæsar*, III. 2. 119, "If it be found so, some will dear abide it," i.e. suffer for it. This sense is given in the

old *Dictionaries*, such as Cotgrave's (1611), and Minsheu's *Guide into the Tongues* (1625). The metaphor is 'to await the consequences of a deed and so, in the end, to pay for it.' Probably *abide* in this sense has been influenced by, though etymologically quite distinct from, *aby*, 'to expiate, pay for'=A.S. intensive prefix *ā*+*bycgan*, 'to *buy*.'

abject, I. 312, 'cast down,' the literal sense of Lat. *abjectus*, the past participle of *abjicere*, 'to cast away or down.' In Tindale's *New Testament* (1534), 2 *Cor.* vii. 6 is rendered "He that comfortith the abjecte"="those that are cast down" in the Authorised Version. For the ordinary figurative use cf. IX. 572.

abuse, I. 479, 'to deceive, delude'; cf. Fr. *abuser* (Lat. *abuti*, 'to misuse'). This is a common Elizabethan use; cf. *Cymbeline*, III. 4. 123, *King Lear*, IV. 1. 24.

abyss, I. 21, 658; Lat. *abyssus*, from Gk. ἄβυσσος, 'bottomless'—*ἀ-*, 'not'+*βυσσός*, 'bottom, depth.' Shakespeare always uses the older form *abysm*, from Fr. *abisme*; cf. *The Tempest*, I. 2. 50, "In the dark backward and abysm of time."

admire, I. 690, II. 677, 'to wonder,' the literal sense of Lat. *admirari*. Cf. *admiration*='wonder,' III. 271, and in *Hamlet*, III. 2. 339, "your behaviour hath struck her into amazement and admiration"; and *admirable*='to be wondered at,' in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, V. 27.

adust, XII. 635, 'dried, scorched'; the p.p. of the verb *adure*, Lat. *adurere*; cf. VI. 514. We also find a noun, *adustion*. "It was a tall figure, of a philosophic, serious, adust look," *A Sentimental Journey* ("The Mystery").

advise, II. 376, 'to consider'; often used reflexively in this sense, like Fr. *s'aviser*, 'to consider.' Cf. 1 *Chronicles* xxi. 12, "advise thyself what word I shall bring again to him that sent me" (Revised Version "consider").

alarmed, IV. 985; Fr. *alarme*=Ital. *all' arme*, 'to arms!' (Lat. *ad illa arma*); so that properly an *alarm* was a summons to take up arms, i.e. prepare for battle. Here *alarmed* means that Satan was prepared for the fight—not that he was afraid. Dryden (*Æn.* III. 313, 314) has the phrase *take alarm* (VI. 549):

> "Misenus sounds a charge: we take th' alarm,
> And our strong hands with swords and bucklers arm."

alchymy, II. 517, 'metal'; properly *alchemy*, from Arabic *alkīmīa*: *al*='the' (Arabic article), + *kīmīā*, a corruption of χημία, used in late Gk. for the chemical transmutation of metals. Probably χημία was the Gk. form of the native name of Egypt (='the land of *Khem*'), and meant 'the Egyptian art.' Later, through confusion with χέειν, 'to pour' (cf. χυμός, 'sap, juice'), there arose a form χυμεία: whence in E. the old

spellings 'alchymy,' 'alchumie,' and 'chymist' (short for 'alchymist'). From meaning the art of amalgamating metals 'alchemy' came to be used of the amalgam or metallic composition produced by the process. A certain amalgam, like gold, was called 'alchemy gold' or 'alchemy'; cf. Fletcher, *Purple Island*, VII. 39, "Such were his arms, false gold, true alchymie." This mixed metal, in which brass was the chief constituent, was much employed for trumpets (II. 517).

alley, IV. 626, 'a garden-walk,' especially one "with branches overgrown" (IV. 627). Cf. *Much Ado About Nothing*, I. 2. 10, "a thick-pleached alley," i.e. thickly interwoven overhead; and Tennyson, *Ode to Memory*, 5:

"Or a garden bower'd close
With plaited alleys of the trailing rose."

O. Fr. *alee*, Fr. *allée*.

Alp, II. 620; formerly used, like *Alpes* in late Latin poets, of any high (especially snow-capped) mountain. Cf. *S. A.* 628, "Nor breath of vernal air from snowy Alp"; and Hakluyt's *Voyages*, I. 112, "Certaine *Alpes or Mountaines* directly Southward." So the Italians use *alpestro*='steep, alpine'; cf. the *Inferno*, XII. 2. A Celtic word; cf. Gaelic *alp*, 'a high mountain.'

amarant, III. 352; Gk. *ἀμάραντος*, 'unfading'—the word used in 1 *Peter* v. 4 of the "crown of glory that fadeth not away." The flower typifies immortality. M. writes the correct form; the more usual 'amarant*h*' is due to confusion with Gk. *ἄνθος*, 'a flower.'

amain; an intensive word, emphasising the sense of the verb. O. E. *mægn*='power'; from the root whence *μέγας*, *magnus*.

ambrosial; used by M. of that which delights the sense of smell (III. 135, IX. 852) or taste. Strictly, *ἀμβροσία*, from *ἀμβρόσιος* (a lengthened form of *ἄμβροτος*, 'immortal'), meant the food of the gods.

amerce, I. 609, literally 'to punish'; cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III. 1. 195, "But I'll *amerce* you with so strong a *fine*." Fr. *amercier*, 'to fine,' which was derived from the O. Fr. phrase *estre à merci*='to be in the *mercy* of any one as to the amount of a fine (Lat. *merx*) which he could impose.' Legally an *Amerciament* differed from a fine thus: "Fines...are punishments certain, which grow expressly from some Statute; and *Amerciaments* are arbitrarily imposed by Assessors" (Blount, *Glossographia*, 1656). Fr. *merci*, whence E. *mercy*, is connected with *merx* (='a fine' in Late Latin), and not with *misericordia*.

amiable, IV. 250, VIII. 484, IX. 899, 'lovely, pleasing'; cf. *Psalm* lxxxiv. 1, "How amiable are thy dwellings" (*Prayer-Book*). Lat. *amicabilis*, 'friendly.'

ammiral, I. 294. The chief vessel of a fleet was called the 'admiral'

because it carried the admiral or chief officer. Cf. Hakluyt, I. 401, "the sayd William met with sixe ships.....and tooke of them the Admirall." The word was indeed quite common in the 16th century works of travel; cf. Webb's *Travels*, 1590: "her Maijesties shippe called the Willoughby was our Admirall, and the Harry appertayning to the company of the Merchants, was our Vice-admirall, Maister William Burrow then being our Captaine and maister" (Arber's ed., p. 19). In the form *ammiral* M. imitates Ital. *ammiraglia*, which Florio (1598) renders by "an admirall or chief ship." Properly *admiral* means 'ruler, commander,' being derived from Arabic *Amir*, 'ruler' (cf. *Ameer* of Afghanistan and *Emir*); and formerly the full phrase "admiral *of the sea*" was used. The *d* in *admiral* (older form *amyrel*) arose through confusion with Lat. *admirabilis* and *admirable*.

amphisbæna, X. 524; Gk. *ἀμφίσβαινα*, 'a kind of serpent that can go either forwards or backwards' (Gk. *ἀμφί*, 'on both sides' + *βαίνειν*, 'to go'). See the *Agamemnon* 1233. It was supposed to have a head at either end of its body: hence the allusion in Tennyson's *Queen Mary*, III. 4:

> "For heretic and traitor are all one;
> Two vipers of one breed—an amphisbæna,
> Each end a sting."

Dante has the word in the Serpent-passage in the *Inferno*, XXIV. 87.

annoy; derived through O. Fr. *anoi*, 'vexation,' from Lat. *in odio*, used in the phrase *in odio est mihi*, 'it is *odious*, to me.' In VI. 369 it has the old Shakespearian sense 'to hurt, harm.' Cognate with '*noi*some'='unpleasant,' especially of smell, which practically is short for '*anoi*some'; cf. IX. 946.

apparent, IV. 608, X. 112='visible, manifest' (Lat. *apparens*); as in *P. R.* II. 397. Cf. *Richard III.* III. 5. 30, "apparent open guilt," and *King John*, IV. 2. 93, "apparent foul play."

apply, IV. 264; commonly explained 'to practise, engage in' (cf. the abbreviated form *ply*); for this use, formerly not uncommon, cf. Fuller's *Worthies*, "That he might the more effectually apply his private devotions," *Works* (ed. 1840), III. 402. I believe, however, that the sense intended by M. is 'add,' and that the word was so interpreted by Collins and Thomson. Cf. *The Passions*, 49, 50:

> "Dejected Pity at his side
> Her soul-subduing voice applied";

and *The Seasons* (*Spring*):

> "the woodlands round
> Applied their quire."

'To add' may come from the general sense of *apply*='to bring to

bear upon'; or M. may simply have imitated the rare use of Latin *applicare*='to add.'

approve, IX. 367, 1140, 'to show' by bringing a thing to the test (Lat. *ad*, 'to'+*proba*, 'a test'). Cf. 2 *Corinthians* vii. 11, "In all things ye have approved yourselves to be clear in this matter."

areed, or **aread**, IV. 962, 'to advise'; A.S. *á-rédan*=*a-*, intensive prefix, +*rédan*, 'to advise.' Cf. *rede* (or *read*), 'counsel,' as in *Hamlet*, I. 3. 51, "recks not his own rede." But the commoner meanings of *areed* were 'to divine, conjecture' (cf. the cognate Germ. *errathen*, 'to guess'); and 'to declare, tell,' as often in Spenser; cf. *The Faerie Queene*, I. 9. 28, II. 3. 14.

asphodel, IX. 1040; Gk. ἀσφόδελος, a kind of lily, supposed to flourish especially in the Elysian fields; cf. *Comus*, 838. *Daffodil* is a curious corruption of ἀσφόδελος through Low Lat. *affodillus*.

assay, I. 619, III. 90, X. 567, 865, 'to try, attempt'; M. always uses this form, from O. Fr. *assai*, a variant of O. Fr. *essai*, whence comes our commoner form *essay*. Lat. *exagium*, Gk. ἐξάγιον, 'a weighing, trial of weight.' Now *assay* is commonly used of the testing of metals.

astonish, I. 266, VI. 838; formed from the older verb *astony*=O. Fr. *estonner*, modern Fr. *étonner*, from Lat. *extonare*, 'to thunder.' The original notion of *astony* (see IX. 890), *astonish*, and *astound* (I. 281) was 'to stupefy, strike senseless, as with a thunderbolt.' Cf. the *Argument* to bk. I., line 12, and Milton's *History of Britain*, "*astonished* and *struck* with superstition as with a planet." See *The Faerie Queene*, IV. 8. 43.

ay me, IV. 86, 'alas'; cf. *Lycidas*, 56, "Ay me! I fondly dream!" It is frequent in Shakespeare. Cotgrave (1611) has, "Oh: aye me; an interjection expressing sense of paine, or of smart." O. Fr. *aymi*, 'alas, for me'; cf. Ital. *ahimé*, Gk. οἴμοι.

baleful, I. 56, II. 576, 'full of sorrow, unhappy'; commonly 'full of harm'—cf. *Comus*, 255, "baleful drugs." A.S. *bealu*='evil, sorrow.'

barricado, VIII. 241, 'to fortify.' The noun *barricado* is from Spanish *barricada*, literally 'a rampart formed by *barrels*' (Span. *barrica*='barrel'), and so 'any rampart, fortification.' Cf. *All's Well that Ends Well*, I. 1. 124; and Milton's treatise *Of Reformation in England*, I.: "the table of communion, now become a table of separation, stands like an exalted platform upon the brow of the quire, fortified with bulwark and barricado, to keep off the profane touch of the laics" (*P. W.* II. 378).

bases, IX. 36. Cf. *The Faerie Queene*, V. 5. 20:

"she made him to be dight
In womans weedes, that is to manhood shame,
And put before his lap a napron white,
Instead of Curiets [i.e. cuirasses] and bases fit for fight."

Peele in his *Polyhymnia*, 1590 (a description of a tournament), speaks of a knight clad "In armour gilt and bases full of cost."

beest, I. 84. The verb *be*, from A.S. *béon* (the infinitive), was conjugated in the pres. tense indicative as late as Milton's time, especially in the 2nd pers. sing. with *if*. M. indeed does not use "if thou beest" elsewhere, but the idiom is frequent in Shakespeare; cf. *The Tempest*, III. 2. 137, "if thou beest a man," and v. 134, "if thou be'st Prospero."

Behemoth, VII. 471. "This word is the Heb. plural of *behémûh*, and signifies 'beasts,' but in *Job* xl. 15—24 some large animal, e.g. the hippopotamus, is evidently intended"—(*Cambridge Companion to the Bible*). M. meant the elephant.

bicker, VI. 766; used of gleaming, darting light. Cf. Tennyson, *Geraint and Enid*:

"turning round she saw
Dust and the points of lances bicker in it";

and *The Princess*, v. The word is also used of rippling water or a quick-flowing brook, as in the first stanza of Tennyson's *The Brook*. Thomson in *The Castle of Indolence*, I. 3, speaks of glittering streamlets that "bickered through the sunny glade."

blanc, X. 656, 'pale,' from the literal sense 'white,' Fr. *blanc*. For the form *blanc* (i.e. *blank*), obsolete as an adjective, cf. the noun *blanc*, 'white paint.'

bland, V. 5; used poetically of that which is "soft, mild, pleasing to the senses; gentle, genial, balmy, soothing."

blow, V. 22, 'to bloom, flower'; cf. *Lycidas*, 48, "When first the white-thorn blows." Minsheu has, "To blow as a flower, or to open as a bud...*bluhen, fleurir*." *Blow*, *bloom*, *blossom* are cognate, and akin to Lat. *flos* and its derivatives, *flower*, *flourish*, etc.

boon, IV. 242, 'gracious, bounteous'; a poetical use. Cf. Thomson, *Liberty*, II., "All that boon Nature could luxuriant pour"; and *The Castle of Indolence*, I. 57:

"Of the fine stores he nothing would impart,
Which or boon Nature gave, or nature-painting art."

So in Collins's Ode *The Manners* (end):

"O Nature boon, from whom proceed
Each forceful thought, each prompted deed."

Now only in the phrase "boon companion." Fr. *bon* (Lat. *bonus*).

brinded, VII. 466, 'striped, streaked'; cf. *Comus*, 443, "the brinded lioness." An older form than *brindled*, it means literally 'marked as with a *brand*,' and generally indicates stripes of dark colour on the tawny coat of an animal. See *Macbeth*, IV. I. 1, "Thrice the brinded cat hath mew'd."

brown, IX. 1088, 'dark'; in poetry a constant epithet of shade and twilight. Cf. *Il Penseroso*, 134, "shadows brown"; *P. R.* II. 293, "alleys brown," i.e. shady paths; and **imbrown** in IV. 246. Imitated from the similar use of *bruno* and *imbrunire* by Italian poets. Thus in his 2nd Ital. *Sonnet* M. has "al *imbrunir* di sera," with which editors compare Petrarch, *Canzoni*, IV. 3, and Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata*, V. 76. So in the *Inferno*, II. 1, where *l'aer bruno* refers to twilight.

bull, III. 492; a papal edict, of an important character: "so named from the *bulla* (or round leaden seal), which is attached to the document...and gives authenticity to it" (Addis and Arnold, *Catholic Dict.*).

bullion, I. 704; Fr. *bouillon*, Lat. *bullio*, 'a mass of metal,' from *bullire*, 'to boil.' *Bullion* is connected with Lat. *bulla*, 'a seal,' in so far as *bulla* itself is from *bullire*.

buxom, II. 842, V. 270, 'yielding'; from A.S. *búgan*, 'to bend'; cf. Germ. *beugsam*, 'easily bent, pliant.' Originally *buxom* meant 'obedient'; cf. the *Glosse* to Spenser's *The Shepheards Calender*, *September*, "*Buxome and bent*, meeke and obedient." Then came the sense 'yielding, pliant'; cf. Fairfax, *Tasso*, XV. 12, "with strong oars...brush the buxom wave."

Can, XI. 388. *Kaan*, or *Khan*, was the title of the supreme ruler of China during the reigns of the Mongol Emperors descended from Chinghiz, or Genghis, Khan (the name corrupted into *Cambuscan*—see note on *Il Pen.* 110). In Elizabethan writers *Kaan* often appears as *Cham*; cf. *Much Ado About Nothing*, II. 1. 274—77, "will...fetch you a hair off the great Cham's beard." Frequently the Cham is spoken of as the ruler of the district of Central Asia vaguely called Tartary. Cf. Giles Fletcher's *Of the Russe Common Wealth*, 1591, "The greatest and mightiest of them (the Tartars) is the *Chrim Tartar* (whom some call the *Great Cham*) that lieth South, and Southeastward from *Russia*." Hexham's edition, too, of *Mercator's Atlas* (1636) describes Tartary as "the Empire of the Grand Cham." Very little was then known about Central Asia.

caravan, VII. 428. Properly (1) a company of merchants or pilgrims travelling together, as a protection against robbers, in the East. Hence (2) any 'company, troop'; as here and in *P. R.* I. 323. Then (3) 'a covered waggon'; cf. the abbreviation *van*. Persian *kārwān*, 'escort.'

career, I. 766; a word specially associated with tournaments, signifying 'a short gallop at high speed.' Cf. the *Animadversions*, "all this careering with spear in rest" (*P. W.* III. 90). Fr. *carière*, Lat. *carraria* (i.e. *via*), 'a road for carriages.'

causey, X. 415, 'a raised way'; now obsolete except in dialects. Cf., however, *Proverbs* xv. 19, "the way of the righteous is *made plain*," where the margin has "raised up as a causey." In 1 *Chronicles* xxvi. 16 the Bible of 1611 had "by the *causey* of the going up," afterwards changed to *causeway*; the latter is a compound of the old world *causey*+*way*. A *causey* implies a paved road, such as a paved track across a moor or boggy land, or the Roman paved roads in Northumberland; hence sometimes used colloquially of the pavement or side-walk contrasted with the road proper. From Late Lat. *calciata* (i.e. *calciata via*), literally 'a way made firm by treading with the heel' (*calx*).

champain, IV. 134, 'open, flat'; applied to unenclosed land, downs, large fields; cf. *Lucrece*, 1247, "a goodly champaign plain." Minsheu's *Dictionary* entitled *The Guide into the Tongues* (1625) has: "champion, or plaine ground." The *Dialect Dict.* aptly quotes the title of Tusser's *Husbandry* (1580): "Five hundred pointes of good Husbandrie, as well for the Champion, or open countrie, as also for the woodland." Commonly a noun (VI. 2); cf. *Deut.* xi. 30, "the Canaanites, which dwell in the champaign over against Gilgal." O. Fr. *champaigne*, modern Fr. *campagne*, Ital. *campagna*, Lat. *campania*—from *campus*.

charity, III. 216, IV. 756, XII. 584; then often used = 'love, benevolence.' Cf. 1 *Cor.* xiii., where the Revised Version of the Bible substitutes *love* for *charity* throughout, the Greek being ἀγάπη (Vulgate *caritas*). In the three places where M. uses the word the meaning is 'love.' Cf. Wordsworth, *The Excursion*, IX. 238, "The charities that soothe, and heal, and bless"; and Tennyson, *The Princess*, VII., "fair charities." Lat. *carus*, 'dear.'

charm, IV. 642, 651, 'song.' M. may have supposed it to be derived from Lat. *carmen*, 'song,' but really *charm* as used of the song of birds is of Anglo-Saxon origin. It is a variant form of Middle E. *cherme* or *chirm* = A.S. *cirm*. This old word (allied to *chirp* and the Germ. *jammern*) meant a blended singing or noise of many children, birds or bees; cf. Palsgrave (1530), "what a *cherme* these byrdes [birds] make, *comme ces oyseaux jargonment*." A Shropshire rustic might still say, "what *charm* them childern bin makin i' the school" (i.e. what a confused noise). Cf. also the dialect-expression 'to *charm* or *cherm* bees,' i.e. to follow a swarm of bees, beating a tea-tray, or anything similar, to make them settle. The noisy chatter of a flock of starlings is exactly a *charm* or *cherm*. Tennyson uses *charm* accurately; cf. *The Progress of Spring*,

IV., "I hear a charm of song thro' all the land." Probably *cherme* or *chirm* would never have got this variant form *charm* but for the influence of Lat. *carmen*.

Cherubim; the correct form = Heb. *Kherūbhīm*, the plural of *Kherūbh*; adopted in the Revised Version of the Bible. The oldest forms in English, as still in French, were *Cherubin*, sing., and *Cherubins*, plural. Cf. Coverdale, "Thou God of Israel, which dwellest upon Cherubin," *Isaiah* xxxvii. 16; and Wyclif, "Two Goldun Cherubyns," *Exodus* xxv. 18. Later, as in the Bible of 1611, *Cherub*, sing., and *Cherubims*, plural, were used, as being closer to the Hebrew. M. wrote *Cherube* for singular (a still nearer approach in sound than 'Cherub' to the *ū* of the Heb. *Kherūbh*), and the true plural *Cherubim* in his poetry; but *Cherubims* occurs in *Of Reformation in England*, II. (*P. W.* II. 406). *Kherūbh* is said to come from the Babylonian word for the figure of the winged bull which stood at the door of a house to keep off evil spirits. The Jews probably owed it to the Phœnicians.

combustion, I. 46; properly 'conflagration,' from Lat. *comburere*, 'to burn up'; cf. Selden's *Table-Talk*: "After Luther had made a combustion in Germany about religion" (Reynold's ed., p. 34). Hence metaphorically 'utter confusion,' or 'destruction,' as here. Cf. VI. 225, and *Macbeth*, II. 3. 63. In M. always a very strong word; cf. *Of Reformation in England*, II., "to threaten uproar and combustion, and shake the brand of civil discord," *P. W.* II. 417.

concoct, V. 412; Lat. *concoquere*, 'to boil together, reduce by heat': especially, 'to reduce into a state of nourishment,' i.e. digest. Cf. M. in *On Education*, "The like also would not be inexpedient after meat, to assist and cherish nature in her first concoction," *P. W.* III. 476.

conjured, II. 693, 'banded (literally 'sworn') together in a conspiracy'; Lat. *conjuratus*. Cf. Surrey's translation (1557) of *Æneid* II., "They bind themselves with the conjured bands," and *The Faerie Queene*, V. 10. 26.

connive, X. 624; Lat. *connivere*, 'to close the eyes, wink,' hence figuratively 'to shut one's eyes to a fault.' Now it always has the bad sense of 'winking at something wrong'; but in Elizabethan E. it also had the good sense 'to tolerate, be long-suffering.' Cf. *S. A.* 465—67:

> "He [the Almighty]
> Will not connive, or linger, thus provoked,
> But will arise and his great name assert."

In *Of Reformation in England*, II., M. praises "the constancy of our nobility and commons of England,...whose calm and temperate connivance could sit still and smile out the stormy bluster...," *P. W.* II. 406.

couch, II. 536, 'to fix the spear in the rest' (Fr. *coucher*). The 'rest' was "a strong part of the armour at the breast, against which they placed the butt of the spear to give more force to the charge" (Keightley). Cf. 1 *Henry VI.* III. 2. 134, "A braver soldier never couched lance."

cresset, I. 728; a vessel of iron to hold some burning substance (e.g. grease, oil, tarred rope) and serve as a lantern or beacon; usually mounted on the top of a pole, or hung from a roof; cf. Scott, *Marmion*, "A cresset in an iron chain." It was an archaic word even in Milton's time; cf. Minsheu (1625): "a Cresset, an old word used for a Lanterne, or burning Beacon." Cotgrave's *Dictionary* (ed. 1652) adds a curious little detail: "Falot. A Cresset light (such as they use in Play-houses)." Fr. *cresset* or *crasset*, 'a cup for holding grease.'

cry, II. 654, 'a pack'; cf. *Coriolanus*, III. 3. 120, "You common cry of curs!" The sense comes from the hounds' *cry* or notes.

damasked, IV. 334. The noun *damask* meant properly a rich kind of silk ornamented with raised figures, originally manufactured at *Damascus*. By metaphor, the word came to imply 'variegation'—as here. Cf. *As You Like It*, III. 5. 123, and Shakespeare, *Sonnet* 130, "I have seen roses damask'd, red and white."

darkling, III. 39, 'in the dark'; cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 2. 86, "O, wilt thou darkling leave me? do not so," and *King Lear*, I. 4. 237. It is a substantival adverb, in which *-ling* or *-long* is a relic of a dative case-ending; cf. *headlong*, *sidelong* (Middle E. *hedling*, *sideling*). In Scotch the form is *lins*; cf. *hafflins* = 'half,' e.g. in Burns, *Cotter's Saturday Night*, 62, "While Jenny hafflins is afraid to speak."

decent, III. 644, 'comely'; used by M. only here and in *Il Penseroso*, 36, in each place = Lat. *decens*, 'comely, graceful.' Cf. Pope, *Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady*, 51, 52:

> "By foreign hands thy dying eyes were closed,
> By foreign hands thy decent limbs composed."

Cf. *decencies* = 'graceful acts or words' in VIII. 601.

descant, IV. 603; strictly, a musical term for variations added to a "plain song," i.e. a melody in its simplest form. Cf. Jeremy Taylor, "after the angel had told his message in plain song, the whole chorus joined in descant." M., whose use of musical terms is very accurate, employs *descant* here to signify the varied notes of the nightingale. Cf. Isaac Walton's description—"the clear airs, the sweet descants, the natural rising and falling, the doubling and redoubling of her voice" (i.e. the nightingale's), *Complete Angler*, I. 1. So Spenser says of the thrush, "the Mavis descant playes," *Epithalamium*, 81. Contrast "the plain-song cuckoo" in *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. 1. 134,

said in allusion to the bird's simple, monotonous note. In *S. A.* 1228 *descant* has a figurative sense.

determine. The senses 'to put an end to, bring to an end,' and 'to come to an end, cease to exist to be in force,' are common in Elizabethan writers, but now chiefly confined to legal documents. Cf. 2 *Henry IV.* IV. 5. 82, *Coriolanus*, III. 3. 43. The idea of 'end' (Lat. *terminus*) is conspicuous in II. 330, VI. 318, XI. 227.

dint, II. 813, 'a blow,' its original sense; also used of the *dent* (another form of *dint*) or impression left by a blow; cf. Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. 6. 39, "targes undinted," i.e. shields not marked by blows. *Dint* is still a north-country word for 'a blow, shock.'

disastrous, I. 597, 'boding misfortune.' *Disaster* (Lat. *dis* + *astrum*, 'a star') is one of the words belonging to astrology. Cf. Minsheu: "disastre, misfortune...*proprie incommodum aliquod ex influentijs Astrorum.*" Cf. 'ill-starred.'

divan, X. 457, 'a council,' properly the council of the Sultan or some Oriental sovereign or governor; Arabic *diwán*, 'a council, tribunal.' Fr. *douane*, 'a custom-house,' comes from *diwán*.

dole, IV. 894, 'sorrow, pain'; O. Fr. *doel*, Fr. *deuil* = Late Lat. *dolium*, from the stem of *dolere*, 'to grieve.' Cf. *Hamlet*, I. 2. 13, "In equal scale weighing *delight and dole.*"

draff, X. 630, 'refuse food,' especially food given to swine. Cf. Cotgrave's *French Dictionary* (1611), "Mangeaille pour les porceaux: Swillings, washings, draffe." Samson was given "the draff of servile food," *S. A.* 574. Used figuratively; cf. Milton's *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, "the brood of Belial, the draff of men," *P. W.* III., 173. 'As bad as *draff*' = 'utterly worthless' is a common Yorkshire phrase. Cognate with *drab*, 'an untidy woman.'

element, II. 490, 'sky,' a common Elizabethan use; cf. *Henry V.* IV. 1. 105, 107, "the king is but a man, as I am: the element shows to him as it doth to me." So in *King Lear*, III. 1. 4.

elixir, III. 607 = Arabic *el iksír*, the philosopher's stone; see note on III. 601, and cf. Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, 16331: "the philosophers ston | Elixir cleped." That was the strict sense of *elixir*; but it was also variously used by alchemists of (1) a liquid by which metals might be transmuted into gold, (2) a tincture of gold (*aurum potabile*), which would prolong life; hence (3) a life-giving cordial, or substance, or force. Arabic *el iksír* is really a Greek word (*ξηρόν* or *ξήριον*), and means 'the dry-principle.'

emblem, IV. 703, 'inlaid or mosaic work,' i.e. ornamentation inserted into the surface of an object, e.g. a floor (as here) or a table. Gk. *ἔμ-*

βλημα, 'a thing put in, an ornament.' Now commonly = 'an allegorical representation of, a symbol.'

empyreal; literally 'fiery, formed of fire,' I. 117, II. 430. But M. uses it generally in the sense 'heavenly,' i.e. as the adj. from *empyrean* = 'heaven.' Lat. *empyræus*, Gk. *ἐμπύραιος*, 'in the fire (*πῦρ*), fiery hot, burning.' M. always accents the adj. *empýreal*, but the noun *empyréan* (II. 771).

engine, I. 750; in its original sense 'contrivance,' i.e. something made with *ingenuity* (Lat. *ingenium*). Later, 'an implement, instrument,' especially of war; so in II. 923, where it may mean 'cannon,' as in VI. 484, 518. Cf. *Othello*, III. 3. 355, "you mortal engines" (i.e. cannon).

enormous, I. 511, V. 297, 'monstrous, out of all measure,' rule—the literal sense of Lat. *enormis*. Cf. *Of Reformation in England*, I., "misshapen and enormous prelatism," *P. W.* II. 373. Blount, *Glossographia*, has, "Enormity, want of measure, or rule, unevenness, hugeness."

essence; properly 'being, existence' (Lat. *essentia*, from *esse*; cf. Gk. *οὐσία*); hence 'something that *is*—an existence, entity—especially something spiritual, a heavenly, immaterial being,' like the angels (I. 138). Cf. Sir Thomas Browne, "those noble essences in heaven bear a friendly regard unto their fellow-natures on earth" (*Religio Medici*, I. xxxi.). In the singular M. always uses *essence* to mean 'constituent substance' (I. 425, II. 215, IX. 166).

exercise, II. 89; in the sense of Lat. *exercere*, 'to harass, torment'; cf. Vergil, *Æneid* V. 725, *nate...Iliacis exercite fatis*. So in *Ecclesiastes* i. 13, "this sore travail hath God given to the sons of man to be exercised therewith" = "to *afflict them*," as the margin reads. See *P. R.* I. 156.

exorbitant, III. 177; strictly, 'going out of its circuit or track' (Lat. *orbita*); e.g. like a star leaving its orbit. Cf. M. in *The Reason of Church Government*, II. 3, "the proper *sphere* wherein the magistrate cannot but confine his *motion* without a hideous *exorbitancy* from law," *P. W.* II. 497. Here the general notion 'excessive,' e.g. of price, demands. Minsheu has: "exorbitant, things properly out of circle, square or rule, things irregular, enormious."

explode, X. 546, XI. 669; used = Lat. *explodere*, 'to drive off the stage,' i.e. by clapping (*ex*, 'off, away' + *plaudere*, 'to clap'). So in the *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence*, "ceremonies, liturgies and tyrannies, which God and man are now ready to *explode and hiss* out of the land," *P. W.* III. 43. Blount's *Glossographia* has, "explode, publickly to disgrace, or drive out by hissing, or clapping of hands."

fame, I. 651, II. 346; for the literal sense 'rumour, report' (= Lat.

fama), cf. Bacon, *Of Seditions*: "as if fames were the reliques of seditions past," and again: "seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine" (Pitt Press ed., p. 39).

fare, II. 940, IV. 131, 'to journey, travel'; the literal sense of A.S. *faran*; cf. Germ. *fahren*, 'to travel.' So often in Spenser; cf. *The Faerie Queene*, II. i. 2, II. 2. 12.

flaw, X. 698, 'a gust of wind'; a poetic word. Cf. *Hamlet*, v. 1. 239, "the winter's flaw"; and Tennyson, *Marriage of Geraint*, "Like flaws in summer laying lusty corn." In Scotland it is used of a storm of snow, in Norfolk of a sharp shower. The same as *flaw*, 'a crack'= Swedish *flaga*, 'a crack,' also 'a blast of wind'; the radical notion being 'a sudden burst.'

fledge, VII. 420; cf. III. 627. Minsheu has, "fledge, or feathered." Cf. Holland's *Pliny* (1601), x. 9, "The young cuckoo being once fledge and readie to flie abroad." This adj. *fledge* (whence *fledge-ling*) is really older than the p. p. *fledged* which we use. Akin to *flee*, *fly*, *flight*.

foil, X. 375, 'a defeat'; cf. the *Paraphrase on Psalm* cxiv. made by M. in his boyhood, "As a faint host that hath received the foil." O. Fr. *fouler*, 'to trample under foot'; cf. *foule*, 'a crowd.' The original notion is seen in *The Faerie Queene*, v. 11. 33:

> "Whom he did all to peeces breake, and foyle
> In filthy durt, and left so in the loathely soyle."

fond, III. 449, VIII. 195, 209, 'foolish'; its old meaning. Cf. *King Lear*, IV. 7. 60, "I am a very foolish fond old man." Hence **fondly**= 'foolishly,' III. 470, VII. 152; cf. *Lycidas*, 56, "Ay me! I fondly dream." It is still quite common as a dialect-word equivalent to 'daft,' especially in north-country phrases like 'as fond as a besom' (or 'gate'). Originally *fond* was the p. p. of a Middle E. verb *fonnen*, 'to act like a fool,' from the noun *fon*, 'a fool.' The root is Scandinavian.

founder, I. 204, II. 940; properly 'to sink to the bottom' (Lat. *fundus*, Fr. *fond*, 'bottom'); cf. *night-foundered*, I. 204, *Comus*, 483.

frame, II. 924, 'fabric'; a favourite word with M. and with writers like Dryden and Thomson who were influenced by his diction (see II. 898, V. 154, notes). Similar is the Lucretian phrase *moles et machina mundi* (v. 96); cf. Spenser, *An Hymne of Heavenly Love*, 22, "this worlds great frame," and his *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie*, 30, 31.

frequent, I. 797, VII. 504; in the sense of Lat. *frequens*, 'crowded.' Cf. Ben Jonson, *Sejanus*, "'Tis Cæsar's will to have a frequent senate." M. twice uses "in full frequence"='in full assembly' (Lat. *frequentia*); cf. *P. R.* I. 128, II. 130. Cf. Tennyson, *The Princess*, IV., "Not in this frequence can I lend full tongue."

fretted, I. 717; from the verb *fret*='to work or design with *frets*.' A *fret* was a small band; the word comes from O. Fr. *frete*, 'an iron band'=Ital. *ferrata*, 'an iron grating' (cf. Lat. *ferrum*, 'iron'). "*Fret*-work" was specially used of a kind of gilding for the roofs of halls; being a pattern formed by small gilt bands or *frets* intersecting each other at right angles. Cf. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, II. 14. 9, "beautiful works and orders, like the *frets* in the *roofs* of houses"; where Mr Aldis Wright says, "the Egyptian key pattern is a familiar example." So Milton uses the word here, and Shakespeare in *Hamlet*, II. 2. 313, "this majestical *roof fretted* with *golden* fire." Quite distinct is the other verb, *fret*, 'to adorn,' from A.S. *frætwan*.

frore, II. 595, 'frosty'; from A.S. *froren*, 'frozen,' the p. p. of *frēosan*, 'to freeze.' Spenser has the adj. *frory*, 'frozen,' in *The Faerie Queene*, III. 8. 35, and *frorne*, 'frozen,' in *The Shepheards Calender*, *February*.

galaxy, VII. 579; Gk. γαλαξίας (i.e. κύκλος), 'Milky Way' (literally 'circle'); from γάλα, 'milk.' Cf. Tennyson, *The Lady of Shalott*:

> "Like to some branch of stars we see
> Hung in the golden Galaxy."

glozing, III. 93, 'flattering.' Middle E. *glosen* meant 'to make *glosses*, explain,' from O.Fr. *glose*=Late Lat. *glossa*, Gk. γλῶσσα, which signified 'the tongue, a language, a word, a word needing explanation, an explanation.' But since many explanations are false, the verb *glosen* got the idea 'to interpret falsely,' whence 'to deceive.' So *glozing*='deceptive'; cf. George Herbert, *The Dotage*, "False glozing pleasures." Especially used of flattering, false speech (IX. 549); cf. *Comus*, 161, "And well-placed words of glozing courtesy."

goblin, II. 688. Derived through the French from Late Lat. *gobelinus*, a diminutive of Lat. *cobalus*, 'a mountain-sprite, demon'=Gk. κόβαλος, 'a rogue,' or 'a goblin supposed to befriend rogues.'

gonfalon, V. 589, a "banner, or square standard born on the top of a launce" (Cotgrave, 1611). The earlier form was *gonfanon*; cf. *The Romaunt of the Rose*, "I bare of loue the gonfenoun." O. Fr. *gonfanon* =Middle High Germ. *gundfano*, 'battle-flag.'

Gordian, IV. 348=Lat. *Gordius*, 'pertaining to Gordius' (Gk. Γόρδιος). According to the legend, Gordius, the first king of Phrygia, tied an inextricable knot, the undoer of which was promised by an oracle the sovereignty of Asia. Alexander the Great cut the knot with his sword and fulfilled the oracle by conquering Asia. Cf. the old play *Lingua* (1607):

> "The Gordian knot which Alexander Great
> Did whilom cut with his all-conquering sword."

Hence *Gordian* = 'inextricable.' Cf. George Herbert, *Divinitie*, "Who can these Gordian knots untie?"

grain, v. 285, xi. 242; derived from O. Fr. *graine*, Lat. *granum*, the Low Latin equivalent for the classical word *coccum*. Properly *coccum* meant a 'berry'; but it was specially used of the cochineal insect found upon the scarlet oak in Spain and other Mediterranean countries; this insect being, from its shape, supposed to be a berry. From the cochineal insect a certain dye was made, called *coccum*; whence *coccinus* = 'red.' In Low Latin *granum* took the place of *coccum*. Strictly, therefore, *grain* signified a scarlet dye such as could be extracted from this cochineal insect. Cf. Cotgrave: "Graine: the seed of herbs, also grain wherewith cloth is dyed in grain, scarlet die." But Cotgrave also has "Migraine: Scarlet, or Purple in graine," and it seems as though the word had lost something of its original sense, and could be applied to shades of blue or purple. Cf. *Lycidas*, 142 (the first draft of the lines).

grunsel, i. 460 = *ground-sill*. Minsheu (1625) has, "a Groundsell of a doore; *vide* Threshold," and the old Latin *Dictionary* called *Manipulus Vocabulorum* (1570) has, "A grunsen *hypotheron*" (Early English Text Society's ed., p. 164). The second part of the word, *sill*, is akin to Germ. *schwelle*, 'threshold.'

gryphon, ii. 943; Lat. *gryphus*, from Gk. γρύψ; also in Late Lat. *griffus*, whence the other form *griffin*. A third form in Elizabethan E. was *gripe*; cf. Shakespeare, *Lucrece*, 543.

harald, i. 752, ii. 518, 'herald'; always spelt *harald*—cf. Ital. *araldo*—in the original editions of *Paradise Lost*. It illustrates Milton's liking for Italian forms.

harbinger, ix. 13, xi. 589, 'a forerunner'; in *P. R.* i. 71, 277, John the Baptist is called the "harbinger" of Christ. Originally it meant an officer who went in advance of an army or prince to make provision for the night's shelter. Cf. Florio's *Dictionary* (1598), "Foriere, a harbinger for a camp or a prince," and Bullokar's *Expositor* (1616): "Harbinger, one that taketh up lodging for others." From Icelandic *herbergi*, 'an army shelter'; cf. the cognate German words *heer*, 'army' + *bergen*, 'to shelter.'

heinous, ix. 929, x. 1; spelt *hainous* in the original editions, as often in old writers. Fr. *haineux*, 'hateful.'

highth, i. 24, ii. 95; always written thus by M. The form is common in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, and is said to survive in parts of America. *High-th* is curious in that it retains the *th* of the A.S. word *héhþu*, represented now by *t*—cf. *heigh-t*.

hosanna, iii. 348, vi. 205, 'save, I pray' (or 'we pray'); *na* being a

particle expressing entreaty, while the first part of the word is from the stem 'to save,' whence the name *Jesus* = 'Saviour,' and *Joshua*. Commonly *hosanna* is a cry for deliverance; but sometimes of praise, as in *Matt.* xxi. 9, "Hosanna to the son of David...Hosanna in the highest." From the use of *hosanna* in that passage Palm-Sunday was called 'Hosanna-Sunday' in the mediæval Western Church.

hosting, VI. 93, 'an encounter.' The more usual sense was 'the raising or assembling of an army or host'; especially in the feudal phrase '*hosting* and hunting.'

hubbub, II. 951, XII. 60, 'confused din'; put for *hoop-hoop*, a reduplication of *hoop*, 'a cry of surprise'—cf. O. Fr. *houper*, 'to shout.' Also written *whoobub*, as in *The Winter's Tale*, IV. 4. 628. Cf. '*whoop*ing (or '*hoop*ing')-cough.'

hyaline, VII. 619, 'the glassy sea'; Gk. *ὑάλινος*, 'made of crystal or glass,' from *ὕαλος*, 'glass'; cf. Lat. *hyalinus*, 'glassy' (borrowed from Greek). No doubt, M. was thinking of *Revelation* iv. 6, where the Greek is *θάλασσα ὑαλίνη ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ* = "a sea of glass like unto crystal." Cf. Tennyson's *Juvenilia*, "Twin peaks shadow'd with pine slope to the dark hyaline."

impair. The usual sense in Milton is 'to harm, damage,' which agrees with the etymology, *impejorare*, 'to make worse'; cf. IX. 144, *P. R.* IV. 592, where, in each case, it is the opposite of *repair*. But sometimes, e.g. in V. 665 and VI. 690, 691, there lurks the idea of 'equality,' as if M. connected it with Lat. *impar*, 'unequal.'

impress, IX. 35, 'a device, generally with motto, on a coat of arms, scutcheon, shield.' Also spelt *imprese* = Ital. *impresa*, 'a device, emblem'; literally 'something impressed,' i.e. stamped. Cf. *Richard II.* III. 1. 24, 25:

> "From my own windows torn my household coat,
> Razed out my imprese, leaving me no sign";

i.e. the family coat of arms blazoned on the stained glass.

influence, II. 1034, Late Lat. *influentia*, literally 'a flowing in upon.' It was an astrological term applied to the power over the earth, men's characters, fortunes etc., which was supposed to descend from the celestial bodies. Cf. "planetary influence," *King Lear*, I. 2. 136, "skyey influences," *Measure for Measure*, III. 1. 9. M. generally uses *influence* with reference to this astrological notion; cf. IV. 669, VII. 374, 375 (from *Job* xxxviii. 31), VIII. 513. See also Bacon's Essays *Of Envy* and *Of Vicissitude* (Pitt Press ed., pp. 21, 172). Other terms due to astrology are 'disastrous' (I. 597), 'saturnine,' 'jovial.'

innumerous, VII. 455 = Lat. *innumerosus*, 'numberless'; a poetic use. Cf. Tennyson, *The Princess*, v., "A lisping of the innumerous leaf." Thomson has it twice in *Spring*.

intend, II. 457, 'attend to, consider.' A clergyman, says Selden, "must seriously intend his calling" (*Table-Talk*, p. 116). Cf. Lat. *intendere animum*.

inure, II. 216, VIII. 239, 'to accustom,' literally 'to bring into practice' (=*ure*). For the obsolete noun *ure* (O. Fr. *eure*, Lat. *opera*, 'work'), cf. Bacon, *Of Simulation*, "it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of ure." Cf. 'man*ure*.'

its. In Elizabethan English the regular *neuter* possessive pronoun was *his*; cf. *Genesis* iii. 15, "*it* shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise *his* heel." About 1600 *its* came into use, but slowly. Bacon has *its* rarely; the Bible of 1611 never; the nine instances in the 1st Folio (1623) of Shakespeare may be corrupt, since in every extant work published during his lifetime the old idiom *his* is invariable—cf. *Julius Cæsar*, I. 2. 123, 124, "that same eye...did lose *his* lustre." Milton, as an Elizabethan in his diction, avoids *its*: either (1) by personifying the noun: thus in his prose abstract words like 'virtue,' 'truth,' are always followed by *her*; or (2) by retaining the old *neuter* use of *his*. (See *Shakespeare's England*, II. 557.)

The only places in Milton's verse where *its* occurs are I. 254, IV. 813: and *Nativity Ode*, 106. I know but two instances of *its* in his prose—*Areopagitica* and *The Reason of Church Government*, *P. W.* II. 94, 471.

justle, II. 1018=*jostle*; connected with *joust* (often spelt *just*), from Lat. *juxta*, 'close to.' For the form (then common) cf. *The Tempest*, V. 158.

knot, IV. 242, 'a flower-bed.' M. recollected *Love's Labour's Lost*, I. 1. 249, "thy *curious-knotted* garden," i.e. laid out in nicely-arranged beds. The Elizabethan physician Dr Dee says in his *Diary*, "I hired Walter Hooper, to kepe my hedges and *knots* in good order" (Camden Society's ed., p. 3). Cf. *Richard II.* III. 4. 43—46. It survives as a west-country word, though generally in the compound *flower-knot*.

landskip, II. 491; here and in the three other places where it occurs—IV. 153, V. 142, *L'Allegro*, 70—spelt *lantskip* in the original editions. It was a term borrowed from Dutch artists (cf. Dutch *landschap*), and its forms in E. have been various—e.g. *landschaft*, *landschape*, *landshape*, *landscip*. For *landskip* (apparently the oldest form in E.) cf. Cotgrave (1611), "Païsage: Landskip, countrey worke"; and *The Spectator*, 94, "a beautiful and spacious landskip." Tennyson uses *landscip* in *Merlin and Vivien* and *Romney's Remorse*. The suffix *-skip* (or *-scape*), generally softened to *-ship*, is closely connected with the noun *shape*.

lawn, IV. 252; properly 'an open, grass-covered space in a forest,

a glade clear of trees'; hence any 'pasture' or 'green.' A favourite poetic word; cf. *Comus*, 568, 965, *Lycidas*, 25.

leviathan, I. 201, VII. 412; then commonly identified with the whale, though the Hebrew *livyáthân* "denotes *any* great sea or land monster, as the crocodile.....or some large serpent." Cf. *Psalm* lxxiv. 14, "Thou brakest the heads of leviathan in pieces," i.e. the crocodile, symbolising Egypt; and *Isaiah* xxvii. 1, "even leviathan that crooked *serpent*." In *Psalm* civ. 26, "There go the ships: there is that leviathan," *leviathan* stands for any large sea-monster.

libbard, VII. 467; an Elizabethan form of *leopard*, so called because thought to be a cross-breed between a lion (*leo*) and a pard, i.e. panther (*pardus*). Cf. Spenser, *The Ruines of Time*, "Who of the Grecian Libbard now ought heares?" So in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. 2. 551.

limbec, III. 607; short for *alembic*, 'a vessel for distilling.' It is one of those hybrid words of Arabic + Greek origin which came into Spain through the Moors and then passed into European languages. Arabic *al*, 'the' + *anbik*, 'a still,' from Gk. ἄμβιξ, 'a cup.' See *Macbeth*, I. 7. 67, and Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*, stanzas 13 and 166.

limber, VII. 476, 'flexible'; correctly written *limper*, and akin to *limp*. Cf. *The Winter's Tale*, I. 2. 47 (where the use is figurative), and Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Victorie in Heaven*, 57, "And oft the Sun would cleave the limber mould" (i.e. friable).

limbo, III. 495; strictly a term of Roman Catholic theology. "The Latin word *Limbus* (or 'fringe') was used in the middle ages for that place on the fringe or outskirts of hell in which the just who died before Christ were detained till our Lord's resurrection from the dead. It likewise signifies a place (also supposed to be beneath the earth and on the outskirts of hell) inhabited by infants who die in original sin" (Addis and Arnold, *Catholic Dict.*). The first of these was the *Limbus Patrum*, the second the *Limbus Infantium*. Later arose the popular belief in a third region, the *Limbus Fatuorum*—the "Paradise of Fools" (III. 496) after death and receptacle of all vain and foolish things. See *Henry VIII.* v. 4. 67. Dante places Vergil in Limbo (the First Circle of his Inferno) and makes him explain who are there and why (*Inferno*, IV. 31—63), viz. the just that "were before Christianity." See also the *Purgatorio*, VII. 28—36, XXII. 97—114.

list, 'wish, please'; commonly a present (II. 798), but also used as a preterite by M. (II. 656, IV. 803). Shakespeare, who uses the present tense often, once has *listed*; cf. *Richard III.* III. 5. 84. Akin to *lust*, which often meant 'pleasure' (Germ. *lust*); cf. *Psalm* xcii. 10, "Mine eye also shall see his lust of mine enemies" (*Prayer-Book*).

livery, IV. 599, VII. 478; used by Elizabethan writers = any kind

of dress, garb; cf. *L'Allegro*, 62, "The clouds in thousand liveries dight." Originally *livery* meant whatever was given (i.e. *delivered*) by a lord to his household, whether food, money, or garments. Fr. *livrer* = Low Lat. *liberare*, 'to abandon.'

malignant, x. 662, 'injurious, hostile'; often used by Elizabethans with reference to astrology, as here. Cf. 1 *Henry VI.* iv. 5. 6.

manuring, iv. 628, xi. 28. The verb *manure*='to cultivate, till' (properly with the hand) was not uncommon in Elizabethan E. Minsheu (1625) has: "to manure, or till the ground, to worke and labour the earth with the hand." Cf. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, ii. (ed. Aldis Wright, p. 84), "It is one thing to set forth what ground lieth unmanured, and another thing to correct ill husbandry in that which is manured"; and *Othello*, i. 3. 328. M. has it often in his prose-works (*P. W.* ii. 463, iii. 78). And *good-* (or *well-*) *mannered* is still quite a common agricultural term for land with a good crop on it. From Fr. *manœuvre*=Low Lat. *manuopera*, 'a working with the hand' (*manus*).

marble, iii. 564, 'bright as marble' (from root *mar-*, 'to gleam'). Cf. Gk. μαρμαίρειν, 'to glisten,' μαρμάρεος, 'glistening,' used of the stars or sky. In *Cymbeline*, v. 4. 120, 121 Shakespeare applies "marble" and "radiant" to the sky in the same sentence.

marish, xii. 630; cognate with *marsh*; cf. also *mere* (as in *Windermere*) and Germ. *meer*, 'the sea.' Though common in earlier writers (see *The Faerie Queene*, v. 10. 23), *marish* was becoming obsolete when M. wrote; it only occurs once in the A.V., *Ezekiel* xlvii. 11, "the miry places thereof and the marishes thereof shall not be healed," where the Genevan Bible (1562) had the same rendering. Baret's *Alvearie* (1580) gives, "A fenne or marise, a moore often drowned with water." It is one of Tennyson's archaic words; cf. *Mariana*, "The cluster'd marish-mosses crept," and *The Dying Swan*, 2 and 3.

maw, ii. 847, x. 601, 991, 'stomach'; cf. Germ. *magen*. A vulgar word applied rather to animals than men. Cf. Milton's *Sonnet* to Cromwell:

> "Help us to save free conscience from the paw
> Of hireling wolves, whose Gospel is their maw."

meath, v. 345, a sweet wine, especially one made with honey; 'mead.' Chaucer writes *meth*, the dialect-form still current in Cheshire; cf. the Welsh *metheglin* (a sweet beverage, mentioned in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, v. 5. 167), from Welsh *meddyglyn*, 'mead-liquor.' A.S. *meodu*, Gk. μέθυ, Sanskrit *madhu*, 'honey,' are cognate.

minim, vii. 482, 'a tiny creature'; from Lat. *minimus*, 'very small.' The use is said to survive in Cornwall, e.g. "come in, you

minum!" Cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, III. 2. 328, 329, "you dwarf, you *minimus*."

mood, I. 550, or **mode**, 'key,' 'measure,' a musical term; cf. *S. A.* 662. Lat. *modus*; distinct from *mood*, 'disposition' (Germ. *muth*).

mysterious, VIII. 599, 'full of awe' such as befits a *mystery* (cf. IV. 743, 750) like marriage; cf. *Ephesians* v. 32, "This is a great mystery"—said in allusion to marriage. So in *Comus*, 785, "The sublime notion and high mystery." *Mystery* (Gk. μυστήριον, 'a secret rite,' from μύειν, 'to close the eyes or mouth') used in a religious sense means a truth specially revealed to men, or a spiritual rite of deep significance. Thus in the *Prayer-Book* it is applied to the Holy Communion.

nice, IV. 241, V. 433, VIII. 399; derived from Lat. *nescius*, 'ignorant,' *nice* meant 'foolish,' then 'fastidious, dainty,' i.e. foolish in a particular way. So here and in *P. R.* IV. 157, "Nothing will please the *difficult* and *nice*," i.e. people hard to satisfy (*difficiles*). Few words improve in sense as *nice* has.

oblivious, I. 266, 'causing to forget, producing forgetfulness'; cf. *Macbeth*, V. 3. 43, "some sweet oblivious antidote." So Horace uses *obliviosus* of wine (*Odes* II. 7. 21); and M. speaks of *obliviosæ...Lethes aquæ* in *De Idea Platonica*, 20. Pope borrowed Milton's phrase; cf. *The Dunciad*, III. 43, 44:

> "Oh! born to see what none can see awake!
> Behold the wonders of th' oblivious lake."

obnoxious; always used by M. in its Latin sense 'liable to' (*obnoxius*). Cf. *The Tenure of Kings*, "made obnoxious to the doom of law," and *The Reason of Church Government*, I. 6, "from that time his creature, and obnoxious to comply with his ends in state" (*P. W.* II. 32, 461). So in IX. 170, 1094, and *S. A.* 106. Cf. Bacon, *Of Ambition*, "as for the having of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures, it may do well."

obvious; always used by M. in one of the senses of Latin *obvius*—e.g. 'coming to meet' (VIII. 504, X. 106), or 'lying in the way' (VI. 69).

officious, VIII. 99; used = Lat. *officiosus*, 'obliging, ready to serve by doing *officia*, i.e. kind acts.' Cf. *P. R.* II. 302, where Satan, coming back after his first repulse, says, "With granted leave officious I return," i.e. eager to serve Christ.

opacous, III. 418, VIII. 23; from Lat. *opacus*, 'dark,' but more commonly *opaque* as in III. 619; cf. Fr. *opaque*. Minsheu has, "Opacuous, shadowie, darke and blacke."

orient, I. 546, II. 399, III. 507, 'bright, lustrous.' In Elizabethan poetry it is a constant epithet of gems, especially pearls. Perhaps, used thus, it first meant 'eastern,' gems coming from the Orient or East;

then as these were bright it got the notion 'lustrous,' which suits, I believe, every passage where M. uses it, though in one or two places (e.g. in IV. 644) 'rising'=Lat. *oriens* is possible. Commonly he applies it to jewels or liquids; cf. V. 2, *Comus*, 65.

owe, IX. 1141; in its original sense 'to have, possess.' Cf. *Macbeth*, I. 4. 10, "To throw away the dearest thing he owed," and *The Tempest*, III. 1. 45. Closely akin to *own*.

panim, I. 765; another form of *pagan*, from Late Lat. *paganus*, 'heathen.' Strictly O.E. *paynyme* meant 'heathendom,' 'the country of the heathen,' and a 'heathen man' was *payen* or *payn*. Tennyson uses *paynim* often in the *Idylls of the King*.

paramount, II. 508, 'lord, chief'; originally a legal term for the lord of an estate under whom land was rented. Cf. Blount's *Glossographia*, "Paramount is in our Law the highest Lord of the Fee." O. Fr. *paramont*, 'at the top, above'=Lat. *per*+*ad montem*.

pavilion, II. 960, 'palace.' M. refers to *Psalm* xviii. 11, "He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him were dark waters and thick clouds of the skies"—where, however, the sense is less 'palace' than 'tent,' as sometimes in M. Cf. V. 653, XI. 215. Through Fr. *pavillon* from Lat. *papilio*, 'a butterfly,' used by Late Latin writers to mean 'a tent' because a tent is spread out like the wings of a butterfly.

pioner, I. 676; O. Fr. *peonier*, 'foot-soldier,' Ital. *pedone*. For *-er*=*-eer* as a suffix in Elizabethan E. cf. "charioter," VI. 390; "mutiner," *Coriolanus*, I. 1. 254; "enginer" and "pioner," *Hamlet*, I. 5. 163 and III. 4. 206.

pitch, VIII. 198. A term in falconry for the height to which a hawk soars. Cf. *Richard II.* I. 1. 109, "How high a pitch his resolution soars!" M. perhaps refers to this use; cf. "lower *flight*," 199.

plat, IX. 456; another form of *plot*, 'a small piece of ground.' Cf. 2 *Kings* ix. 26, "and I will requite thee in this plat...Now therefore take and cast him into the plat of ground." So in *Il Penseroso*, 73:

"Oft, on a plat of rising ground,
I hear the far-off curfew sound."

plumb-down, II. 933, 'straight down, in a vertical line.' *Plumb* meant (1) a mass of lead (Lat. *plumbum*), attached to a cord and used in determining whether a wall is perpendicular; (2) the vertical or perpendicular position so determined. In modern E. *b* has softened into *p*=*plump*, 'straight downward.'

pomp; apart from its ordinary meanings (I. 372, II. 257) it is used like Gk. πομπή, Lat. *pompa*, in the two kindred senses 'solemn procession' (VII. 564), and 'train, retinue' (VIII. 61). Cf. *King John*,

III. 1. 304. Bullokar's *Expositor*, an old (1616) English dictionary, has, "*Pompe*...a solemn *traine*."

ponder, IV. 1001; in the literal sense of Lat. *ponderare*, 'to weigh'; a rare use, but cf. Surrey's *Poems*:

"Hot gleams of burning fire, and easy sparks of flame,
In *balance* of unequal *weight* he *pondereth* by aim."

The old English-Lat. *Dictionary* called *Manipulus Vocabulorum* (1570) has, "to ponder, *ponderare, librare*."

portcullis, II. 874, a kind of grating, made of timber or iron, sliding up and down in vertical grooves, and forming part of a gateway. Here the portcullis came down over and protected the lock of the gate: Sin had to raise it before she could get at the keyhole. Lat. *porta colatica*, 'a sliding door'; cf. Fr. *couler*, 'to flow,' *coulisse*, 'a slide, groove.'

prevent, II. 467, 739, X. 987, 'to anticipate, forestall'; cf. *Psalm* cxix. 148, "Mine eyes prevent the night watches," and 1 *Thessalonians* iv. 15, "we which are alive...shall not prevent them which are asleep," i.e. 'rise before.' Literally 'to come before,' Lat. *prævenire*.

prick, II. 536, 'to ride hard,' literally 'to spur a horse on'; cf. Tennyson, *Gareth and Lynette*, "And Gareth crying prick'd against the cry." See *The Faerie Queene*, I. I. 1, V. 10. 31. In *Piers the Plowman* "prykiere"=a rider.

puny, II. 367; perhaps in the literal sense 'born later, younger,' mankind having been created after the angels; cf. the *Areopagitica*, "like a puny with his guardian," i.e. a young man not yet of age (*P. W.* II. 79). But 'weak, inferior' would also suit. The term "*Puisne* Judge" shows the etymology (Fr. *puis né*).

purchase, X. 579, 'prey.' The verb *purchase* meant first 'to hunt after' (O. Fr. *purchacer*=Fr. *pour*+*chasser*); "then to take in hunting; then to acquire; and then, as the commonest way of acquiring is by giving money in exchange, to buy" (Trench). 'To acquire, gain' was a common Elizabethan sense; cf. 1 *Timothy* iii. 13, "they that have used the office of a deacon well purchase to themselves a good degree" (Revised Version "gain").

purlieu, II. 833, 'an outskirt'; strictly of a forest, as in IV. 404. Sometimes land which had been taken from its owner and made part of a forest was restored to him or his successor. The process whereby this was done was called *perambulatio*='a walking over the land to settle its boundaries'; then the land itself came in legal Latin to be called *perambulatio*, rendered in French by *pouralle*. The form *purlieu*, from *pourallee*, was influenced by a wrong derivation from Fr. *pur lieu*=*purus locus*, 'a space clear of trees.'

purple, IV. 764. Lat. *purpureus*, like Gk. πορφύρεος, was not limited to what we call 'purple,' but denoted almost any rich colour, e.g. red, rosy, crimson, and in poets any dazzling, bright hue (as where Horace applies it to white swans, *Odes* IV. 1. 10). We find the same wide use in English (especially the Elizabethan) poets. Thus in Shakespeare it is used of blood several times; cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, I. 1. 92. Often it is only a picturesque, literary epithet, as in Gray's "The bloom of young Desire, and purple light of Love" (*Progress of Poesy*, 41); cf. IV. 763, 764, and Vergil's *lumen juventæ purpureum* (*Æn.* I. 590, 591).

purpose, IV. 337, VIII. 337; in sense and origin = Fr. *propos*, 'conversation.' So the verb *propose* = 'talk' in Shakespeare, e.g. in *Much Ado About Nothing*, III. 1. 2, 3:

> "There shalt thou find my cousin Beatrice
> Proposing with the prince and Claudio."

Spenser often has *purpose* = 'discourse'; cf. *The Faerie Queene*, I. 12, 13.

quarry, X. 281, 'prey'; a hunting-term. O. Fr. *cuiree*, the intestines of a slain animal, the part given to the hounds; so called because wrapped in the skin—Fr. *cuir*, 'a skin, hide,' from Lat. *corium*, 'hide.'

quire, III. 217, 666, VII. 254; the older form of *choir*; each from Lat. *chorus*. Cf. the *Prayer-Book*, "In quires and places where they sing." *Quire* was one of the Latin words introduced through Christianity.

ramp, IV. 343, VII. 466; a word used in several allied senses, e.g. 'to rage'—cf. "a ramping and a roaring lion," *Psalm* xxii. 13, *Prayer-Book*; 'to tear, snatch'; 'to rear up on the hind legs'—cf. the heraldic term "lion rampant"; 'to spring.' Cf. *S. A.* 139, "his lion ramp" = lion-like spring. Fr. *ramper*, 'to climb.'

rapt, III. 522, VII. 23, 'caught up.' It should be written *rapped*, being the p. p. of an old verb *rap*, 'to seize'; cf. *Cymbeline*, I. 6. 51, "what...raps you?" i.e. excites you? The form *rapt* comes through confusion (of sound and sense) with Lat. *raptus*, the p. p. of *rapere*, 'to seize.'

ravin, X. 599, 'prey'; cf. *The Faerie Queene*, I. 11. 12 (the description of the 'Old Dragon'):

> "his deepe devouring jawes
> Wyde gaped, like the griesly mouth of hell,
> Through which into his darke abysse all ravin fell."

O. Fr. *ravine*, Lat. *rapina*, 'plunder.'

reck, 'to care'; A.S. *reccan*. M. uses the word both personally (II. 50, IX. 173) and impersonally; cf. *Lycidas*, 122, "What recks it them? What need they? They are sped," and *Comus*, 404. In Shake-

speare it is always personal, as in *Hamlet*, I. 3. 51 ("recks not his own rede"). M. uses *reckoning* with the strict etymological notion of 'caring, troubling,' in the phrase to 'make little *reckoning* of'; cf. *Comus*, 642, *Lycidas*, 116. The old word *wretchless* means 'careless,' the *w* having been prefixed wrongly; cf. the *Articles of Religion*, xvii.

recorder, I. 551, a kind of flute or flageolet; cf. the title of a musical work published in 1686, "The Delightful Companion, or Choice New Lessons for the *Recorder or Flute*." So called from the old verb *record*='to sing'; cf. Fairfax, *Tasso*, II. 97, "to hear the lark record her hymns." Selden says in his *Table-Talk*: "a bird, by often whistling to, learns a tune, and a month after records to herself" (p. 149, Reynolds' ed.). By "soft" M. implies not effeminate strains but the sweet, subdued notes of the instrument; cf. Fletcher's *Piscatorie Eclogues*, VII. 3, "the sad recordèr sweetly plains."

rhyme; spelt (in the First Ed.) *rhime* in I. 16 but *rime* (the proper spelling, A.S. *rím*) in the *Preface*. Possibly M. used *rhime* (i.e. *rhyme*)=poetry opposed to prose, and *rime*=rhymed metre opposed to blank verse. The spelling *rhyme* is due to confusion with *rhythm*, Gk. *ῥυθμός*.

Sabæan, IV. 162, 'belonging to *Saba*.' *Saba* is the classical form, used in the Septuagint and Vulgate, of *Sheba*, which "embraced the greater part of Arabia Felix" (Smith's *Bible Dict.*). The Elizabethans constantly write *Saba*; cf. Marlowe's *Faustus*, V. 154, "As wise as Saba" (i.e. the Queen of Sheba), and XII. 22, "India, Saba, and farther countries in the east." In *Comus*, 996 ("*Elysian* dew"), the Cambridge MS. shows that the earlier reading was *Sabæan*.

sad, V. 94, VI. 541, 'serious'; the original sense was 'sated,' A.S. *sæd* being akin to Lat. *satis*; then came the notion 'serious, sober, grave,' as often in Shakespeare. Cf. *An Apology for Smectymnuus*, "to be severe and ever of a sad gravity," and the *History of Britain*, "this story, though seeming otherwise too light in the midst of a sad narration" (*P. W.* III. 129, V. 387). Cf. *Comus*, 189, *Il Penseroso*, 43.

satiate, I. 179. Elizabethan English often makes the past participles of verbs of Latin origin conform with the Latin. This is the case especially with verbs of which the Latin originals belong to the 1st and 3rd conjugations. Cf. **elevate** (II. 558)=Lat. *elevatus* and **suspense** (II. 418)=*suspensus*. Further, participles not from the Latin are abbreviated by analogy; e.g. Milton (I. 193) has **uplift**='uplift*ed*,' though *lift* is of Scandinavian origin.

scathe, I. 613, 'to injure'; rare as verb, but cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, I. 5. 86, "This trick may chance to scathe you." For the noun cf. *King John*, II. 75, "To do offence and scath in Christendom." The

Manipulus Vocabulorum (1570) has, "to scathe, *nocere*," and Minsheu (1617), "to scathe, or hurt."

sciential, IX. 837, 'yielding knowledge.' Ben Jonson in a compliment to James I. says (*Masque of Blackness*):

"His light sciential is, and, past mere nature,
Can salve the rude defects of every creature."

scull, VII. 402; the same word as *shoal* and *school*; cf. the nautical expression 'a *school* of fish.' *Scull* is used specially of fish; cf. Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, v. 5. 22. 'On some coasts (e.g. the south-eastern) of England herring-*shoals* are still called *sculls*. In the New Forest dialect *scull* is used contemptuously for 'a set of low people.'

sdein, IV. 50; cf. Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, III. 1. 55:

"For great rebuke it is love to despise,
Or rudely sdeigne a gentle hart's [heart's] request."

This form is modelled on Ital. *sdegnare*, while the common form *disdain* comes through O. Fr. *desdeigner*. Lat. *dis-*, a negative prefix, + *dignari*, 'to think worthy (*dignus*).'

secure, IV. 186, V. 238, IX. 371, X. 779. Elizabethan writers often use *secure* in the sense of Lat. *securus*, 'free from anxiety, unconcerned'; i.e. to indicate a false feeling rather than actual state of safety. Cf. Fletcher's quibbling lines:

"To secure yourselves from these,
Be not too secure in ease";

and M. in *Eikonoklastes*, 18, "with a bloody *surprise* [he] falls on our secure forces which lay quartering at Brentford, in the thoughts and expectation of a treaty," *P. W.* I. 442. So *security* = 'over-confidence, carelessness,' in *Macbeth*, III. 5. 32. "Captain Secure" is slain alongside of "Captain Boasting" in *The Holy War*.

seneshal, IX. 38, 'steward'; literally 'old servant,' whence the idea 'senior in standing, chief.' Through O. Fr. from Gothic *sins*, 'old' + *shalks*, 'servant'; cf. *marshal*, literally 'horse-servant.'

Seraphim; then supposed to come from a Hebrew root 'to burn'; cf. Blount, "Seraphim, i.e. *fulgentes aut comburentes*; so called, for their burning with divine love and charity." Hence "*fiery* Seraphim," II. 512; "*brightest* Seraphim," III. 381, and in *At a Solemn Musick*, 10. Really *Seraphim* is from a root 'to exalt,' and means 'the exalted ones.'

The plural of *Seraph* (III. 667) has much the same history as *Cherub*; *Seraphins* in some old writers—cf. Thomas Watson's *Eglogue* (1590), "where *Seraphins* | doe Praise the highest in their glorious *flames*" (Arber, p. 169); *Seraphims* in the Bible, *Isaiah* vi. 2, 6; *Seraphim* in

M. Crashaw uses *Seraphim* several times as a singular in his beautiful poem *The Flaming Heart*, on Saint Teresa, e.g.,

"This is a Seraphim, they say,
And this the great Teresia."

sere, X. 1071, 'dry'; also spelt *sear*, A.S. *seár*, 'dry.' Commonly said of flowers or leaves, with the sense 'faded,' 'withered,' as in *Lycidas*, 2, "ivy never sere."

sewer, IX. 38; a servant who set the dishes on the table at a feast and removed them. In *Eikonoklastes*, 24, M. refers contemptuously to the chaplains of Charles I. as "the sewers, or the yeomen-ushers of devotion." From O.F. *asseoir*, 'to make to seat.'

shroud, X. 1068. Properly *shroud*, A.S. *scrúd*, meant 'a garment': hence any 'shelter, covering,' as often in Elizabethan writers. Cf. *Comus*, 147, "Run to your shrouds within these brakes and trees." Outside Old St Paul's Cathedral in London there was a covered place called "the Shrouds," where sermons were preached in wet weather, instead of at St Paul's Cross, which was in the open.

Soldan, I. 764, 'Sultan'; cf. Minsheu (1625), "the great Soldane, or Sultan among the Turks or Persians." It is a thoroughly mediæval word—cf. the *Inferno*, V. 60—used often in reference to the Crusades; cf. *The Talisman*. From Arabic *Sultán*, 'victorious,' Latinised as *Soldanus*, whence Ital. *soldano*.

Sophi, X. 433; a corruption of Arabic *safī*, 'elect, chosen,' which was a title, like the 'Cæsar' of the Roman emperors, borne by each Shah or sovereign of the dynasty that ruled Persia from 1505 to 1725. In Elizabethan writers the expression 'the Sophy' (or 'Sophi') is exactly equivalent to 'the Shah' in modern English. Cf. *The Merchant of Venice*, II. 1. 25, "That slew the Sophy and a Persian prince"; and Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, III. 5, "the Persian Sophi's wife." Persia is called "the Sophian Empire" in Hexham's English edition (1636) of *Mercator's Atlas*, II. 411.

sound, II. 604, VII. 399, 'a strait, narrow strip of water.' Cf. *Comus*, 115, "The sounds and seas, with all their finny drove" (i.e. shoals of fish). A.S. *sund* meant literally 'a strait of the sea that could be *swum* across.'

sovran, I. 246, II. 244; spelt thus always in *P. L.*; cf. Ital. *sovrano*. The common form *sovereign*=O. Fr. *soverain*, later *souverain*. Lat. *superanus*, 'chief.'

spangle, VII. 384, XI. 130, 'to ornament as with spangles.' *Spangle* was used of small flashing ornaments like the little circles of silver in 'tinsel.' Elizabethan writers often apply it to the stars; cf. *The Taming of the Shrew*, IV. 5. 31, "What stars do spangle heaven with

such beauty?" So in *Comus*, 1003 (an echo of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 1. 29), and *Lycidas*, 170.

state, X. 445, 'canopy'; more often 'chair of state, canopied throne,' as in *Macbeth*, III. 4. 5, "Our hostess keeps her state." Cotgrave, *French Dictionary*, 1611, explains *dais* by: "A cloth of Estate, Canopie or Heauen, that stands ouer the heads of Princes thrones, also, the whole State or seat of Estate."

store, III. 444, V. 322, 'abundance'; common in Elizabethan E. One of Heywood's *Proverbs* runs, "store is no sore." Cf. *L'Allegro*, 121. O. Fr. *estoire*, 'store, provisions,' Low Lat. *instaurum*.

sublimed, I. 235. In chemistry to 'sublime' or 'sublimate' is "to raise a solid substance into vapour by heat." M. means that the material substance catching fire is raised to a state of pure flame.

success, II. 9, 123; its usual sense in Elizabethan E. is 'result, fortune'—how a person fares in a matter, or a thing turns out, whether well or ill. Cf. Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, II. 2. 117, "Nor fear of bad success in a bad cause." So *P. R.* IV. 1.

succinct, III. 643; Lat. *succinctus*, the past participle of *succingere*, 'to gird, tuck up.' Cf. *The Rape of the Lock*, III. 41, 42:

> "Four Knaves in garbs succinct, a trusty band,
> Caps on their heads, and halberds in their hands."

suggestion, IX. 90, 'temptation'; cf. *Macbeth*, I. 3. 134, "why do I yield to that suggestion?" So the verb; cf. *Richard II.* III. 4. 75, 76:

> "What Eve, what *serpent*, hath *suggested* thee
> To make a second fall of cursed man?"

summed, VII. 421; a term in falconry, applied to a hawk that has the feathers full-grown and in full number. Cf. *P. R.* I. 14, "with prosperous *wing full summed*"; and Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Song 11, "The muse from Cambria comes with *pinions summed* and sound."

sung. In Elizabethan E. this incorrect form for the past tense is much used. Shakespeare has *sang* only once (*Sonnet* 73), and then for the rhyme. In M. *sang* occurs only three times, III. 383, VII. 192, *Lycidas*, 186, and in each case he probably used the form for a special consideration of sound (e.g. in III. 383, VII. 192 to avoid the jingle *sung...son*). Similarly he has **rung** (II. 655, 723, IX. 737) as the past tense of *ring*, except in the *Nativity Ode*, 158, where the rhyme requires *rang*. Cf. too *sprung* (VII. 58, VIII. 46).

surcease, VI. 258, 'to cease, stop'; cf. *S. A.* 404, and Shakespeare, *Lucrece*, 1766, "If they surcease to be that should survive." Originally a *surcease*, O. Fr. *sursis* (for the noun, cf. *Macbeth*, I. 7. 4), was the arrest or stoppage of a legal suit. O. Fr. *surseior*, 'to pause.'

Syrtis, II. 939, Gk. Σύρτις, the name of certain quicksands and sandbanks off the coast of N. Africa; the word came to mean any quicksand or sandbank—as here.

take; a common Elizabethan sense was 'to enchant, captivate,' especially by supernatural influence; cf. *Hamlet*, I. 1. 163. Hence the general meaning 'to charm' (II. 554); cf. Bacon, *Of Masques*, "things...such as do naturally take the sense." So in Tennyson's *Dying Swan*, III:

> "The wild swan's death-hymn took the soul
> Of that waste place with joy."

targe, IX. 1111, 'a shield'; cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, II. 6. 39, "targes undinted," i.e. not battered by blows. Of course, *target* is a diminutive of *targe* and formerly was used='shield'; cf. *Coriolanus*, IV. 5. 126; *Hamlet*, II. 2. 334. A mark to fire at is called 'a target' from its resemblance to a round shield.

ted, IX. 450, 'to spread mown grass'; a Scandinavian word. Cf. *Euphues*: "When wealth cometh into the hands of youth before they can use it, then fall they to all disorder that may be, tedding that with a fork in one year which was not gathered together with a rake in twenty" (Bond's *Lyly*, II. pp. 15, 16). So in Lyly's (?) prose-piece *Pap with a Hatchet*: "What fool more covetous than he that seeks to ted abroad the Church's goods with a fork, or scratch it to himself with a rake?" (Bond, III. 412).

thrall, I. 149, X. 402; **enthrall**, II. 551; from Icelandic *þræll*, 'a serf,' Danish *træl*; no doubt, *thrall* came into England through the Danes. Strictly it meant 'a runner,' i.e. on messages, the original root being that seen in Gk. τρέχειν, 'to run.'

thwart, IV. 557, 'to cross'; as a verb now only figurative='to hinder,' but then used also in the literal sense 'to pass across'—as here; cf. *Pericles*, IV. 4. 10. Minsheu has, "Traverser. To thwart, or goe overthwart, crosse or passe over." The etymological sense is seen in Milton's use of the adjective (X. 1075).

tiar, III. 625, 'a crown'; strictly 'a wreathed ornament for the head' (such as the Persians wore). Gk. τιάρα (or τιάρας) is a Persian word, perhaps from Persian *tájwar*, 'crowned'; hence Lat. *tiara*, Fr. *tiare*. Tennyson speaks of flowers "studded white with disks and tiars" (*Arabian Nights*).

tine, X. 1075, 'to kindle'; cf. *The Faerie Queene*, III. 10. 13, "To quench the flames which she had tyn'd before," and Fletcher's *Apollyonists*:

> "Oh! why should earthly lights then scorn to tine
> Their lamps alone at that first sunne divine."

An obsolete verb, also spelt *tind*; cf. *tinder*. The *Dialect Dict.* shows

that the word survives in several forms, e.g. *tindle*, 'a bonfire' (Derbyshire), *teening-time*, 'lighting-up time' (Cornwall), *candle-teening* (or *tining*), 'dusk.'

tinsel, IX. 36; a shining, silver-like cloth. M. renders the Homeric epithet for the goddess Thetis, *ἀργυρόπεζα*, 'silver-footed,' by 'tinsel-slippered,' *Comus*, 877. Fr. *étincelle*, Lat. *scintilla*, 'a spark.'

tire, VI. 605; the old form of *tier*; cf. *The Faerie Queene*, I. 4. 35. It seems to have been specially used of a line of cannon; Skeat quotes Florio (1598), "a tyre of ordinance." From Fr. *tirer*, 'to draw.'

touch, IV. 686; often applied thus to the action of the hand on a musical instrument. Cf. *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 107, 108:

"whose *heavenly touch*
Upon the lute doth ravish human sense."

trains, XI. 624; cf. *S. A.* 533, "venereal trains"=snares of love, and *Comus*, 151. Shakespeare has the noun once (*Macbeth*, IV. 3. 118), the verb several times, e.g. in 1 *Henry IV.* V. 2. 21. From Fr. *traîner*=*trahere*, which in Late Lat.='to betray': the metaphor (says Du Cange) of alluring birds into snares. Cf. the *Animadversions*, "he...trains on the easy Christian insensibly within the close ambushment of worst errors," *P. W.* III. 43.

trepidation, III. 483; Lat. *trepidatio*, 'a trembling,' from *trepidare*, 'to tremble.' For the literal use of the word, cf. Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning*, bk. II. 2. 8: "As it cometh to pass in massive bodies, that they have certain trepidations and waverings before they fix and settle, so it seemeth that by the providence of God this monarchy, before it was to settle in your majesty and your generations (in which I hope it is now established for ever), it had these prelusive changes and varieties."

triumph, XI. 723, "a public festivity or exhibition of any kind," Schmidt, *Lexicon*; cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, I. 1. 19, "With pomp, with triumph and with revelling." So often in Bacon, e.g. in his *History of Henry VII.* p. 98 ("he kept great triumphs of jousting and tourney"), p. 187, and p. 219, Pitt Press ed. See *L'Allegro*, 120. In this sense the word is usually plural. Lat. *triumphus*=Gk. *θρίαμβος*, a hymn to Bacchus.

troll, XI. 620, 'to roll'; still used in its literal sense in many counties, e.g. to *troll* a ball or hoop or wheel. In Yorkshire '*Troll*-egg-day' was an old name for Easter-Monday and Shrove-Tuesday, because on those days children played with hard-boiled, dyed eggs, rolling them on the grass.

uncouth, II. 407, 827; A.S. *uncuð*, 'unknown'—from *un*, 'not' + *cuð*, the p.p. of *cunnan*, 'to know.' In M. it means 'strange, un-

familiar,' perhaps with the implied notion 'unpleasant'; cf. v. 98, vi. 362. So in *Titus Andronicus*, ii. 3. 211, "I am *surprised* with an *uncouth* fear," and *As You Like It*, ii. 6. 6.

unenvied, ii. 23. Elizabethan writers constantly treat the termination *-ed*, which belongs to the passive participle, as equal to the adjectival ending *-able*; especially with words which have the negative prefix *un-*, and the sense 'that may not be.' Cf. ii. 337, 903. So "unvalued"='invaluable,' "unavoided"='inevitable,' *Richard III.* i. 4. 27, iv. 4. 217. The use of the participial and adjectival endings was less regular then than now.

unweeting, x. 335, 916. M. always uses this form, never *unwitting*; the *ee* represents the sound of the long *í* in A.S. *witan*, 'to know,' which comes from the same root as Gk. οἶδα and ἰδεῖν and Lat. *videre*.

utter, i. 72, iii. 16, v. 614; the comparative of A.S. *út*, 'out,' and an older form of *outer*. Lawyers still speak of "the *utter* bar" in contrast with "the inner bar." Cf. Blount's *Glossographia* (1656): "The outward or Utter Barristers...these always plead without [i.e. outside] the Bar." In *Ezekiel* x. 5 the Bible used to read "*utter* court."

vans, ii. 927, 'wings'; Ital. *vanni*, from Lat. *vannus*, 'a winnowing-*fan*.' Cf. *P. R.* iv. 583, "plumy vans" (said of angels' wings), and Tennyson's *Love and Death*, "Love wept and spread his sheeny vans for flight." For *van=fan* cf. *vat=fat* as in 'wine-*fat*.' The *Manipulus Vocabulorum* (1570) gives an old verb "to vanne, *vannare*," i.e. 'to winnow.'

virtue; often (vii. 236, viii. 95, ix. 110, 145, 616, 649) used by M. in the sense 'efficacy, might'; cf. *Luke* viii. 46, "virtue is gone out of me": hence **virtuous**='full of efficacy' (ix. 795, 1033). Also='courage' (i. 320, x. 372), i.e. what a man (*vir*) should specially be, viz. 'brave'; Lat. *virtus*, 'worth, *manly* excellence, valour' (Lat. *vir*, 'man'). This etymological use is well illustrated in the *Life* of Coriolanus in North's *Plutarch*: "Now in those days valiantness was honoured in Rome above all other virtues: which they call *virtus*, by the name of virtue itself, as including in that general name all other special virtues besides. So that *virtus* in the Latin was as much as valiantness."

voutsafe, ii. 332, vii. 80, viii. 8; so spelt in the original editions; cf. *Areopagitica*, p. 13, Pitt Press ed. M. probably wished to avoid the awkward sound *ch* before *s*, just as in proper names he avoids *sh*.

waft, ii. 1042; often used (as here) by Elizabethan writers with the sense 'to journey, or carry, over water.' Cf. 2 *Henry VI.* iv. 1. 114, "I charge thee waft me safely cross the Channel"; and *P. R.* i. 104.

wanton. The word means literally 'unrestrained'; hence 'luxuriant,' as used of growth, IX. 211. Cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 1. 99, 100:

> "And the quaint mazes in the wanton green
> For lack of tread are undistinguishable."

Of motion it implies 'tossing about,' e.g. like the 'undulating' coils of a serpent (IX. 517).

warp, I. 341; a nautical term (Scandinavian) = "to move into some desired place or position by hauling on a rope or warp which has been fastened to something fixed, as a buoy, anchor, or other ship at or near that place or position: as, to warp a ship into harbor or to her berth" (*Century Dict.*). M. uses it to describe 'undulatory forward motion,' and Thomson imitates him; cf. *Spring*:

> "Myriads on myriads, insect armies warp
> Keen in the poisoned breeze."

In either case comparison with a sailing ship is implied.

weed, 'a garment'; A.S. *wǽd*, 'a garment, dress.' Quite a Miltonic word; cf. *L'Allegro*, 119, 120:

> "Where throngs of knights and barons bold,
> In weeds of peace, high triumphs hold";

which is an echo of *Troilus and Cressida*, III. 3. 239, "To see great Hector in his weeds of peace." So in *Comus*, 16, 84, and 390 ("For who would rob a hermit of his weeds?"). The singular is rare, but cf. *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, II. 1. 255, 256:

> "And there the snake throws her enamell'd skin,
> Weed wide enough to wrap a fairy in."

Now a poetical or dialect (e.g. Scottish) usage, apart from the phrase "widow's weeds"; cf. Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, v.:

> "In words like weeds, I'll wrap me o'er."

welkin, 'sky'; properly a plural word = 'clouds'; cf. Germ. *wolke*, 'a cloud.' The termination *-in* (for *-en*) is the plural ending which we get in *brethren*, *children*, *oxen*. M. uses *welkin* only twice (II. 538, *Comus*, 1015), and it was perhaps an affected word (*Twelfth Night*, III. 1. 65).

wight, II. 613, 'person, being'; A.S. *wiht*, 'a creature.' It was rather an old-fashioned word of ballad-poetry; Shakespeare seems to ridicule it, putting it in the mouth of the bombastic Pistol; cf. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, I. 3. 23, *Henry V.* II. 1. 64.

won, VII. 457, 'dwell'; cf. *The Faerie Queene*, II. 7. 49, "The fairest wight that wonneth under skie." From A.S. *wunian*, which meant (1) 'to dwell,' (2) 'to be accustomed'; now obsolete except in the second sense and in the past participle *wont* or *wonted*. Similarly

the cognate Germ. *wohnen* = (1) 'to dwell,' (2) 'to be wont.' M. uses *wont*, in the second sense 'to be accustomed,' as a present tense and a preterite; though I. 764 and the *Nativity Ode*, 10, seem the only undoubted cases of the latter.

wreak, IV. 11, 'to avenge.' This was the original sense of *wreak* (cognate with Germ. *rächen*, 'to avenge'). The *Manipulus Vocabulorum* (1570) has "to wreake, *vlcisci*, *vindicare*." Cf. Tennyson, *Gareth and Lynette*, "Kill the foul thief, and *wreak me* for my son." The first two editions of *P. L.* have *wreck*, which is practically another form of *wreak*.

yeanling, III. 434, 'just born.' "The difference between *ean* and *yean* is easily explained; in the latter, the prefixed *y-* represents the very common A.S. prefix *ge-*, readily added to any verb without affecting the sense" (Skeat). Hence *ean* = A.S. *eánian*: *yean* = A.S. *ge-eánian*—both meaning 'to bring forth young,' i.e. of any kind; but now *ean* or *yean* is commonly used of sheep. Shakespeare uses *eanling* = 'young lamb,' in *The Merchant of Venice*, I. 3. 80.

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